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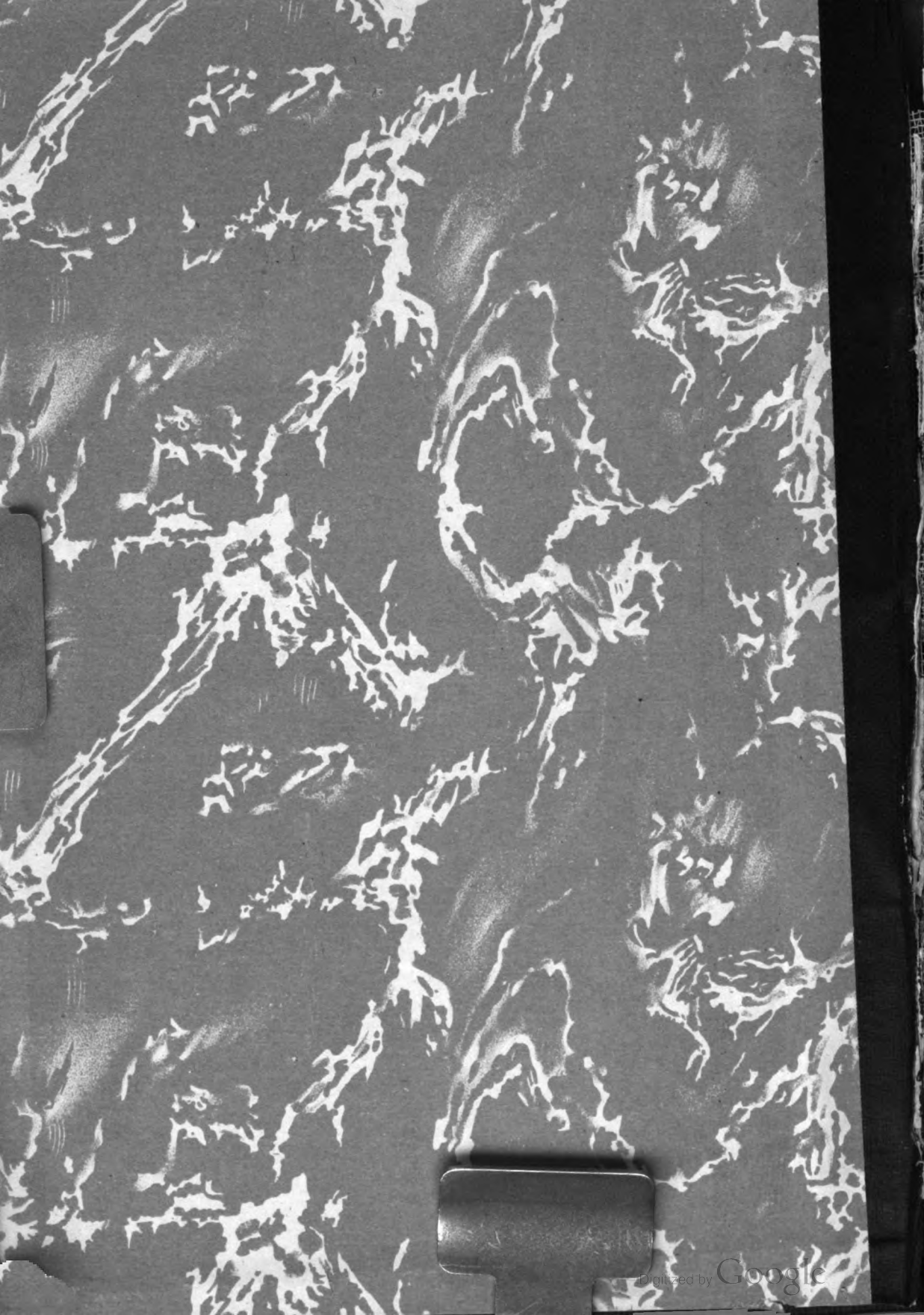
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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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LA VIE DE SAINT EUSTACHE PAR PIERRE DE BEAUVAIS

INTRODUCTION

I. *Hagiographic Literature*

That enormous body of Old French literature comprised in the legendary lives of the Saints and Fathers has often been passed over as of slight value and as worthy of the neglect with which it has been treated. This material has furnished however some of the earliest and most important documents, and at least one fine poem. Although the noble simplicity of the *Vie de saint Alexis* is unique, there is much that is of interest and value in these legendary lives. They contribute to our knowledge of the ideas and civilization of the middle ages. The writers of the lives have little regard for fact, but draw freely on the imagination, and aim to instruct the masses of the people while capturing their attention by tales of marvels and adventures. This form of romantic fiction furnished entertainment for at least two centuries, and constitutes, as it were, the religious *épopée* of France. In so far as there is a connection, additional interest at present may attach to this product of the mediæval church on account of the theories of the origin of the epic recently developed by M. Joseph Bédier.

II. *Legend of Saint Eustache*

The Legend of Saint Eustache enjoyed a tremendous popularity¹ not only in France but in most of the countries of Europe.

¹ Cf. Monteverdi, *La leggenda di S. Eustachio*, in *Studi Medievali*, iii, 1909, p. 169 ff. and 1910, p. 392 ff. The legend is accessible in English in Caxton's translation of the Golden Legend, republished in the Temple Classics, vol. vi, p. 83 ff.

The story is too well known to require more than a brief *résumé* here. Placidus is represented as a Roman knight of the second century, under Trajan. He is converted by seeing a stag bearing a bright cross between its horns and the image of Christ on the cross. A voice from the stag completes his consternation. After fifteen years of sorrow and disaster, Eustache and his entire family suffer martyrdom at Rome under the reign of Hadrian.

In France the earliest form is in verse; but there exist four versions in prose, besides several dramatic redactions. Of the redactions in verse there are eleven, preserved in no less than fifteen manuscripts.²

III. *The Author of the Third Version*

Pierre gives his name in vv. 43-47 of our manuscript:

A mon seignor saint Denis prist
Sa vie Pierres qui la mist
Et trest de latin en roumanz.
Tels fu li grez et li commanz
A un des seignors de l'Iglise.

Very little is known about the life of this Pierre further than that he was under the protection of the Bishop of Beauvais and

² I. Fragment of 360 verses, early thirteenth century, published in *Romania*, xxxvi, pp. 12-28.

II. Poem of early thirteenth century. Notice by M. Meyer in *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français*, 1878, p. 57.

III. Version of Pierre de Beauvais, extracts in *Notices et Extraits*, t. xxxiii.

IV. Poem of the thirteenth century, extracts in *Notices et Extraits*, t. xxxiv, première partie, p. 227.

V. Version made in England in thirteenth century.

VI. Version of Guillaume de Ferrières, late thirteenth century, *Notices et Extraits*, t. xxxiv, p. 225.

VII. Version of thirteenth century published by A. C. Ott in *Romanische Forschungen*, xxxii, p. 481, 1913.

VIII. Poem of late thirteenth century. Extracts in *Romania*, xxx, 311.

IX. Composed in the thirteenth century, of which there is only a fragment, published by E. Stengel in his description of the manuscript Digby 86, p. 126.

X. End of the fourteenth century. Printed in fifteenth century. Cf. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, 5e ed., v, 1189.

XI. End of fifteenth century.

More complete details regarding the versions and manuscripts may be found in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. xxxiii, p. 348, and *Notices et Extraits*, t. xxxiv, p. 225.

that he never moved from Beauvais. This latter fact we infer from his never calling himself anything but Pierre. It was never necessary to indicate his native town. Gaston Paris³ suggests that for convenience he be called Pierre de Beauvais. This identification with Beauvais lends an added importance to his writings, which ought to represent exactly the language spoken at Beauvais in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

Pierre de Beauvais was a fairly voluminous writer. Here is a list of works in prose and verse attributed⁴ to him:

1. *Vie de saint Eustache* (in verse).
2. *Vie de saint Germer* (in verse).
3. *Vie de saint Josse* (in verse).
4. *Bestiaire*.
5. *Translation et miracles de saint Jacques*.
6. *Version de Turpin* and *Traduction du Voyage de Charlemagne a Jérusalem*.
7. *La Mappemonde* (in verse).
8. *La diète du corps et de l'âme* (in verse).
9. *L'œuvre quotidienne* (in verse).
10. *Les trois mansions de l'homme et la vertu du saumoire* (in verse).
11. *Les trois Maries* (in verse).
12. *L'Olympiade*.

The *Bestiaire* was composed for the Bishop of Beauvais, Philippe de Dreux (therefore between 1180 and 1217). *Saint Jacques* was done at Beauvais in 1212. Probably at the same time was written the *Vie de saint Germer*, a saint somewhat localized at Beauvais. After 1217 Pierre seems to have found a new patron in the Bishop's brother, Count Robert of Dreux, for whom he wrote the *Mappemonde*. At the end of the *Mappemonde* Pierre announces his intention of giving up writing. We may reasonably date the *Saint Eustache* somewhere near 1212 and not later than 1217.

The pessimistic attitude of Pierre is apparent, as he complains that saints are becoming rare:

³ *Romania*, xxxi, p. 263.

⁴ Paul Meyer, *Notices et Extraits*, t. xxxiii, première partie, pp. 9-11.

Qui voit hom mes si contenir
 Qu'en le voie saint devenir?
 Çou soulelt on voeir assez
 Au tens qui est pieça passez!⁴⁴ (ll. 7-10).

M. Meyer calls Pierre "un auteur intéressant dont la place dans notre littérature est bien définie."

IV. *The Poet's Relations to his Sources*

The oldest form of the legend of Eustache which we have is preserved in a Greek prose version of which a number of Latin translations⁴⁵ in prose were made. Both the Greek and the Latin are given by the Bollandists in the *Acta Sanctorum* under the date of September the twentieth.

In his usual rôle of popularizer of knowledge, Pierre de Beauvais faithfully reproduced the details of the Latin manuscript which he found in the Abbey of Saint-Denis. His language and style are his own, he does not translate literally but he tries to preserve all the incidents which he finds. His method is indicated in the following lines:

Or vous iert dit sulousc la letre
 Sans riens oster ne sanz riens metre (ll. 613-14).

In other passages he reminds us that the facts are given exactly as in Latin. In several places, however, the poet has ventured to depart from his source or enlarge on the suggestions of the Latin original. For example, the first fifty-six verses in the form of an exordium are original with our poet. The Latin manuscripts do not give the proemium, which has been restored in the *Acta* from the Greek original. Perhaps Pierre had suggestions in the manuscripts which he followed. The exhortation at the end of the poem is also the independent work of the poet. The following verses contain an account of Christ's descent into hell, not furnished by the Latin prose version:

⁴⁴ Quoted by Petit de Julleville, *Hist. de la lang. et de la litt. fr.*, t. i, p. 8.

⁴⁵ Besides there is the *Passio Eustacii* in Latin verse of twelve syllables. Brit. Mus., Arundel 23, fol. 68, about 460 lines.

. . . visitai
Enfer, dont mes amis getai
Qui devant m'incarnation
Aloient a perdition. (ll. 275-8).

The prayer of the wife of Saint Eustache is not given in the source:

Ne souffrez que perde m'ennor
Ne mes effanz ne mon seignor (ll. 581-2).

Some Latin citations will be given in the notes to show further the poet's method of using his source material.

V. *The Manuscripts*

The third version of the legend has come to us in four manuscripts, which we distinguish as follows: français 19530 (P); français 13502 (B); Moreau 1715 (M); Egerton 745 (L); the first three manuscripts are of Paris, and the last of London. The Moreau manuscript⁶ forms a part of the copy made in 1773 for La Curne de Sainte-Palaye from the old collection belonging to the Marquis de La Clayette. The original has disappeared, but the copy curiously enough contains, besides other works, all that we have listed above as attributed to Pierre de Beauvais. This copy of the Eustache Legend is very legible but full of mistakes and omissions. The other three manuscripts are written in minuscule. L is a very elegant manuscript on vellum of the 14th century containing 233 leaves, adorned with numerous miniatures and illumined initials.

In attempting to classify the four manuscripts it is found that the missing lines from one point of view do not offer positive evidence; they prove that the four manuscripts have no immediate kinship. L and M end the poem with line 1706. B and P add twenty lines. This apparent affiliation however is not sustained upon closer inspection. P omits a total of eight lines, in six different passages. Not one of these omissions occurs in B L M. More conclusive evidence is offered in the following lines where B L M agree in important variants: 106, 142-5, 223, 259-260, 264, 508, 664, 1223.

⁶ *Notice sur deux anciens manuscrits*, Moreau, 1715-19, par M. Paul Meyer in *Notices et Extraits des Mss.*, tome xxxiii, première partie, p. 1.

One has only to look through the variants to see that in numberless cases of less importance B L M agree and P stands alone. Of course a great many of these are due to the peculiarities of the copyist of P, although we have not noted in the variants every instance of the most frequent differences. We may safely conclude, it would seem, that B L M belong to one branch and P to another branch in an imaginary family of manuscripts.

M. Paul Meyer says that P is the best manuscript. It is undoubtedly better in every respect than M, and much more legible than B. It seems, however, that L is the best of the four. Having begun my study with P as a basis, before seeing L, I have adhered to this plan. Taking therefore P as the basis for the text, I have respected the reading of this manuscript wherever possible and have not made any practical use of the attempted classification.⁷

In this edition consonantal *i* and *u* are replaced by the *lettres ramistes* *j* and *v*. The usual abbreviations are found in the MSS., especially in B L P. The copyist of L uses them almost everywhere possible. The following may be noted: *m't*, which we have resolved *molt*; *p* with bar is *par* or *per*, as *pe* for *pere*, *p* followed by a waved line towards the top is *por*, also *p* with bar is *por*. *9* is for *comme*, *qu'on* and *com+*, *con+* in compounds. The omission of *n* or *m* is indicated by a tilde. The manuscripts give sometimes *nm* and sometimes *mn*, but I have always resolved abbreviations *mm*. Sometimes the tilde is used abusively, and many apparent mistakes may well be due to the fact that the scribe forgot the tilde, e. g., 113, 862, 896, 999, 1134, 1304. *Qnt* = *quant*, *q'* = *que* and *qui*, *q'n* = *qu'en* or *qu'on*; the syllable *er* is frequently indicated by something like an apostrophe, as *t'mine* for *termine*.

VI. Language of the Copyists

As is to be expected the copyist of M has modernized his text in many cases. In details, B and L are generally in agreement. The following are the chief features of the language of P in contrast with that of B L M: in P there is less vocalization of *l*, as *del*,

⁷ Anyone who was in M. Bédier's class while he was preparing his edition of the *Lai de l'Ombre* for the *Société des anciens textes* or anyone who has read the introduction to that volume, is very bold indeed to propose to use a classification of manuscripts in order to constitute an Old French text.

dels, cels; for *en lo* we find in P *el* (1, 2), in B *ou*, in L *u* and in M the modern substitution *au*; P generally gives *out* for *ot* in B L M; P seems to prefer *ou* as in *prouz* (77), *pouvres* (86), *pitous* (85), *trouva* (138), *demoura* (138), *ennouroit* (91), *courage* (106), etc.; P has *co* (*cou* 9, *ceu* 270) for *ce* in B L M; *effanz* for *enfanz*, *en* or *un* often for *on*; *damledex* is the favorite form in P while B L M generally show some variation; *quer* and *quar* are preferred by the copyist of P, *car* by L M and very often simple *que* by B. Moreover the following forms⁸ should be noted in P: *voeir* (9), *soier* (835), *avoier* (730), *de monde* (14, 417, 440), *de latin* (45), *de jor* (152), *piere* (17), *eirt*⁹ (800), and *eies* (1220), *meins* (538); final *e*, generally of the feminine, is missing in *une* (198, 1039, 1089), in *ceste* (248, 1638), *ele* (1100), and *aie* (250), first singular of pres. Subj; *creient* for *crient* (*craint* 1650). Etymological *h* is often found in the forms of *avoir* and non-etymological *h* in *hus* (1358). *Rivire* (1039), *chires* (1635), *vengir* (1470) and other examples are *picard* forms.

In the inflexions of nouns and adjectives there is slight confusion in case. Counting *chascun* and *un* as the same, there are four examples of *un* for *uns*. We note *lion[s]* (654), *lou[s]* (667), *evesque[s]* (372) and *ostel[s]* (830). Otherwise the *murs* type has made inroads upon the *sire* and *emperere* type.

The rime in 365-6 furnishes an indication of capital importance for the language of the poet. This and other peculiarities will be treated in the notes.

VII. Versification

This version of the Eustache legend is written in the regular eight syllable line. Of the eleven versions five are in this popular form. The poet treats the ending *ier* according to its phonetic origin, sometimes as one syllable (343-4, 388, 559, 563-4, 595-6, 739-40), sometimes as two, = *i-ier* (537-8, 1257-8, 1359-60). In 409 two syllables, in 410 one syllable. The ending *iez* shows the same variation. Hiatus is found after *que* (105, 174, 748, 1199,

⁸ Also following in P: *aumounes* (110, 219, 222), *estranges* (537), *poeur* (487), *voeisins* (511), *loueir* (842), *voer* (1328), *anemis* (516), *fuiz* (817), *ennor* and usually *fame*.

⁹ Fut. of *estre*, also *iert* (305, 1562) and the prevailing imperfect is *ert*; *ierent* occurs once in P (128).

1524); and after *je* (234). Enclisis in *ses* (1637) for *se les* and *ses* (360, 1638) for *si les*, *jes* (787) for *je les*. The lines are in couplets, prevailingly with *rimes léonines*. The following are worthy of notice: 57-8, 79-80, 365-6, 1667-8. Enjambement, generally practiced in the eight syllable line to avoid monotony, is not often found in our poem.

LA VIE DE SAINT EUSTACHE

DE diverses mours se diversent
 Les genz qui el siecle conversent.
 Ausi com estez et yvers
 Sunt d' hores et de jorz divers;
 5 Si voit hom mes cels diverser
 Dun li biens deüst converser.
 Qui voit hom mes si contenir
 Qu'en le voie saint devenir?
 Çou souleit on voeir assez
 10 Au tens qui est pieça passez;
 Et si n'i a celui ne sache
 Que mort tret tout a li(e) et sache;
 Mourir et trespasser convient
 Quanques del monde nest et vient,
 15 Qui en ço se voit et esgarde
 D'aprochier le siecle se garde.
 S'[i]er fu mauves et hui est pire;
 Por ço le devons tuit despire,
 Li bon homme qui le deçurent
 20 Par le tormenz qu'il i reçurent,
 Qui douz lor furent au souffrir,

1 B M meurs, L mors.

2 el] B u, L ou, M au.

3 M Ainsi, B est.

4 P de hores, B L sont deures, M sont
 de tans et de jors.

5 M mais, B M ceus.

6 B L M Ou, M li genz, B le bien.

7 L Q voit on, M Cui voit on mais.

8 B M Con.

9 B L Ce, M Ne, B L M souloit on
 voeir, P voeir.

10 B L temps, M tans qui est piessa.

11 L Et sil, M Et ce.

12 L morz, M trait, L treit, B mors
 tres tout a lui ne sache, M luy.

13-22 missing in M.

13 L morir and covient.

14 L Qnq du monde, P de, L naist, B
 Qnquest du.

15 L Q en, B L ce.

17 L Sier, B Sier fu mauvez hui est il
 pire, P pier.

18 missing in B, L ce.

- Por leur ames a Deu offrir.
 Essample devrions la prendre
 Et la vie des sainz aprendre,
 25 Oïr souvent et recorder
 Pour les noz viez amender.
 Ço devrait estre nostre envie
 Tant com sommes en ceste vie,
 Qu'eüsson le souverain reingne,
 30 Que nostre Sire vit et reingne
 Et reingnera sanz finement.
 La vivront parmanablement
 Li bon, li net, li piu, li fin;
 A si grant joie qui n'a fin
 35 Devroit chascun[s] [s]entente avoir.
 Pour ço voulons ramentevoir
 La vie d'un saint et conter
 Qui molt est digne d'esconter:
 De mon seignor saint Eüstace
 40 Cui Dex donna si tres grant grace;
 Que [nus] qui le requiert et prie
 Ne faudra ja qu'il n'ait s'ai(d)e.
 A mon seignor saint Denis prist
 Sa vie Pierres qui la mist
 45 Et trest de latin en roumanz.
 Tels fu li grez et li commanz
 A un des seignors de l'Iglise
 En qui maint bonté et franchise,
 Quer bel set servise merir:

f. 84

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 20 L tourmenz. | 38 M fait bien a. |
| 21 B L a. | 39 M monseigneur, B eustasce. |
| 22 P lor leur, L lor ames a dieu, B leur. | 40 P Qui, B A cui diex donna si grant, M Qui diex donna issi grant. |
| 23 B L Example, M devries. | 41 B L M Que nus qui. |
| 24 L M les vies des. | 42 B L saie, M nest saide <i>with gloss n'aist. After 42 M has following,</i> |
| 27-28 missing in M. | A Rome fu de grant renon, Païen ert, Placidus ot non. Mais Diex de celle loi l'osta Ainsì comme vos l'orrez ja. |
| 27 B L ce devroit. | 43 M monseigneur. |
| 29 B L eussion <i>and</i> regne. | 44 B la prist. |
| 30 B L M sires <i>and</i> regne. | 45 L tret du, B du, M traist <i>and</i> romanz. |
| 32 B L M parmanablement. | |
| 33 M piu, P pur (?). | |
| 35 M Doit bien chaucuns. | |
| 36 B L M ce, M volons, B amentevoir. | |
| 37 M du. | |

- 50 Ne le lait endroit lui mourir.
 Ne vos tendrons ci longuement,
 Qu'or sommes au commencement
 De la vie qui ci commence,
 Plaine d'espiritel semence,
- 55 Qui en vos puisse semencier
 Par Deu qui soit au commencier.
 Au tens que Trajans l'emperere
 Reingnoit sur Roumains en l'empere,
 Ert Romme de paiens poeplee ;
- 60 De tel gent ert donc habitee :
 Mahons et ydres coutivoient,
 Desmesurement vivoient
 En ouvres, en faiz mausseanz.
 Et si ravoit il des creanz
- 65 Qui gardoient foi et creance,
 Mes poi avoient de puissance ;
 Pour ço se tenoient couvert,
 Croire n'osoient en apert
 Ne demonstrier lor foi aperte,
- 70 Quer des cors lor tornast a perte.
 Voirs est qu' adonc avoit a Romme
 Un paien, de sa loi prodomme.
 Il estoit Placidus nommez ;
 Riches ert moult et renommez,
- 75 A Rome de grant seignourie,
 Mestre de la chevalerie.

46 B Tiex, M Ce fu, L conmans.
 47 M seingneurs de l'Eglise, L lyglise.
 48 L M bontez.
 49, 50 *missing in M.*
 49 B L Car.
 50 B L lest endroit lui perir.
 51 B vous tendrons si.
 52 L M C or, P Quers.
 53 B si.
 54 M esperitel, B sentence.
 55 B vous.
 56 L dieu.
 57 B L temps, M tans.
 58 B L sor romains, M seur, P B empire, L M empere.
 59 B iert *and* peuplee, L M pueplee.

60 B iert.
 61 M Mahoin et ydles.
 63 L M oevres, B oeuvres, B L fez malseanz.
 64 M Et sil, L decreanz.
 66 L pou, B poissance.
 67 L Pour ce.
 69 M demostrier leur.
 70 *missing in M*, L Car discors.
 72 B M pseudomme, L prudomme.
 73 M nomez.
 74 M iert *and* renomez.
 75 L seignorie, M seingnorie.
 76 M Maistres.
 77 B fu preuz et sage, L iert pruz, M iert preu et sage.

- Molt ert prouz et sages de guerre,
 Bien savoit loinz et pres conquerre
 Cels qui erent contre l'empere.
 80 Durement l'amoit l'emperere,
 Quar sor touz li acomplisoit
 Les granz besoinz et fornisoit.
 Temprance, debonereté
 Franchise, sens, humilité
 85 Avoit en lui. Molt ert pitous
 Vers pouvres genz, vers soffretous
 Larges et aumouniers estoit.
 Orfelins et nuz revestoit
 Et rachetoit souvent de mort
 90 Les jugiez et les pris a tort.
 La riche gent molt ennouroit f. 85
 Et les decheüz secouroit:
 A toz fesoit bien volontiers;
 Molt lour ert humbles et entiers.
 95 Cil Placidas out endroit soi
 Fame molt vaillant de sa loi,
 Gente de cors et aligniee,
 Estraitte de haute ligniee
 Des plus nobles de la cité;
 100 De mors, de fez, par verité,
 Placidan son seignor sembla.
 Li uns bien(s) a l'autre asembla;
 Quar cil qui touz les biens assemble
 Les volt si assembler enseble

78 B M loing, L loign.

79 B Ceuz, L Celz, M Ceus qu estoient
 contre l empere, L empere.

80 M amperiere.

81 L Car, M Deseur.

82 B L M Ses, B fournissoit.

84 L sen, B senz.

85 L ert piteus, M iert piteus, B li mlt
 fu piteuz.

86 B L povre gent vers souffreteus, M
 povres and souffroiteus.

87 B L aumosniers.

88 M Orfenins.

90 B L M les repris.

91 B honouroit, L honnoroit, M hon-
 oroit.

92 L la povre gent, M les deceuz, L
 secoroit.

93 B tous fesoit mlt, L volentiers.

94 B lor fu, L lor, M leur iert.

95 M Cist, L M ot, B ot edroit.

97 *missing in M.*

100 B M meurs de faiz, L mours.

101 B L M Placidas, B seignour, M
 seigneur sambla.

102 L un bien, B unz bien.

103 L Car, B Que.

104 M voust, B assener.

- 105 Por ço que il s'entresenbloient.
Et d'un courage andous estoient,
Unes mours, unes volentez;
Se il estoit entalentez
De fere bien et ele plus.
- 110 N'ert mie lor avoires repus
A pouvre gent n'a mendianz.
Toz jorz estoit estudianz
En aumounes et e[n]bien faire.
Comme gentis et debonnaire,
- 115 Ele ert a[s] pouvres mere et suer,
Quer gentillece en gentile cuer,
Ço sachiez, ne se cele mie,
Ne qu'el vilain le vilanie.
Mout erent andui renommé,
- 120 Chieri estoient et amé
De leur amis et d'autres genz.
Deus filz orent et beaus et genz;
De semblant retrestrent au pere
Li enfançon et a la mere.
- 125 Andui fesoient d'els grant feste;
Vie menoient molt honeste,
Quer molt amoient honesté,
Toz jorz [i] ierent apresté. .
Molt par avoit Placidus chier
- 130 L'aler en bois et le chacier:
Tant l'amoit, ja n'en fust lassez.
Muets de chiens avoit assez,
- 106 L Ambe dui oelment, B Entreuz
II oelment, M En andeus oeil-
ment.
- 107 L meurs, B Dunes meurs dune,
M une.
- 110 B M N iert mie lour (lor B) avoir.
- 111 M As povres genz, B L povre.
- 112 B Tous jourz, L Tout jors, M A
des.
- 113 B L aumosnes, B M en bien, L em
bien fere.
- 114 B L gentilz et debonnere, M gen-
tius.
- 115 B iert, B L M as (aus B) povres.
- 116 L M Car gentillesce, M et gentis.
- 117 L M Ce, M le celle.
- 118 P Ne quil, L Ne q l, B M Ne que
(qu en M) vilain sa vilenie.
- 119 B furent.
- 121 B de lor genz.
- 122 M fuilz, B biaux, L biaux, M biaux.
- 123 M samblant retraitre.
- 124 B enfanconcon.
- 125 B deuz, M dans.
- 127 L Et, B Que, *missing in M*.
- 131 M Si and fu.

- A grant plenté de chaceörs,
De chevaliers, de veneörs.
135 Avint un jor qu'en bois ala f. 86
Com il souleït: quant il fu la
Et il out sa gent estableïe,
Il trouva, ne demoura mie,
Une grant compaignie de cers.
140 Du prendre fu et fis et cers;
Une grant compaignie de cers.
De touz les outres le plus grant;
Fu le jor couveïtous del prendre.
Cers commencierent a destendre
145 Si tost con li vinrent de pres,
Et chien et veneör après,
Qui mïelz m(u)ielz a un bruit sanz faindre.
Li cers qui plus beaus ert et graindre,
Que Placidus tant couveta,
150 Des autres cers se desrouta;
Chaçant l'ala seul sanz arest
Au lonc del jor par la forest.
Plusor de sa gent le sïvirent;
Tant chacerent qu'il recreïrent
155 Els meïsmes et lor chevaus.
Et Placidus par monz, par vaus
Sanz lui ne son cheval lasser,
Sanz destourbier, sanz mespasser,
Et vint en pres le cerf tendant,
160 Si com Dex volt vers un pendant,
Et por ço que le voir vos lise,

133 L cheaceors.

134 L veneours.

136 L Si com souloit, B M Comme il souloit.

137 B L M ot.

140 B fiz et sers, M fers.

142 le plus grant], B L M dont en grant, *gloss in* M desïreux.

143 couveïtous], B L M durement du.

145 B L M virent.

147 B miex miex, L mieulx miex, M mieuz mieuz.

148 B bel fu, L bel, M bïaus iert.

149 B L M couvoita.

151 M seus.

152 B L du, P de.

153 B Plusour, M Pluseurs *and* suivirent, P L lesvirent, B sïvirent.

154 L M chacierent, B recurrent, L recrerrent.

155 L chevax, M Eus, leur.

156 L vaux.

158 B L M destorber, M ne mespasser.

159 en pres], B L apres.

160 B vout en, L en, M voust.

161 L ce, M pourceque.

- Illec estoit une falise
 Ou il avoit un grant rochier
 Merveilles haut comme un clochier.
 165 La monta li cers de ravine.
 Mes la grant puissance divine
 Qui en sa main tout cest mont ha
 Le fist et vout qu'il i monta;
 Autrement n'i fust pas montez.
 170 Et Placidas fu arestez
 De devant le rochier aval,
 Toz esperduz seur son cheval
 De la merveille qui avint,
 Comment ce fu que il la vint.
 175 Or oiez con cortoisement
 Dex met le suen a sauvement,
 Et com bel set celui atrere
 Qui il aime por son bien faire.
 Remirer ici bien se doivent
 180 Cil qui le grant pechié deçoivent;
 Que nostre Sires ne velt mie
 La mor de l'omme mes la vie.
 Placidas molt se merveilla,
 En sun pensé molt traveilla,
 185 Comment porroit le cerf avoir.
 Mes Dex qui tout a le savoir
 Prist autresi illec son serf
 Com il vouloit prendre le cerf;
 La le vena sanz cop donner
 190 Com il vouloit le cerf vener;
 Cil qui sauva Cornelion
 Le torna a salvation.

f. 87

- 162 M Illeuc avoit une falise, *gloss*
 falaise.
 164 M Merveilleus.
 165 B L cers.
 166 B M poissance.
 167 B L tout ce.
 168 B L vout.
 170 B sest arrestez.
 171 P Devant, B L M De devant.
 172 B L M sor.

- 173 M quil.
 175 B L oez, courtoisement.
 176 B L sien, M les siens.
 181 B veult, M veust.
 185 B pourroit.
 189-190 *missing in P, given by B L M.*
 191 M cornelium.
 192 B L sauvation.
 193 M estoit.
 194 *missing in B, L M spon.*

Si comme Placidas se(st)oit
 Sor sen cheval, et il estoit
 195 En tel pensé con vos devis,
 Il torna vers le cerf son vis
 Qui lasus ert si fetement;
 Si vit un[e] croiz soudement
 Entre ses cors apparissant
 200 Comme soleil resplendissant.
 Entre les cors l'image sist
 De nostre Seignor Jhesu Crist;
 Cil qui tout a en son demaingne
 Donna au cerf reson humaine.
 205 Miracles fu granz, et penser
 Devons tuit por nos amender,
 Quant parole de cerf eisi.
 Et si trouvon nos qu'autresi
 Parla li asnes voirement
 210 A Balaam nommeement,
 Cui il respriest de sa folie
 Dont il maumist sa prophetie.
 Li cers Placidam apela
 Et Dex el cerf a lui parla
 215 Et dist, "Que me suis tu, amis?
 Por la grace de toi, sui mis
 En cest cerf et appareüz.
 Je sui Criz qui ai receüz
 Tes aumones et tes bien faiz
 220 Que tu as por m'amistie fez.
 Tes ovraignes ai bien veües
 Et tes aumones receü[e]s.

195 B penser.
 197 M iert (B) si faitement.
 198 M Si voit une (BL).
 199 P cornes, BL cors.
 201 P cornes, BL cors.
 202 B demaine, L demeine.
 203 *missing in L*.
 205 P el, BM et, L ou.
 206 M por ce.
 207 BL issi, M oissi.
 208 B *omits* Et, M *omits* qu.
 209 B arnes.

211 PB Que il, LM Cui il.
 212 BL malmist (maumist L) sa pro-
 fecie.
 213 BL placidas, M placidan.
 214 el], BM ou, L u.
 216 L Por, PBM Par.
 217 B ce.
 218 B crist, M jhesu crist.
 219 LM aumosnes.
 221 B ouvraignes (L) ai je, M ouv-
 rages.

- L'omme qui bien fait a merci,
 Venuz me sui demonstrier ci
 225 En cest cerf, ço te vuil aprendre,
 Por toi vener et por aprendre
 As roiz de ma misericorde.
 Ma volentez point ne s'acorde
 Que je te lais plus demourer
 230 A ces faus ydres aurer
 Qui sunt sanz sens et mut et vain;
 Cil qui les sert, si vit en vain.
 Por le mont de la mort deffendre
 Deingnai je en terre descendre,
 235 Si com tu voiz en tel semblance.
 Je descendi par ma puissance
 Por sauver le lingnage humain
 Que Sathan avoit en sa main".
 Quant Placidus out ço oï
 240 Esperduz del cheval chai
 Qui n'ert ne tant ne quant lassez.
 Et quant cil point fu trespassez,
 Il repera en sa memoire.
 Donc se dreça, ce est la voire,
 245 Desiranz qu'il eüst veü
 Ce que li ert appareü.
 Ce fu primes sa questions,
 "Qu'est," dist il, "cest[e] visions
 Qui m'est einsi appareüe?
 250 Molt desir que l'ai[e] veüe.
 Qui es tu qui a moi paroles?
 Fei moi entendre tes paroles,

222 B L M aumosnes.

223 qui], B L tret, M trait.

224 L Venu, B suis.

225 B ce cerf ce te voil, L ce te veill,
 M se te veilje.

226 B L pour toi prendre.

227 B Aus.

230 B M ydles.

231 nuz], B mu, L muz, M *correction*
 mut.

232 B le.

233 B L M monde de mort.

236 M La.

239 B L M ot ce.

240 B Esperdu du (L) cheva chei (L).

241 B L Quil niert, M *gloss* ni peu ni
 beaucoup.

242 B L Comme.

243 M repaire a, B son.

244 M Dont.

246 B iert, L fu, M est aperceu.

247 P *repeats* fu.

249 einsi], M icist, L ainssi.

250 L M aie seue, B veue.

251 M ies.

252 B L M Fai.

Les escleire si clerement
 Que je croie benignement
 255 En toi et en ce que t'oi dire".
 A donques li dist nostre Sire(s),
 "Entent, Placida, beaus amis,
 Je sui qui ciel et terre fis
 Et le jor commandai a naistre
 260 Et devisé la nuit a estre.
 Je sui qui doins au jor clarté
 De soleil par ma poësté
 Et les estoiles aörnai
 Ou firmament et ordenai
 265 Por servir a la nuit la lune
 Qu' a touz fu de clarté commune.
 Je sui qui compassai les tens
 Et establi et jorz et ans.
 Je sui qui fis homme de terre:
 270 Et se plus vels sor ceu enquerre, f. 89
 Je sui qui vesti char humaine
 Por sauver mon pouple de painne,
 Pour cui je fui crucifiez,
 Pour cui je fui pris et liez,
 275 Seveliz fui, puis visitai
 Enfer, dont mes amis getai
 Qui devant m'incarnation
 Aloient a perdition.
 Par pitié dels ouvrai ainsi
 280 Et au tierz jor resurrexi."
 Quant Placidas out escouté

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 253 B L Et esclaires (esclere L), M Et
m'esclaire si faitement. | 272 B peuple demaine, L M pueple de
peine. |
| 256 B L M sire. | 273-4 reversed in P. |
| 257 B L biax. | 273 M fu. |
| 258 M je sui cil qui. | 274 B L M fui (fu M) crucefiez. |
| 259-260 missing in P. | 275 M Sepeliz. |
| 261 L doign, M doing. | 277 M incarnation. |
| 262 B L Du, M Dou, L pooste. | 278 M perdition. |
| 263 B estoile aournai. | 279 L deuls, M d'aus. |
| 264 missing in P, L El, B M Ou. | 281 L M ot. |
| 266 L Car toz fust, M Qui tout fust. | 283 L Ce. |
| 267 B M le tans, L le temps. | 284 B chei. |
| 270 M Et si plus veus sor ce, L ce. | |

- Et en son cuer mis et noté
 Co qu'il ot dit de chief enchief,
 A terre chaī derechief
 285 Et dist, "Sire, je croi tres bien
 Que tu es Dex qui tote rien
 Formas de neent et feīs
 Et qui les tiranz convertis."
 Nostre Sires li dist adonc,
 290 "Placida, se tu croiz, va donc
 A l'evesque de la cité
 Qui garde la crestienté.
 Baptesme te doint," ço li di.
 Et Placidas li respondi,
 295 "Sire, ves tu que je descuevre
 Ma femme et mes effanz cest o[e]vre?
 Adonques li dist nostre Sire,
 "Ne te targier, amis, du dire,
 Mes nonce leur et fei entendre
 300 Qu'il reçoive[nt] sanz plus atendre
 Signe de baptesme avec toi.
 Puis vien ariere ci a moi.
 Derechief a toi m'apar[r]ai,
 Clerement te demosterei
 305 Tout ço qui t'iert a devenir
 Et comment tu devras tenir
 Les voies de ton sauvement."
 A tant s'en torna liement
 Placidas après sa reson,
 310 Si s'en vint droit en sa meson.
 A sa feme, la nuit, moustra
 Tout si com(me) Dex se demoustra
 A lui el cerf apertement;
 Quan qu'il out veü plainement

f. 90

285 B dit.

287 B noient, M nient et fesis.

288 B M erranz, L tirans.

292 B L M garde.

293 M Baptesme te doint ce (B L), P
et li, B doinst.

295 B veuz, L velz, M veus.

296 B ceste (L) euvre, L M oeuvre.

297 B L Adonques, P Adonc.

299 B M fai.

300 B rechoivent, L recoivent, M Qui
croient.

301 M baptesme.

302 B L arieres.

305 B L M a avenir.

307 M Les oeuvres.

308 B Adonc, B L M lieement.

309 L reison, M raison.

- 315 Li sot et bien et bel espondre.
Et la dame prist a respondre:
" Beau m'est, sire," dist ele a lui,
Quant vos avez veü celui
Qui fu el mont crucifiez
320 Qui aorez et depriez
Des crestiens est bonnement;
Car voirs Dex est il voirement,
Quant cels qu'il aime fet si dingnes
Qu'a soi les trait par ites singnes.
325 Pour verité vous repuis dire,
L'autre nuit vint a moi le Sire
Qui tant par est plains de pitié
Qu'a nuli ne faut d'amistié.
Moult doucement me dist itant,
330 ' Tu, tes sires et ti effant
Vendroiz demain ensemble a moi,'
Par ço conois je bien et voi
Que c'est Dex veritablement,
Qui se volt ainsi humblement
335 Moustrer a nos en tel semblance,
Por esmervellier sa puissance.
Sire, por Deu, ne demouron;
Je lo qu' anuit nos baptizon,
Quar a Deu sont cil deraisnié
340 Qui de baptesme sunt seignié,
Pour qu'en lui croient bonement."
N'i firent puis porloignement;

311 L M fame.

313 el], B M ou, L u.

314 L ot.

315 sout], P sor (?), B sor, L sot,
M sa.

317 B Biau mes.

319 P crucifiet *with z above*, M ou
mont.

321 B voirement.

322 B vraiz diex est il vraiment, L
vrais.

323 B ce quil.

324 B itiex, L par mlt de, M iteus.

326 P le.

328 B L nului, M A nuluy.

330 P ti sires, L Toi, M Tu et toi
sire, B L M enfant.

331 B Vendrez, M Venrez ensemble o
toi a moi.

332 L M ce, M connoie.

334 M Qui si vient.

336 M poissance.

337 demoromes.

338 B L en nuit, M an nuit, M bautis-
somes.

339 B L desrenie, M desrainie *gloss*
adjudé.

A l'evesque sanz porloignier
 Vindrent con cil qui resoignier
 345 Ne voudrent ne targier l'afaire.
 Adonc li pristrent a retrere
 De chief en chief leur vision
 Et tote l'aparition,
 Si com(e) Dex a els s'aparut
 350 Qui pour nous com(me) hon morut.
 De lui amer entalenté
 Li requistrent crestrienté.
 Quant l(i) evesques out ço oï,
 Moult devint liez, moult s'esjoï
 355 De ço que Dex ainsi les prist.
 Leur foi leur moustra et aprist
 Molt bonement et enseingna;
 Et puis après les prinseigna,
 Et quant lor ot moustré creance
 360 Ses baptiza sanz demourance,
 De cuer joiant, de chiere clere,
 El non de Damledeu le Pere
 Par qui toz biens est consummez.
 Cil qui Placidus ert nomez
 365 Eüstaches apelez fu;
 Espris de l'espritel fu.
 El baptesme la dame après
 Fu apelee Theopés,
 Li einz nez fiz Agapius,
 370 Et li autres Theospitus.
 Quant li servises fu finez
 Et chascun[s] de foi doctrinez
 Et bien estruiz et aloiez,
 L(i) evesque[s] lor dist, "Or soiez

f. 91

340 baptesme sont saingnié.

341 L li, M en Dieu.

342 B prolongnement puis], M pas.

343 B prolongnier.

345 M atargier.

346 M repristrent a retraire.

348 B aparution, M toute l'aparicion.

349 B L eulz.

350 P homme, M si con Diex morut.

353 B L M ot ce oi.

358 M pourseingna.

360 L Les, M bautissa sanz demorance
(L).

362 B M Ou, L U nom nostre seignor.

364 B L M fu.

366 B feu, M esperitel.

367 L u.

368 B L theospes, M Theophes.

369 M filz (L) Agapitus.

370 M Therositus.

371 L service.

372 M chaucuns.

- 375 A Deu commandé, qui vos gart;
O vos est et en vos a part
Si que bien le conois et voi.
Por Deu ramenbre vos de moi
Quant lasus seroiz en son reigne
380 Ou il a toz jorz vit et reigne."
A ces paroles n'i out el;
S'en revindrent a lor hostel.
L'endemain quant il ajorna
Eüstaches ne sejorna.
385 Droit vint au mont que il savoit
Si com(e) Dex rové li avoit.
Et quant il fu pres del rochi[e]r
Ausi com se fust pour chacier
Envoia par le bois sa gent,
390 N'i remest fors lui seulement.
A lui s'aparut maintenant
Damedex, si comme devant,
N'i out adonques detrié.
Mains jointes, cuer humilié,
395 Vint a genolz et prist a dire:
" Tu es Jhesu Criz, beau[s] douz Sire;
El Pere, el Fil croi bonement
Et el Saint Esprit ensement.
Uns seus Dex es en Trinité;
400 Si te pri par ta deité
Que dies ço que m'as promis."
Et Damedex li dist: " Amis,
Buer fus nez qui as receü
Baptisme, qu'or as deceü

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- | | |
|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 375 L quil. | 390 B for li. |
| 376 L et o vous. | 392 B Jhesu crist, L Nostre seignor, |
| 378 M rembrez. | M Dame Diex. |
| 379 B M serez, B L M regne. | 393 M gloss differé, L ot. |
| 383 B <i>omits</i> alor, L A lendemain 9 | 395 B M genouz. |
| ajorna. | 399 B L seul, M est. |
| 385 P quil. | 400 B Se. |
| 386 B L M rouve. | 402 B L Et diex si li a dit. |
| 387 B L du rochier, M du rogchier. | 403 B L Ber, B creu, M Beneures ies |
| 388 P ce, B L se fust. | qui recut. |

- 405 Le deable, qui t'avoit pris :
 Dolenz est molt et entrepris.
 Morz estoies, or es en vie,
 Desormés aura il envie
 De toi partou[t] contralier ;
 410 Ne finera mes d'aguetier,
 Molt se haste de toi grever.
 Or te convient molt estriver,
 Endurer maus et soutenir,
 Que tu puisses a moi venir
 415 Et recevoir sens en ma gloire
 Sanz fin, coroné de victoire.
 Es biens de[1] mont et es plentez
 Es molt essauciez et montez.
 Or te convient humilier
 420 Et pour m'amor apovrier
 Et garder et tenir mes voies
 Que derechief essauciez soies
 Es richeces espiritels.
 Or soies de vertu itels
 425 Que pour destrece ne regarde
 As biens qu'auras eü en garde.
 Mes ausi con tu t'as penné
 Es granz estors et ahané
 Qu'en te tenist por veinqueör
 430 Por un mortel empereör.
 Einsint soies de granz efforz
 Et abstinanz et preuz et forz
 Contre le deable, pour moi
 Qui ne puis mourir ne ne doi.

404 M As bausteme core as recut.

405 B L Le, P li.

407 L M ies.

408 B Desoremes.

409 B contrarier, M a mal traitier.

410 L agaitier.

412 L covient.

413 L mals, B L soustenir.

415 B L sanz, M ceans.

417 M Ou bien du mont et en, B L du
 mont.

418 P El (?), B M Ies, L Es.

423 B epiriteulz, M esperitieux.

424 B vertus iteulz, L vertuez itelz, M
 itieus.

426 B auras en ta garde.

427 B ties pene, L tes.

428 B Et es granz estours a henne, L
 et en hane, M et habite.

429 B Con te tenoit pour vainqueur,
 M ten.

430 B empereour.

431 L Aussi, M Ausi, grant effort.

432 L pruz, M astinanz.

434 L morir.

- 435 En mon poeir est morz et vie,
 Tot ai je molt en ma ba[i]llie.
 Pour le grant Roi espiritel
 Dois bien guerpier le roi mortel,
 Quar tot muert et neent devient
 440 Quant que de[1]monde nest et vient.
 Se te perz, te retroveras,
 Por perte mal t'esmaieras,
 Ne por mal souffrir pou ne trop;
 De toi ferai un autre Job,
 445 Por endurer temptations.
 Garde que cogitations
 De mal en ton cuer ne se bout;
 Quer quant au net seras de tout
 Apovriez, a toi vendrai,
 450 Tres bien ariere te rendrai.
 Or eslis, amis Eüstace,
 Conbien tu vels avoir d'espace
 As tentations recevoir
 Dont je t'ai demonstré le voir,
 455 Comment tu t'i devras tenir.
 Vels i tu tot ou tart venir?
 Di moi lequel tu vels eslire."
 Il respondi or en droit, "Sire,
 Mes bonement te pri que tu
 460 Me donnes del souffrir vertu,
 Que ne me meuve de toi unques."
 Et Damledex li dist adonques,
 "Fers en foi soies, Eüstace,
 Qu'avec toi est la moie grace."

f. 93

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 435 B pouoir ai mort, L M pooir, L
est mort. | 448 L Q'quant anet, B L ieres du tout,
M Et quant a net eres du. |
| 436 B Donc, L M ai le mont en ma
baillie. | 449 a toi], M adont. |
| 437 B M esperitel. | 450 B Tous biens, L M Tes biens. |
| 439 B Qui, L Que, B M nient. | 453 temptations. |
| 440 B L M Quanque du, M nait. | 454 M or nostré. |
| 441 P tu perz tu, M recouverras. | 455 B tu te. |
| 442 mal], B L M mar, M tesmoieras. | 456 B L M tost. |
| 443 B ne pour trop, M poi, L Ne p"
mal souffrir ne p" trop. | 460 B doingnes (M) de, L Mes
doignes du. |
| 446 B L Gardes. | 461 P venes, B L meuve, M mueve. |
| 447 L omits ne, M sabout. | 462 B Et diex si li a dit, L Et diex li
respondi, M Nostre sire. |

- 465 Donc s'en monta es ciels atant.
 Et il avec sa gent hastant
 A sa meson s'en repara;
 A sa fame tot esclaira.
 Lor mains a Damledeu tendirent,
 470 Merciz et graces li rendirent,
 Et distrent, "Sire, molt nos hete;
 Or soit vostre volenté fete."
 Einsint se contindrent en bien,
 Mes, ce sachiez, par els fu bien
 475 A leur gent celez cist aferes.
 Aprés ce ne demoura guerres
 Que leur maisnie leur mourut,
 Quar de bout sor leur corut
 Une mortalité itels
 480 Que touz envuida leur ostiels.
 Nis lor bestes en cel termine
 Morurent totes de morine.
 Tot perdirent, bestes et homes,
 Fors leur deus enfanz, ço trouvomes.
 485 Por ço ne se desconforterent,
 Comme cil qui en Deu fort erent,
 Quar de tel pöeur est sa force
 Que les suens en toz biens efforce.
 'Andui por ce peril mortel
 490 Se partirent de leur ostel f. 94
 A tot leur enfanz a celee.
 Don refu leur meison robece
 De larons qui partot entrerent
 Et dras et avoir en porterent.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 463 B Ferm, L eustaces. | 480 B lor ostiex, L lor ostelx, M lour ostieus. |
| 465 B L ciex, M cieus. | |
| 467 P renpara, B M repaire, L repera. | 481-2 missing in L. |
| 468 L esclera. | 481 B M Nes, B M Ce. |
| 470 li], B lors. | 482 B mourine, M morille. |
| 471 M haite. | 483 L fames et homes. |
| 472 M faite. | 487 B pouoir, L M pooir. |
| 473 L Ainssi, M Ains. | 488 B L M siens. |
| 474 B L eulz. | 489 B cest, L perilg. |
| 475 B cest, M cel. | 492 B L Donc, M Adonc fu leurs maison ralee. |
| 476 B gueres, L M gaires. | 493 L Des. |
| 477 B mesnie (L) si morut, M mais. | 494 L draps, M avoires. |
| 478 B seure lor, M de haut seure lor. | |
| 479 B itiex, M mortalitez itieus. | |

- 495 Après ço petit demoura
 Qu(e) Eüstace s'en repera,
 Sa fame avec, et li enfant,
 Dont il avoient pitié grant.
 Quantques de loinz out assemblé,
 500 Trova tot pris et tot emblé;
 N'i ot remés en l'otel rien
 Fors les pierres et le mesrien:
 A neent lor richece vint.
 Mes de Deu tozjors leur souvint,
 505 En cui amor n'a point d'amer.
 Por ço le fet molt boen amer,
 Kar s'amor est sanz amertume.
 De leur perte ne firent frume.
 En la contree povrement
 510 Demorerent celeement,
 Por leur voeisins furent hontous,
 Quar molt estoient soffreitous.
 Li empereres entretant
 Tint une feste riche et grant,
 515 Por ce qu' a lui avoit sozmis
 Cels de Perse, ses anemis.
 La feste ert por la victoire.
 Adonques li vint en memoire
 Placidas qui la seignorie
 520 Avoit de la chevalerie.
 Molt pensa qu'il ert devenuz,
 Quant a la feste n'ert venuz.
 Corociez en fu et dolenz,
 Toz en remua les talenz,
 525 Kar molt l'âmoit de grant amor.
 Lors li fist querre sanz demor.

497 L M si enfant.

498 M avoit.

500 B robe.

501 B L M ostel.

502 B L M merrien.

503 M A nient (B) lor chose devint.

506 B bon, M bien, L boen (?).

508 P summe, B L M frume.

511 B L M voisins, L hontelz.

513 M emperieres.

515 P que a, B l: avoit souzmis, M
 soumis.

516 B Ceuz, M Ceaus.

517 B M fu.

521 B M iert.

522 B L M iert.

524 L ses talenz, M son talent, M *has*
gloss on remua = changea.

525 B L Que.

526 B L M le.

Mes ne le porent par la terre
 Trover, tant ne le sorent querre.
 Einsint furent repostement

530 Por leur povreté longuement.

La dame qui molt estoit sage
 Et envers Deu de fin courage,
 De rien en foi ne chancela.

Son seignor dist, ne li cela :

f. 95

535 " Sire, por Deu, alom de ci,
 Miulz vuïel estre en autrui merci,
 Et les estranges genz prier
 Qu'entre les miens ci mendier.
 Trop nos auroient en despit."

540 Une nuit sanz plus de respit
 S'acheminèrent sanz seü,
 Que d'aucun ne fussent veü,
 A toz leur enfanz vers Egypte
 S'en alerent, sanz plus, de suite.

545 Tant errerent d'ilec endroit
 Qu'a une mer en vindrent droit.
 Une nef illeques troverent,
 Por passer dedenz s'en entrerent.
 Li sires qui la nef garda

550 La dame vit et esgarda.
 Molt par li plout en son courage,
 Car de cors ert et de visage
 Plesanz et bele durement.
 Il conmanda hastivement

555 La nef del port en eslognier ;
 Et il si firent sanz targier.
 En mer s'empaingnent : bon vent orent
 Et cil de la mer assez sorent.
 A siglier itant estriverent

528 B Trouver tant le seussent, M
 tant le sussent quarre.

529 B L M Ainsi, L repostement.

530 M poverte.

532 B ferme (M) corage, L fin.

535 B L M alons.

536 P autri, B L M Mieux veil estre
 en autrui.

538 P meins.

539 M aroient.

545 B diluecques droit, M de lonc en
 droit.

547 B M illeuques.

551 B plut, L M plot.

552 B L fu, M iert.

553 B L Plesant, M Plaissant.

555 en], et.

557 P L agree in senpeintrent (3), B
 M sempaingnent.

- 560 Qu'a port d'autre part ariverent,
Si comme Dex le conmanda.
Li pris de la nef demanda
Tot esrament li notunniens
Qui feux estoit et pautonniens.
565 Eüstace[s] n'ot que paier.
Forment se prist a esmaier.
Dementer riens ne li valut,
Au notonnier point n'en chalut
Qui la dame voloit avoir.
570 Il n'en preïst nul autre avoir,
Einsint l'avoit a son oes pris
Sa beautez dont il ert espris.
Eüstace[s] n'ot que doner,
Molt le prist a aqueisonner.
575 Feux ert et pleins de cruelté,
De hommes, de genz out grant plenté.
Il conmanda qu'en le preïst,
Sil boutast on hors et meist.
La dame fu molt esmarrie,
580 Donc s'escria, " Sainte Marie,
Ne soufrez que perde m'ennor,
Ne mes effanz ne mon seignor."
Cil furent d'ire destrempé
Et la force si paist le pré.
585 N'ot vers els nul deffendement.
Hors le bouterent esrament,
Avec lui ses deus effançons.
Criz et plors estoit lor chançons ;
A leur petit sens bien savoient

e

f. 96

559 M et au sigler tant.

560 B L M au port.

561 L jhu.

562 B restores line on the margin.

563 B L errament, M maintenant.

564 B L M fel.

565 M not de quoi.

568 point], L riens.

569 B Que, B L vouloit.

570 B preïst, M presist, L P prist, P nule.

571 B L M Ainsi, B oeuz, M en son

cuer.

572 B L biaute dont il fu, M biautez
after 573 M repeats 566.

574 B L achoisonner, M achasonner.

575 M Fel, B est (fu L) et planz de
cruaute (M), L cruiaute.

577 B L on, M presist.

578 M Sel boustat on fors et mesist.

581 B L M monor.

584 B L pest.

588 L la.

- 590 Que leur mere perdue avoient.
 Ele se prist a dementer
 De ço qu'ele vit hors geter
 Ses effançons et son seignor.
 Onques mes n'ot nul doel greignor.
- 595 En la mer se volt trebuchier.
 Cil l'acoururent redrecier.
 Donc commença a detirer
 Chevels, et dras a descirer,
 Por poi li cu[e]rs ne li partoît,
- 600 De ço qu'einsint se departoit
 Ses boens sires qui tant l'ama.
 Damledeu del cuer reclama,
 Que del tyrant la deffendist
 Et qu'a son seignor la rendist
- 605 Sauf son cors et sauve sa foi.
 Et Dex en prist itel conroi
 Que cil n'autres ne la toucha
 Ne por pechier ne l'aprocha.
 A la dame ot grant amistié
- 610 Sanz fere nule mauvestié
 Li notonniers tote sa vie.
 Oï avez con fu ravie:
 Or vos eirt dit soulonc la letre,
 Sanz riens oster ne sanz riens me(s)tre,
- 615 Des maus qu' Eüstaces soustint,
 Et comment apres se contint
 Quant cil de la nef le geta.
 Ses enfanz tint: molt regreta
 Sa fame qui li ert tolue:
- 620 "Alas," dist il, "tant est moulue
 En duel ma joie, quant n'ai mie
 Avec moi de ma bone amie
- 594 B L duel, M tel deshonor, M *adds*
a third line, ne n ot au cuer si
 grant dolor.
- 595 B vot, M vost.
- 597-598 *missing in L*.
- 597 M haut a crier.
- 599 P curs.
- 601 B De ses bons (L) sires quele
 ama.
- 602 B Jhesu crist souvent.
- 607 M nautré *with gloss* nautouniers.
- 610 B L M Sanz fet de.
- 613 B vous ay dit, L iert, B L M selonc.
- 614 B et sanz rienz metre, L et sanz i
 metre, M oster alonge ne mestre.
- 616 M et con faitement se.
- 620 B mlt fu, L si est, M si ert.

- Qui m'estoit assoägemenz, f. 97
 Solaz et reconfortemenz.
- 625 Bone dame, leal compaignie,
 A bon droit a moi s'accompaigne
 Doleurs qui me fait compaignie;
 Avoir en doi bien ma partie.
 Bien sai que trop en a grant part
- 630 Vostre cuers qui ne se depart
 De loeauté, ainz s'i tient fort.
 Or n'ai ge, las! qui me confort,
 Fors mes enfanz qui me confortent.
 Mes petit de confort me portent,
- 635 Quer lor sens ne le set porter;
 Si les me convient conforter,
 Por ço les acol et enbraz."
 Andeus les tint entre ses braz;
 Adonc s'en torna tot plorant
- 640 A une riviére courant.
 Illecques endroit s'en ala,
 Passer i vout: quant il vient la,
 D'aler outre fu molt en grant,
 Mes redde vit l'egue et grant,
- 645 Si le redouta durement.
 Por passer outre sauvement,
 Mist un des enfançonez jus
 Desus la rive un poi ensus:
 A tot l'autre l'evie passa.
- 650 Quant outre fu si le lessa
 Seänt de joste la riviére;
 Por l'autre retorna arriere.
 Si come enmi l'egue i estoit
 La vint del bois un[s] lion[s] droit;

622 B L Avecques moi ma.
 623 M estuet assouagemenz (B).
 625 B loial, M loiaus.
 627 B Douleur, L Doulor, M Dolors.
 629 M ai grant.
 630 L vostre cuer (B) q'l.
 631 B L loiaute.
 632 las], B mes.
 635 B ne les set, M ne lour set.
 638 L Andels.
 640 B M Vers.

641 B Diluecques, L Dileques, M
 Djlesques.
 642 L volt, M Passer voloit, B L M
 vint.
 644 B L M rade, B leve, L leaue, M
 liaue et moult grant.
 646 B L M la.
 648 M Deseur.
 649 B leve, L liaue, M laigue.
 651 L de de joustte (B M).

- 655 L'enfançon prist, si l'en porta.
 Eüstaces un pleint geta
 Quant son enfant en vit porter;
 Adonc se prist a dementer.
 "Que devendrai?" dist il, "chaitis,"
- 660 Or ai je droit se m'aatis
 Au plus dolereus de cest mont,
 Quer porpris et acolli m'ont
 Totes douleurs; las! que ferai?
 Vers cetui ça retournerai
- 665 A cestui qui remes m'est ça."
 Einsint con vers lui s'adrecà,
 La vint uns lou[s] qui prist l'effant. f. 98
 Adonc par ot un doel si grant
 Qu'a poi li cuers ne li fendi.
- 670 A plorer iloc s'entendi,
 Son duel reconmença a faire,
 Poinz de tordre, chevex a traire.
 "He Dex," dist il, "or i a fort,
 Quer or n'ai ge qui me confort,
- 675 Ne liu(e) ne truis ou je remaingne,
 Ne n'ai amis qui me complaigne;
 Touz bien[s] me faut et m'amenuise,
 Ie ne voi rien qui ne me nuise.
 Molt par me doi ore hair."
- 680 El gué se volt lessier chair.
 Par maintes fois s'i poroffri.
 Mes Dex nel vout, ne ne soffri,
 Qui son angle li envoia
 De par lui li dist et pria,

653 B L M *omit* i.

654 M La vint un leus du bois tout
 droit.

656 B L *plaint*, M *cri*.

659 M *devenrai*, L *dit*, B L *chetis*.

660 M *ahatis with gloss* je compare.

661 B Li, L *ce mont*.

664 B L M El ni voi je retournerai.

665 M A celui.

666 B L M *Ainsi*, M *donc vers*, B *li*.

667 B *lou*, L *leu*, M *Un lyons vint*, P

loins (?).

668 L M *Adont*, L M *duel*, B *deul*.

669 B A *poi le cuer* (L).

670 B *illuec*, L *ilec sestendi*, M *jillec*.

672 M *de* (L) *tuerdre*.

674 *Missing in* B.

675 B L *Nulieu*, M *Nul liu*.

676 M *Nami ne truis*.

680 B u (L) *gues se vout lessier*
cheir, M *Ou gue se voust*.

683 M *Que*.

- 685 "Eüstace, ne te recroire
De Deu amer ne de lui croire.
Ne te met en desesperance.
Encor seras en grant puissance."
Eüstaces del guei eissi
- 690 Plourant, plaignant de ce qu'einsi
Avoit ses enfançons perduz.
Molt par fu vain[s] et esperduz,
Tant out crié, tant out ploré,
Quer il cuida que devouré
- 695 Fussent andui; bien le pensa.
Mes Dex les gueri et tensa;
Quer les deus bestes qui les pristrent
Ne les blecierent ne maumistrent.
De pastoreaus, de chaceörs,
- 700 Et de serjanz et d'areörs
Furent andui rescous toz sain
Cum s'il fussent tret de leur sain.
Illec[ques] laissa bien voeir
Sa grant vertu et son poeir.
- 705 A une vile ilueques pres,
Ou cil manoient pres a pres,
Furent porté li effançon;
La furent mis a norriçon.
Eüstaces mot n'en savoit
- 710 De ço que Dex sauvé avoit f. 99
Ses effanz dont molt ert muëz.
"Las!" dist il, "si sui esnuëz
Des granz biens ou jadis manioie
Et des genz qu'avec moi tenoie

684 M proia.
686 B L et de lui (li L M).
688 M ieres de, B poissance.
689 B L M du gue issi (oissi M).
690 M porce quainsi.
691 B L deux enfanz.
692 B mlt e fu vainz, L veins, M vains.
693 B en ot crie et ploure, L ot et crie
et plore.
696 B M gari.
697 B Que, L Q', B L M qui les, P
quil les.

698 B L mal mistrent.
699 M des areors.
700 M des veneors.
701 B tuit.
703 B Illuec, B L M veoir, P voeir.
704 B pouoir, L M pooir.
705 M viloi grant, P illec.
706 cil], M moult.
710 P lavoit.
711 P meuz, B fu muez (L).
712 P esneuz, B L M esnuez.

- 715 Or sui toz seus; mes tu, beau[s] Sire,
 Ne me guerpîr, ne me despire,
 Einsî comme tu me feîs.
 Bien me menbre que me deîs,
 Sire, que tant me tempteroies
 720 Qu' un autre Job de moi feroies.
 Mes molt puis plus en moi voeir;
 Job out le femir ou soeir
 Li liesoit, mes ço n'ai je mie.
 Einz moi est tot rien[s] enemie
 725 Nis les bestes qui devorez
 Ont mes fuiz dont sui esplorez.
 En pitié, Pere, me regarde,
 A ma boche met bone garde
 Que rien ne die ne ne face
 730 Dont a voeir perde ta face."
 Pres de cel gue ou il estoit
 Dementie[r]s qu'il se dementoit
 Ert une vile grant et lee
 Qui Dadissus ert apelee.
 735 La s'en vint droit, illec ovra
 Tant que son vivre i recovra.
 Ileques hanta longuement;
 Amer se fist tant a la gent
 Qu'entre els ne le voudrent leissier.
 740 De leur blé le firent messier,
 A loier einsî labora,
 Pres de XV anz i demora.
 Illecques pres estoit li leus
 La ou li lions et li leus

717 M fesîs.

718 M desîs.

719 M Sires *and* tanteroies.

721 L veoir, P voeir.

722 B L fumier ou soeir, P soeir.

723 B lesoit, L lisoit, M loisoiz.

725 B Niz, L Neiz, M Nes.

726 B enfanz dont esplourez, L filz, M
 fuilz.

727 pere], B petit.

728 B L M bouche.

730 L aveoir, M a avoir perde ta

grace, B ta grace *and in margin*
 face.

731 cel], B L ce.

732 L M Dementiers, B Dementres.

733 B Ot.

734 B L fu, M iert.

735 B L M ouvra.

736 B L M *omit* i.

738 tant], B mout.

741 B A louier.

743 B ier li vileuz, L M ert (iert M)
 li vileus.

- 745 Orent lessié les deus enanz.
 Li uns n'ert l'autre connoissanz
 N' Eüstaces ne savoit mie
 Que il fussent remés en vie.
 En cel termine, c'est la somme,
- 750 Envaïrent une genz Rome.
 Li empereres fu em paigne
 De maintenir la gent romainne;
 Grant plenté de genz li convint.
 De Placida donc li souvint f. 100
- 755 Qui si bien li gardoit sa terre.
 Il le conmanda lors a querre
 Et dist qui trouver le porroit
 Que granz richece li dorroit
 Et lui rendroit sa seignorie
- 760 Qui ert soe d'ancesorie.
 Dui chevalier qui molt l'amerent
 Par le regne querre l'alerent
 Li uns out non Antiochus
 Et li autres Agathius
- 765 Par molt lonc tans lor voie tindrent
 Tant que par aventure vindrent
 A la vile de Dadissus
 Qu'einsi vos nommai ça dessus.
 Eüstaces qui la manoit
- 770 Hors de la vile seus venoit.
 Cels vit dont il ne s'egarda;
 Mout durement les esgarda,
 Quar a Rome les out veüz;
 Donc fu de penser esmeüz.
- 775 Bien les reconnut el venir,
 A donc li prist a souvenir
 Des granz biens ou il fu jadis.
 "Dex," dist il, "Roi de paradis,
 Otroie moi par ta merci

746 B nest, L net (?), M iert.

748 *Missing in M.*

750 B L unes genz, M une gent a.

752 M Du.

754 donc], B L lors.

758 B L M donroit.

760 B M iert seue.

762 L q'rant.

770 M Fors *and* manoit, B seul.

774 M Dont.

775 B L M au venir.

- 780 Qu' ausi come je voi ces ci
 Dont je garde ne me donoie
 'Ausi voilles tu que je voie
 Ma compaigne, ma bone amie.
 De mes effanz ne dout je mie
- 785 Qu'il ne soient alé a fin.
 Si te pri, Sire, de cuer fin
 Que jes voie presentement
 Au jor de ton grant jugement."
 A ces paroles qu'il rendi
- 790 Une voiz del ciel descendi
 Qui li dist donques, c'est la voire,
 "Eüstace, ne te despoire,
 Mes tien te ferme en foi toz tans,
 Quar tu repareras par tans
- 795 A t'enor et retroveras
 Ta moullier, et tes fuiz rauras.
 A la grant resurrection
 Vesras la delectation
- 800 Et tis nons iert magnifiez
 El siecle pardurablement."
 Eüstaces tot esrament
 S'asist de poor a la terre.
 Cels qui partot l'aloient querre
- 805 Vit aprochir la ou il jut:
 Plus vindrent pres mienz les conut.
 Mes cil de lui ne s'aperçurent
 N'a cele fois ne le connurent.
 Contre els vint, si le saluerent

f. 101

778 L dit, B M rois.

779 P ta bonte merci.

782 B voilles, L M veilles.

784 L dot, M dou.

785 M Qu i, B L alez.

786 M proie.

787 L Que v' voie.

789 M Qu i.

792 M desespoire.

793 B L M tien toi.

794 toz partans.

795 B A toneur repereras, L tonnor.

M tonneur et retorneras.

796 B L M moillier, B L filz, M raras.

797 M omits grant.

798 B L M verras, B delectationion,

M delestacion.

799 B L M bons.

800 B Et ce nons iert, L Icist nons
 ert, M Et tes nons iert, P eirt.

801 B M Ou, L u.

803 B M paour, L paor.

806 M Plus les vit et mieuz.

- 810 Et il els : puis la resonnerent
Molt bonement et sanz boufoi.
"Frere," distrent il, "en ta foi
Di nos se tu sez nule ensaingne
D'un home, si le nos ensaingne
815 Qui Placidus avoit a non.
A Rome fu de grant renon
Deus fuiz et une fame avoit."
Il leur dist que rien ne savoit
De tel homme com il querroient,
820 Puis demanda qu'il li voleient.
"Il ert," distrent il, "nostre amis,
En longue peingne nos a mis
De lui quere; tant l'amions
Molt volentiers le verrions."
825 "Itel home, mien escient,
Ne conois je," dist il, "neent;
Ici demiur, si gart ces blez;
Mes por ço que vos me semblez
Bone gent et de bon afere
830 S'uimés vos velt li ostel[s] plere
Itel con je le vos ferai,
Venez, je vos herbegeré."
A l'ostel merciablement
Vindrent ovec lui esranment.
835 Reposer les fist et soeir
Quer molt les ama a voeir.
Puis dist a conseil non seingnor
"Sire, por Deu et par amor
Vos requir, se ne vos ennuit,

807 M saparrut.

808 B L foiz.

809 B L M vint il, P vindrent si.

810 M Et il apres araisonnerent.

811 P L boufai, M bafoi *with gloss*
bufoi = orgueil.

812 L dient il.

817 L II filz, B filz, M Deus, P Dela.

818 B L M nen savoit.

821 B iert, L dient il, M nos amis.

823 tant], L mlt, M Pour.

824 M Que.

824 M Un tel.

826 B Ne connoiz ce dit (L) noient
(M), L nient.

827 B demour, L demour, M demeure ci.

830 P Su mes, B L Sui mes, M Sui
mais.

834 B L M avec.

835 P soier, B L Seoir.

836 P B L veoir.

837 B M dit.

838 M pour Dieu et pour honor.

- 840 Que me faciez avoir anuit
 A ces deus homes a despendre;
 De mon loueir le voldrai rendre.
 Il sunt andui mi conoissant
 En leur terre sunt molt puissant.”
- 845 Li sires fist sa volenté
 Et il lor donna a plenté
 Vin et viandes sanz dangier,
 Devant els servi au mengier.
 A plourer souvent se prenoit
- 850 Quant des enors li souvenoit
 Ou jadis avoit demouré;
 Et quant la hors avoit plouré,
 Euz essuiez, face lavee,
 A la table sanz demouree
- 855 Devant els servir revenoit;
 Einsi plourant se contenoit.
 Souvent avant, souvent ariere,
 Il esgarderent sa maniere,
 L’aler de lui et le venir,
- 860 Son parler et son contenir.
 “Andui i pristrent garde ensemble
 Estrangement,” dist li u[n]s, “semble
 Cist hom Placidam de faiture,
 De contenance, de stature.
- 865 Tel vis avoit et tel semblant,
 Toz ert itels et de tel grant.”
 Li autres dist, “Cil que queromes,
 Por qui en tele paine somes,
 Avoit une plaie sanz faille
- 870 Sor la temple d’une bataille
 Ou je fui, bien l’ai en memoire;
 Se cist l’a, donc poons nos croire

839 B L M requier.

842 L M loier.

844 B lor, sont, poissant.

850 B de honours, M honeurs.

853 B Eulz, L Elz, M jeuz.

857 B et avant et arriere.

858 L regarderent.

860 P son tenir.

861 M sen pristrent.

863 B M homs, placidas.

864 B M et de stature.

865 M samblance.

866 B L M iert, B autel.

870 B Souz.

872 M Se cil la donques poons croire,
 B pouons nous, L nous poons
 bien croire.

- Que c'est Placidas sanz doter."
A la table revint ester
875 Devant els debonement
Et chascus ententivement
De plus pres qu'il pout l'esgarda.
Eüstaces ne s'engarda,
Son chief torna tot en pensant
880 Si qu' au torner l'ala bessant,
Si chevel s'espantirent donc
Qui encreü erent et lonc.
La plaie qu'orent devisee
Ont tot de plain bien avisee,
885 Quer des chevés ert descouverte;
Lors lor fu verité overte: f. 103
De grant joie refet et plain,
Sallirent sus andui a plain;
En plourant li pristrent a dire,
890 " Vos estes Placidas, beau sire,
Qui estiez a Rome mestre."
Et il toz jorz le noeit estre.
" Sire," distrent il, " bien savons
Que c'estes vos, et vos ravons;
895 Ne le nos poez mes noier.
En maint liu a fet envoier
Li empereres por vos querre;
Quis vos avons en mainte terre.
Or est nostre erres acorciez
900 Et l'empereres (qui) coreciez
Estoit por vos et tormentez,
Et tanz jorz s'en est dementez,

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 876 B L chascun, M chaucuns. | 888 L M saillirent. |
| 877 M pot. | 889 L li ont pris. |
| 878 L M sengarda. | 890 B biaux, L biaux, B biau. |
| 880 M sala baissant. | 891 M maistres. |
| 881 B Li cheveul, L chevol, M separ- | 892 B M nioit, L neoit. |
| tirent. | 893 B Si dist il, L dient il. |
| 882 M par creuz. | 894 M ci estes vos or. |
| 885 B chevez fu (L), M cheveus (L) | 895 B pouez. |
| iert. | 896 B mains leuz, L M lieu, B L M en- |
| 886 B Lors fu veritez (L) descou- | voier. |
| verte, M Lors fu la veritez aperte. | 897 M emperieres. |
| 887 P refete, B L M refet. | 898 P Quis vos en, B Cuiz, L M Quis. |

- Et ert toz en joie retenuz
 Quant il saura que revenuz
 905 Serez; or ne nos tarjons pas.
 Bien savons qu' estes Placidus."
 Il leur dist donc, " Placidus fui,
 Mes Eüstaces ore sui
 Qui les Roumeins en pes metoie,
 910 Or sui autres que donc n'estoie.
 Tote lor conta la reson,
 La mesestance, l'acheson,
 Comment a cele vile vint,
 Et tot si com il li avint
 915 De sa fame et de ses enfanz.
 Donc fu illec ainsi tres grant
 Entre els trois li acoleiz,
 La complainte, li ploreiz,
 Que molt de gent i asembla,
 920 Que grant merveille lor sembla.
 A toz conterent sa proesce,
 Sa seignorie, sa richece
 Et sa valor, li chevalier
 Qui preu erent et bon parlier.
 925 Quant ainsi orent tot conté,
 Por la pitié de sa conté
 Commencierent tuit a plorer.
 Adonques sanz plus demourer
 Le vestirent et atorerent.
 930 Andui ovec lui s'en tornerent
 Par le creant de son bon oste,
 Quar qui de proudome s'acoste
 Granz biens l'en vient. Il s'avoierent
 Et li voisin les convoierent;

f. 104

902 B M tousiours.
 903 B L M Iert, M detenuz.
 905 B M Ieres, B terons, M tairons.
 909 M pais tenoie.
 910 B L M adonc.
 912 B L M lachoisson.
 913 B *omits* vile, M Si comme.
 915 L femme *or* fenme.
 916 B M Donc, M illeuc si tres.

920 M Car.
 924 B Qui mlt estoient bon parlier, L
 pru.
 927 M tout.
 928 M Adonc sanz plus de demorer.
 929 L Lo.
 930 B avec (L) li.
 931 M boen.

- 935 'A' Deu les conmanda plorant.
 Puis n'i alerent demorant,
 Tost retornerent; et cil tindrent
 Lor voie tant qu'a Rome vindrent.
 La vindrent au chief de quinzaine.
 940 De joie fu la cité plaine
 Et la grant gent et la menue
 Furent joiant de sa venue.
 Molt par en fu la vile clere.
 Si tost con le sout l'emperere,
 945 Contre lui vint si le besa.
 Donc li refreint et apesa
 Li dels ou tant s'ert entenduz.
 Ses tenemenz li fu renduz
 Et sa seignorie rendue
 950 Si con devant l'avoit tenue.
 L'empereör et le sené
 Conta si comme il ot pené.
 Tote lor esclera sa vie
 Comment sa fame fu ravie
 955 Et si enfançon devouré.
 Poi ot a Rome demoré,
 Quant a lui fist grant gent venir
 Por gouverner et maintenir
 La terre qui ert mauba[i]llie
 960 Et d'estranges genz asaillie.
 Grant paine mist et grant penser
 Comment il la porroit tenses
 Molt i pensa en maint asens,
 Si li vint (et vint de grant sens);
 965 Que(r) par tot l'empire manda,
 Et en mandant leur conmanda

932 B L M pseudome.

934 L M le.

938 M La.

941 M granz joie.

942 *missing in M.*

944 B L M sot, M emperiere.

945 M contre vint.

946 M Dont le.

947 B Li deulz ou tant sest estenduz,

L delz, M Li diex ou tant siert.

948 B L Son tenement.

950 B eue.

951 B empereres.

952 M ouvre.

955 L si dui enfant devore (M).

958 M Pour guerrier.

959 B L M mal baillie.

961 L Tant poine.

962 B pouroit, L porroit.

963 B de grant asenz.

- Qu'en preïst, ainsi le trovomes,
 De chascune vile deus homes
 Aidanz d'armes et de pris ;
 970 Quant de partot seroient pris
 Et assemblé et aloié,
 A Rome fussent envoié
 Por els et le rengne deffendre.
 Einsi les commanda a prendre.
 975 Voirs est qu' adonques si avint
 Qu'en la vile cist conmanz vint
 Ou si dui fil erent manant,
 Qui ja furent creü et grant
 Par Deu qui les avoit gariz.
 980 De duel en estoit esmarriz
 Li peres qui cuidoit lor mort ;
 Souvent en ert en desconfort.
 Par le commun assentement
 Des homes de cel tenement,
 985 Ont les deus vaslez esleüz
 Por ço que granz et parcreüz
 Les virent et de bel estage,
 Paranz de cors et de visage.
 Armes et dras leur firent fere
 990 Com il convint a tel afere.
 Avec les esleüz s'esmurent
 Quant assemblé(z) de partout furent :
 Beau bacheler furent et gent.
 Moult i ot grant plenté de gent.
 995 Tant esrerent de jor en jor
 Qu'a Rome vindrent sanz sejour.

f. 105

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 964 M Si li imet (?) et vint en assens. | 978 M creuz et granz. |
| 965 B L Que. | 979 B guariz, L gairiz. |
| 967 B L M Com, M presist. | 982 B M iert. |
| 968 M chaucune. | 984 B M cel, L ce. |
| 969 L Aidanz a armes de pris. | 985 B L M vallez. |
| 970 B omits pris. | 988 L Parant. |
| 971 M gloss aloie = lié, engagé. | 990 B convient, L covint. |
| 974 L le, B commenca. | 992 B L M assemble. |
| 976 B cil, L est commant, M sit com-
ment avint. | 993 B L Bel, M Biau. |
| 977 B L furent. | 994 missing only in P. |
| | 995 B L M errerent. |

Et quant furent grant et menu
 Devant Eüstace venu,
 D'un seing u[n]s et uns les seingna
 1000 Si com ses cuers li enseingna.
 Les deus vaslez vit molt paranz
 A qui Dex fu de mort garanz,
 Si con devant vos dis el livre.
 Molt sembloient preu et delivre;
 1005 De semblant, de cors, de stature
 Paroient de gentil nature.
 Il ne sorent qu'il fuserent frere,
 Ne les connut, il n'il leur pere.
 Molt par li vint a cuer lor estres,
 1010 Seingneurs les fist de toz et mestres.
 Andui furent si connestable;
 Il conmanda que de sa table
 Et de l'ostel fussent privé.
 Quant son aler out achevé,
 1015 A tote l'ost qu'il ot fet querre
 S'esmut, et entra en la terre
 Qui molt avoit fet mal a Rome.
 Il n'i lessa proie ne home,
 Partot fist grant destruc[t]ion,
 1020 Ses mist en sa subjection;
 Molt ert de genz puissanz et forz.
 D'ilec passa a grant efforz
 Une egue (por els fere pis),
 Qui avoit a non Ydaspis.
 1025 En essil mist ce païs la;
 Plus parfont après en ala,
 Einsi comme Dex le menoit.
 Voirs est qu'en cel païs manoit
 Sa fame que li notonniars

f. 106

998 L Par devant, M Devant a.
 1000 *missing only in P.* B ses cuers,
 L son cuer.
 1001 B valles, L vallez, M Ces deux
 vallaiz vit moult aidanz.
 1003 M ou livre.
 1004 estoient preuz.
 1008 B Ne les connut il ne lor pere.

1009 B L M au cuer.
 1011 si], P lor.
 1013 M osté, prové.
 1015 B A tout, M A tout son ost.
 1021 B M fu de gent poissant, L iert
 de gent.
 1023 B L une eve, M iaue.
 1024 L dyaspis, M Si, ydapis.

5825

- 1030 Li toli come pautonniers,
 Si com devant vos fu conté,
 Mes sauf son cors et sa bonté.
 L'avoit de lui Dex si tensee
 Que nul jor n'en fu adesee,
 1035 Partot l'avoit sauve tenue;
 Morz ert, s'estoit ilec venue
 Einsî con Dex voloît qu'il fust.
 En un manoir povre de fust
 Conversoit lez un[e] rivi[e]re;
 1040 De bois, de prez estoit plainiere. •
 Quant toz ot en sa merci mis
 Eüstaces ses anemis,
 La vint; le liu vit covenable
 A reposer et delitable.
 1045 A la rivi[e]re fist torner
 Sa gent por trois jorz sejourner,
 Quar las erent et lor cheval.
 Sor la riviere contre val
 Tendirent tres, loges drecierent,
 1050 Tant que la meson aproch[i]erent
 Qui ert a la vile tenanz
 Ou la dame ert sole mananz.
 Ileques vindrent a droiture
 Li dui vaslez par aventure,
 1055 Si comme Dex les asena.
 Autres qu[e]il nes i mena
 Con cil qui bien set asener
 Les suens et a droit port mener.
 Avec leur mere s'ostelerent,

1026 B en apres ala.

1028 B L ce, B L M manoit, P menoit.

1029 B que li tonniers.

1032 B Sauve.

1033 B M li.

1034 B M Qu a nul.

1036 B M Mors iert.

1039 B pres d une riviere (L M).

1040 B L M plenièr.

1043 B L M lieu (leu L) vit conven-
 able.

1046 B et II iours.

1047 B Que las furent.

1048 B Sus.

1050 B L M qua la maison (meson L).

1051 B L iert.

1052 B M iert seule, L seule.

1054 B L vallet, M valles.

1055 M rassena.

1056 M Autres de lui.

1058 B L M siens, L a bon port.

- 1060 Mes ne sout mie qui il erent,
Nes connut n'il ne la connurent.
Assis devant la dame furent;
Ileques parlerent grant pos(s)e,
Si con gent font, de mainte chose. f. 107
1065 A parler itant s'entendirent
Que tot en parlant descendirent
A leur effances recorder.
Li meindres prist a demander
Au greignor qui a lui parloit
1070 De conbien loinz li souvenoit.
Cil respondi donc au menor,
"Se Dex," dist il, "me doint ennor,
De tant me recort et souvient,
Si com a memoire me vient,
1075 Que mis peres fut molt poisanz,
(De ço me sui reconnoissanz),
Einsi que plus ne poeit estre.
Des chevaliers estoit toz mestre.
Et par sens et par poësté
1080 Durement ert de grant beauté,
Si con je me recor[t], ma mere.
S'estions, ce m'est vis, dui frere,
A tot nos deus, si con moi semble.
S'entornerent andui ensemble
1085 Par une nuit de leur meison.
De ço ne sai geu la reson,
Quel part ne conbien nos alames;
Mes tant recort que nos entrames
En un[e] nef ou gent avoit.
1090 Co ne sai jeu quel part vouloit
Nostre peres tendre n'aler.

1060 quil.

1061 B Nel.

1063 B L M pose.

1065 B paller.

1068 B L M mendres.

1070 B loins, L loign.

1071 B menour, M menore.

1072 B doinst honour, M honore.

1075 B M mes, L mon.

1077 L M pooit, B pouoit.

1079 B pooste.

1080 B furent, bonte, L M biaute.

1081 B ie recort.

1086 B L M je.

1087 B L nous alames.

1088 L tant sai bien, B entrasmes.

1089 B L une.

1090 B M Se, B L M je.

- Mes tant m'i sai geu recorder
 Que mis peres m'i descendi
 Et cel mi[en] frere que je di.
 1095 De la nef qu'a terre venimes
 Onques a l'iessir[ne]veïmes
 Ma mere qui en la nef vint.
 Lors ne sai je qu'ele devint,
 Ne sai comment n'e[n] quel maniere
 1100 El[e] remest sanz nos ariere.
 Nostre peres, ço me recort,
 A tot nos aloit plorant fort ;
 Tant nos porta einsi plourant
 Qu'a une rivi[e]re corant
 1105 Vint, si m' asist lez le rivage,
 Por ço qu'il doutoit le passage.
 Mon frere sauvement passa ;
 Quant outre fu, si le lessa f. 108
 De l'autre part sor la riviere ;
 1110 Puis retorna por moi ariere.
 Einsi com il ert el retor,
 Del bois sailli et fist son tor
 Un[s] leus qui mon frere ravi
 (Si le recort com je le vi),
 1115 Et ançois qu'a moi parvenist
 Mi[s] peres, ne qu'il me tenist,
 Vint uns lions, ne sai comment,
 Qui me reprist tot ensement ;
 A tot moi s'en aloit fuiant.
 1120 La vindrent droit pastor criant
 Si me rescostrent, Deu merci,

1092 B L M me sai je.
 1093 M Quant, B L M mes peres me.
 1094 B L ce mien, M cil meismes.
 1095 B L venismes.
 1096 B L a lissir (lessier L) ne
 veismes, M loissir.
 1098 B ne se je, M Ne me souvient.
 1099 B L M nen quel.
 1101 B bien me.
 1104 B L riviere.
 1107 M seulement.

1109 B sus, M seur.
 1111 B L il fu au retour, M iert au.
 1112 B L M Du.
 1113 B L leu, M uns.
 1114 L comme jel.
 1115 B L M aincois.
 1116 B M Mes, L Mon.
 1117 B L I lyon, B tout ensement.
 1118 B ne sai comment.
 1120 B Donc vindrent dui pastour.
 1121 L rescoustrent, M recoutrent.

- Itel con tu me voiz ici.
 Sui norriz en icel païs
 Dont tu meïsmes es naïs.
- 1125 N'oï parler puis de ma mere,
 Ne de l'enfançonnet mon frere
 N'en soi puis rien de la en ça."
 Et cil a plourer commença;
 Tot em plourant li courut seure
- 1130 Si li dist, "se Dex me sequeure
 Et par la foi que je li doi,
 Il semble que seions andoi
 Frere, par ço que tu me dis;
 Quar cil qui m'ont norri toz dis
- 1135 Distrent que je fui a estrous
 D'un leu qui m'enportoit rescous;
 Maintes foiz le me reprochierent."
 Einsint parlant s'entrebracierent
 Et plouroient molt tendrement.
- 1140 Quant la dame si fetement
 Les oï de la nef parler
 Et si les vit entr'acoler
 Molt pensa se ço si fil erent,
 Por ço que de la nef parlerent
- 1145 Et de ço qu[e]il ne la virent
 Si comme de la nef (en) isirent,
 Quant en la mer fu retenue;
 De ço fu forment esperdue.
 Mout pensa qu'il ne fussent frere,
- 1150 Por ço que cil ot dit del pere
 Qu'il avoit jadis par bonté
- 1122 M Si tel.
 1123 B Fui, M et en cest.
 1124 M ies, L norris.
 1125 L Noi p' parler de mon pere
 (B M), P ma mere—mon pere.
 1127 M Ne soi.
 1130 M si Diex me sequeure (L), B
 querre.
 1131 M je Diex doi.
 1132 B L M soions.
 1133 B L M par ce que.
 1134 P mot, B qui mlt norri, L M
 mont.
- 1135 M sui.
 1136 P a estrous, B L M rescous.
 1137 P maint, M reprochoient.
 1138 B entrebesierent, M entraproch-
 oient.
 1143 L se si fil.
 1146 B L omit en, M Puisque fors de
 la nef oissirent.
 1147 B en la nef, M detenue.
 1149 B que cil fussent.
 1150 B L M du.
 1154 M moult i pensa.

- Mestres des chevaliers esté.
 En son cuer notant reversa
 Leur fez, lor diz, ou molt pensa.
 1155 Quant il orent parlé assez,
 Tant que midis fu ja passez,
 A l'ost ralerent sanz demor
 Plus espris que devant d'amor
 Et mieuz lié de compaignie.
 1160 La dame remest esmarrie
 Del semblant qu'as vaslez vit fere
 Et de lor diz qu' oï retrere;
 En ço ert toz sis pensemenz.
 De l'ost enquist les erremen
 1165 Qu'ileques entor s'arestoit
 Et comment et por quoi c'estoit
 Que la erent venu tant home.
 Dit li fu qu'il erent de Rome
 S'erent venu a ost banie
 1170 De la terre de Romanie.
 Quant ele oï Rome nonmer,
 Deu conmença a reclamer
 Et remenbrer le grant eneur
 Ou ele vit son bon seigneur.
 1175 Talant li prist que la iroit
 Et qu'au mestre de l'ost diroit
 Que par lui fust por Deu menee
 A Rome dont ele fu nee.
 En cel penser dont ert esprise,
 1180 Si comme Dex li voit mise,
 Vint el demein a l'ost tot droit.

1155 B Comme.

1156 B midi fu passez, L miedis fu
passez, M miedis iert.

1157 L alerent.

1158 *missing in M.*1159 P miuez, B L miex, M mieux,
compaignie.1161 B qu aus valles, L P qu s, M
qu au.

1163 B M iert, L fu, B ses, L si, M ces.

1166 *missing in M*, B Ne pourquoi ne
ce sestoit.

1168 B furent.

1169 B Sierent venu a lost.

1170 B roumania, L rommenie, M ro-
mannie.

1171 B Comme.

1173 B M ramenbrer, honor, L re-
membre, honneur.

1174 M boen seingor.

1177 B pour dieu.

1179 B L M ce pense, B M iert, L fu.

1181 B L M Vint lendemain, B L en
lost.

- Ça et la et en meint endroit
 Demanda quel part poët estre
 Li sires qui de l'ost ert mestre.
 1185 Illec ou il ert asena,
 Si con Dex volt qui l'i mena.
 Dit li fu que c'estoit li sire.
 Donc li prist em plorant a dire
 "Sire," dist ele, "que Dex ait
 1190 Pitié de toi, si con t'a fait;
 Aies pitié de ceste lasse,
 Povre sui, volentiers ralasse
 A Rome, quar de la fui née.
 Chaitive fui ça amenée.
 1195 Remeine m'en en mon païs,
 Por Deu qui est poësteis f. 110
 De rendre quantqu'en fait por lui."
 Si con ele parloit a lui,
 La plaie vit que il portoit
 1200 Qui lez la temple haut estoit.
 Molt pensa se c'ert ses mariz,
 Durement s'en ert esmarriz
 Sis cuers, se c'estoit il ou non.
 Molt esgarde cors et façon,
 1205 Contenance, semblant et vis,
 Tant que bien sout tot sanz avis
 Que c'ert si[s] sires certainement.
 En molt grant esbahisement
 Fu donc, ne sot que devenir.
 1210 Et quant plus ne se pot tenir
 De parler, ne fu detrianz;
 Genolz flechiz, humilianz,

1182 L et en maint.
 1183 B pouoit, L M pooit.
 1184 B M iert.
 1185 B iert, L est.
 1186 B vount, M voust qu il li.
 1184 M Dont.
 1191 B Aiez.
 1192 L alasse.
 1193 B L M sui nee.
 1194 L ci, B Chetive.

1195 B L men, M moi, B Remenez.
 1196 B posteis.
 1200 L en haut.
 1201 B M iert, L penssa ce est son.
 1202 B est, L Durement en est, M iert.
 1203 B L Ses.
 1207 M Que ciert (B) ses sires voire-
 ment, L cest son seigneur.
 1209 B set.
 1210 B Comme plus.

- Li dist, " Beau sire, ne desdeigne
 Tan[t] cele ta bone compaignie;
 1215 Preigne toi por Deu de moi pes,
 Je sui ta fame Theöspés
 Qui fui dedenz la nef ravie.
 Oiez moi, si m'espon ta vie,
 Quels a esté, legiere ou griés;
 1220 Quar bien sai que Placidus (e)ies
 Qui le non portes d'Eüstace
 Que nostre Sire par sa grace
 Apela par sa grace a soi.
 Puis prist ses .ii. effanz et moi,
 1225 Quant es tentacions chaï,
 Que povretez l'ot envai,
 Vers Egypte nos en [a]lames.
 En mer en une nef entrames.
 Li sires de la nef me prist,
 1230 Mes Dex de tel vol[oir] l'esprist,
 Qui as suens sa grace repart,
 Qu'onques nul jor n'ot de moi part
 Ne il ne autres tant ne quant.
 Damledeu en trai a garant
 1235 Qui m'a gardees des que ci
 Ma chasteé, seue merci.
 A ces ensaignes puez savoir,
 Bel[s] sir[e], que je te di voir.
 Si te requier, sire, que tu
 1240 Por Deu et por sa grant vertu, f. III
 Me cognoisses a ta pareille.
 Leautez et foiz s'emerveille

1212 B M Genous, L Genouls.
 1213 B dit biax, L M biau.
 1216 M Theopes.
 1218 L M Oies.
 1219 B Quele, L M Quex, M legere, L
 gres.
 1220 B Que, B iez, L es, M ies.
 1222 M Cui, B L sires.
 1223 B L M par le cerf.
 1225 B L temptations chei.
 1226 B L povrete.
 1227 B nous en alames, L M en
 alames.

1228 B entrasmes.
 1230 B valour, L M voloir.
 1231 B L M siens, L depart.
 1232 B onques iour not a moi.
 1234 B L Jhu crist, M Dame Dieu en
 trai en garant.
 1235 B iusque'ci, L jusq'sci, M des ici.
 1236 M chaatee.
 1238 B L Biax, M Biau.
 1239 M omits te.
 1241 M connoisses.
 1242 B M Loiautez et foi (L).

Que ne me joïs et acoles.”
 Eüstaces a ces paroles
 1245 L'esgarda ententivement.
 En l'esgarder vit certainement
 Que c'ert sa fame sanz doutance.
 Plains de joie sanz demorance
 En vint toz eslessiez a li,
 1250 Braz au col tenduz li salli;
 Et fist joie con de s'epose,
 Cele ore lor fu molt joiose.
 Qui veïst leur acoleiz
 Leur besiers et leur ploreiz
 1255 Ja einsi tres dur cur n'eüst
 Que plorer ne li esteüst.
 Donc pristrent Deu a mercier,
 A loer et a gracier,
 Qui sauve les suens et rassemble
 1260 De diverses terres ensemble.
 Cui il tense bien est tensez.
 Quant conjoï furent assez
 Tant con volentez conmanda,
 De ses enfanz li demanda.
 1265 “Sire, mi fil, dist ele, ou sunt?
 Et il li dist, “suer, ja les ont
 Bestes devorez, maint jor (y)a.”
 Tout li espont et esclaira
 Conment de bestes furent mort.
 1270 “Sire, dist ele, “aions confort
 En Deu qui est de tel puissance
 Qu'il nos dorra, c'est ma creance,
 Nos enfanz ausi retrouver
 Com il nos a fet rassembler.

1211 M en fu.

1243 M mesjoiz.

1245 B Le garda.

1247 B L M iert.

1249 M eslaissiez a lui, *gloss in M*
 lui = elle.

1252 B M eure, L heure.

1253 M acolemenz.

1254 M ploremenz.

1255 M Ja hons si tres, B L M cuer.

1259 B L M siens.

1261 B iert, M es.

1263 M Tant con lor volente.

1269 B L M des bestes.

1270 B L dit.

1271 B M poissance.

1272 B L M donra.

1273 M recouvrer.

- 1275 "Suer," dist il, "ja t'é je conté
 Conment il en furent porté
 Andui de bestes et ravi.
 Morir cuidai quant je le vi."
 Ele respondi son seignor,
 1280 "Sire," dist ele, "l'autre jor
 Oï deus enfanz en meson,
 Si entendi a la reson
 Des paroles qu'entre els disoient
 Si comme lor fez ramenbroient, f. 112
 1285 Que nostre fil sunt, bien le croi;
 Mes il n'estoient pas andoi
 Certain de leur fraternité,
 Fors par le conte de l'ainz né.
 Veez, sires, com l'amistiez
 1290 De Deu est granz et la pitiez
 Qui ensemble nos a ratrez.
 Molt devomes loer ses fez.
 Donc, sire, fetes les mander,
 Si lor porrons lors demander
 1295 Lor erremenz et tot leur estre."
 Adonques les manda li mestre,
 Qui d'els mander desiranz fu.
 Quant devant lui furent venu,
 Il leur enquis leur aventure.
 1300 Cil li espontrent a droiture
 Et distrent li tot autre tel
 Comme il orent dit a l'ostel,

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1274 B M assembler. | 1290 L grant. |
| 1275 B L M tai je. | 1291 B ratrais, M retraiz. |
| 1276 B il furent emporte. | 1292 B fais, M faiz. |
| 1277 B L des. | 1293 B Biax, L Biaux, M Biau, B M faites. |
| 1278 B comme jel vi, M les. | 1294 M porrez donc. |
| 1280 B L dit. | 1295 B L M errement. |
| 1281 B M en ma maison (meson B L). | 1297 B Que du, L Q deus, M d aus. |
| 1282 B leur reson (L), M lour maison. | 1298 B li. |
| 1283 B que il disoient, M qu entreus. | 1299 B L M lor (li L) enquist. |
| 1286 B L n estoient mie. | 1300 B M Cil respondirent, L Si li respondrent. |
| 1287 B L M Certain. | 1301 M lui. |
| 1288 B L M Fors, P Lors (?), L lainne, M laisne. | |
| 1289 B L sire. | |

- La ou la dame les oï,
 Quant li u[n]s l'autre conjoï.
 1305 Li graindres conta la reson
 Del departir de lor meson,
 Si con il en sout la maniere,
 De la nef et de la rivi[e]re,
 Ou il furent des bestes pris.
 1310 Eüstaces, de joie espris,
 Les paroles bien entendi,
 Ses mains en haut vers Deu tendi
 Et dist, " Enfanz, vos estes frere.
 Vez ci, Deu merci, vostre mere.
 1315 Vostre pere sui, ce sachiez."
 Andeus les a donc embraciez
 Et acolez estreitement,
 Et la mere tot ensement
 Lor bese vis et oilz et face,
 1320 De joie ne set qu'ele face.
 D'els conjoir n'est a sejour
 Une grant partie del jor,
 Entre acolé ileques jurent
 Por la joie dont espris furent
 1325 D'els et de leur rassemblement.
 La novele tot esranment
 Courut par l'ost, si s'assemblerent
 Por els voer si con il erent. f. 113
 A grant merveille le tenoient
 1330 De la joie qu'il demenoient,
 Dont cascuns d'els estoit en grant.
 L'endemain firent feste grant,

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1302 M dist. | 1323 P uirent, M jurent. |
| 1304 B li un, L li I, M li uns. | 1325 B L assemblément. |
| 1306 B L la. | 1326 P esrantment, B erroment, L M erranment. |
| 1307 M omits en. | 1327 L si sablerent, M dont assem- blerent. |
| 1308 B L M riviere. | 1328 B L M veoir. |
| 1311 B Ses. | 1330 B Pour la. |
| 1312 B L au ciel tendi, M vers le ciel tendi. | 1331 P Dont, B L chascun, M chau- cuns. |
| 1314 P dex, M Veez. | |
| 1319 L Les, B iex, L ieux, M ieulx. | |
| 1321 B Deuz, L Deuls conjoir est assejour, M D aus conjoir. | |

- A Damledeu rendirent graces.
Aprés ço avint qu' Eüstaces,
1335 Quant il ot sa guerre fenie,
S'en repera vers Romanie,
Garniz de proies et d'avoir.
Donc avint, ço savons de voir,
Que li empereres Trajans
1340 Ala a fin, et Adrians
Qui plus feuls ert de lui et pire,
Fu en son liu mis en l'empire.
Quant d'Eüstace sot la voire,
Qu'il reperoit a grant victoire,
1345 Soulonc la coustume romaine
Vint contre lui et mist grant paine
Et grant estrive a feste fere
Por la joie de son repere.
Li empereres li enquist
1350 Son erre tout, et il li dist
La perte, le desevrement,
Le trover, le rassemblement
De ses fuiz et de sa mollier,
Qui tantes foiz li fist mollier
1355 Sa face de dolentes lermes.
Puis cel jor fu molt corz li termes
De fere le droit a lor Dex.
Soulonc lor hus qui ert itex,
En l'endemain, sanz plus targier,
1360 Ala as Dex sacrefier
Li empereres en memoire
De l'ennor et de la victoire
- 1339 M emperiere trajens.
1340 M fins.
1341 B feuz fu, L Q'fu plus feuz, M
fel ier.
1342 B L leu, M *adds two verses*,
Contre foi iert cis Adrians Tous
destruisoit les Crestiens.
1344 L reparoit, B o grant.
1345 B L Selonc.
1346 B li.
1347 B M estruit, L estruite (?) a ioie.
1348 L la feste.
- 1350 B et cil, M oirre.
1351 L et le desevrement, M desoivre-
ment.
1353 B L filz, M fuilz, B L M moillier.
1354 B L M moillier.
1355 L dolentes, M larmes.
1356 L court, B ce jour, M cest, tarmes.
1357 M lor droiz.
1358 B L M Selonc lor us qui iert (est
M) itiex (iteulx L).
1359 B L M A lendemain sanz detrier
1360 B aus diex.

- Que sa gent avoit eü la.
 Eüstaces o lui ala,
 1365 Por ço que fere li estut,
 Mes dehors le temple s'estut.
 Et l[i] empereres l'outra,
 Au sacrefice s'en entra
 Laienz en la mahomerie,
 1370 A tote sa chevalerie.
 Ileques n'ot guieres esté,
 Quant ça dehors vit aresté f. 114
 Eüstace; molt li desplot.
 Vers lui se trest plus tost qu'il pot
 1375 Si li dist: "Donç, amis, pourquoi
 Ne viens tu çaiens avec moi?
 Noz dex deüsses aorer
 Et gracier et ennorer
 En droit l'ennor qui t'est creüe
 1380 De la victoire qu'as eüe
 Et de ço que sanz perillier
 Ras tes enfanz et ta mollier.
 Bien sai que por nos dex ovras
 Quant tu einzi les recovras."
 1385 Eüstaces respondi donques:
 "Vostre deu ne m'aidierent onques,
 Ainz d'eus ne poi aïe avoir
 Dont je lor doïe gre savoir;
 Ne me semble fors gaberie
 1390 D'entrer en leur mahomerie.
 Ne porreit estre boens edierre
 Dex qui est de fust ou de pierre,
 Ou d'or, ou de metal fonduz.
 Honniz est cil et confonduz

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1366 missing in M. | 1379 B Dendroit. |
| 1367 B si l outra. | 1382 B L M moillier. |
| 1368 L sen ala. | 1383 L p nous II, B M ouvras. |
| 1369 B Leanz, M mauhonmerie. | 1386 L P aida. |
| 1371 L guerres, M gaires. | 1387 L Ains deuls, B L aide, M |
| 1372 B Quant de dehors, M au dehors. | N'onques n en poi aïve avoir. |
| 1374 B li se tret, M traist. | 1389 B que gaberie. |
| 1375 L douz amis. | 1391 B L M porroit, aidierre. |
| 1376 B vien tu ceanz, L ce ens. | 1392 M et de pierre. |
| 1377 B honorer. | 1394 L soit. |
| 1378 B aorer. | |

- 1395 Qui met en si fez dex sa cure,
 Quar il n'est reson ne droiture.
 Il n'est qu'un sol Dex solement
 Cil est voirs Dex veraïement
 Qui ne commence ne ne fine.
- 1400 A lui est tote riens acline;
 Il est Dex, pere de nature,
 Qui cria tote criature.
 Celui doit hom croire et amer,
 Celui doit hom bien reclamer;
- 1405 Cil est mes Dex, lui doi ge croire,
 Par lui ai geu heü victoire,
 Et ma femme m'a il rendue
 Que j'avoie lonc tens perdue
 Et mes deus fuiz ausi renduz
- 1410 Dont je sui souvent esperduz
 Et mi cuers troblés et merci(e)z.
 Bien l'en doi rendre granz merci(e)z.
 Chaiti(e)f sunt cil et mal sené
 Qui as voz dex se sunt doné.
- 1415 De toz biens enfin se desvoient,
 Quer il n'entendent ne ne voient. f. 115
 Mes cist ot et entent et voit,
 Ne ne velt que nus se desvoit."
 Li empereres fu plains d'ire
- 1420 Del grant let qu'il i oï dire
 De ses dex et del grant despit.
 Tot esranment sanz nul respit,

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| 1395 P fet, B fe. | 1409 P dels, L mes II filz ansint, B M
deux filz. |
| 1397 B L M uns seul d. seulement. | 1410 B M fui. |
| 1398 B vrais dieu voirement, L vrais
dex veraïement, M Car il. | 1411 B mon, L mes, B L noirciz, M
nerniz. |
| 1399 L commando. | 1413 B L Chetif sont, M Chaitif. |
| 1400 B encline. | 1417 B L cil, M oit. |
| 1402 B L crea toute creature. | 1418 B Si ne veult, M Mais ne veust,
L nuls. |
| 1404 L M on bien dieu clamer, B bien
clamer. | 1420 L M qu'il li, M ot. |
| 1405 B L doi je. | 1422 B erromment, L maintenant sanz
respit. |
| 1406 B L M ai je. | |
| 1407 B L M fame. | |
| 1408 B tamps, L temps, M tans. | |

- Por fere li honte et ledure,
 Li fist decouper la ceinture
 1425 Dont il[l']avoit chevalier fet,
 Qu'a desenor li fust retret.
 C'ert la honte c'on soloit fere
 Chevalier c'on voloit retrere
 De l'ordre de chevalerie,
 1430 S'en perdoit tote seignorie.
 Quant il l'out fet desordener,
 Devant lui le fist amener,
 Sa fame ovec et ses effanz.
 Adonc lor fist menaces granz
 1435 Savoir si les peüst retrere
 Toz quatre de leur vouloir fere.
 "Seignors," dist il, "c'est granz domages,
 Quant vos avez itels corages.
 Mes comment que mespris aiez,
 1440 Se vos as dex vos rapaiez
 Et vos leur fetes sacrifice,
 J'obliéré vostre malice
 Et li tormenz vos iert ostez
 Qui molt vos est grant aprestez."
 1445 "Sire," font il, "en tel maniere
 Merroit on cel devant derriere
 S'on lessoit joie parmanable
 Por le servise del deable.
 Tuit cil au deable se rendent
 1450 Qui a vos dex servir entendent
 Mes Jhesu Crist doit hom servir,

1423 M lui, L M laidure.

1424 L cinture.

1425 B L il lavoit.

1426 M li fist.

1427 B L Cest, M Ciert.

1430 M toute sa seignorie.

1431 B Comme.

1432 B li.

1433 B L M avec.

1435 B sil les.

1436 M voloires.

1437 B L omit granz.

1438 B itiex, L itelx, M itieus.

1440 M a Diex mespris aviez.

1441 L M sacrefice.

1443 B Et li tourment, L ert.

1444 B Qui vous iert mlt grief, L ert
granz, M iert granz.

1445 M en cele.

1446 B L M Metroit on ce, P un cel,
Gloss in M c'en dessus dessous.

1447 L Sen, M vie permenable, L par-
menable.

1448 B L du, M dou.

1450 M a deable.

1452 *missing in* M, B on, L lem.

- Envers qui em puet deservir
 Joie, clarté espiritable,
 Richece, vie parmanable.
- 1455 La est franchise si entiere
 Qu'en n'i puet en nule maniere
 Doter ne perte ne damage,
 Ennui ne mal ne nule outrage."
 Adrians est molt aïrrez,
- 1460 Quant il les vit si aspirez, f. 116
 Ne lor velt mes targi(e)r lor peingne.
 Mener les fet tost en l'areingne
 Ou l'en selt les cheitis mener
 Por travellier et por pener.
- 1465 La velt qu'il soient tormenté,
 Puis qu'il ne font sa volonté.
 Un lion leur a 'envoïé,
 Deschaené et deloïé,
 Por els devorer et mengier.
- 1470 Einsi en velt ses dex vengi[e]r.
 Or oiez miracle et merveille,
 Comment Dex ses amis conseille.
 Li lions est a els venuz,
 Mes si est humbles devenuz
- 1475 Qu'il n'a firté n'airement,
 Ainz les aoure simplement.
 Asailliz nes ha ne tochiez,
 Einceis s'est delez els couchiez.
 Bien est puissanz cil qui se mue
- 1454 *M gloss* l'original ajoute ce vers
 souligné ainsi Sour le servise
 du deable.
- 1456 B M Con, L Q'm.
- 1457 M Trouver.
- 1458 L nul.
- 1459 M airriez.
- 1460 B L M voit, L espirez, M espir-
 riez.
- 1461 B vot, targier, M vieut.
- 1462 L larain, B tous en laraine, M a.
- 1463 B seut les chetis (L), L seult, M
 chaitis.
- 1464 L M traveillier.
- 1465 B veut, L vult, M veust, tor-
 mentez.
- 1466 M ses volentez.
- 1468 B Descheennes et deslie (L), M
 Deschaairie.
- 1470 B veult, M veust.
- 1471 B L oez.
- 1475 B L M fierte, M n'airement, P L
 vairement (?).
- 1476 L M ore, B doucement.
- 1478 B L M Aincois est, B eus, L eulz,
 M aus.
- 1479 B si mue, L tost mue, M icil qui
 mue.

- 1480 Einsî tost cuer de beste mue.
Quant li lions ot jeü a terre
Ausi con por merci requerre,
Devant els quatre s'est levez
Si qu'il nes a de rien grevez;
1485 Einz les encline chif bessié,
Puis a le liu et els lessié.
Cest miracle virent maint home,
Tot li plus de la gent de Rome.
Li empereres a veü
1490 Que tuit quatre n'ont mal eü,
Mes por ço ne s'est amendez,
Ainz ha ses chartrieres mandez,
Un tor d'arein avoit fet fondre
Por ardoir dedenz et [con]fundre
1495 Les entrepris et travelli[e]r.
Cel tor a fait aparellier
Et mettre buche tot entor
Por els ardoir enz sanz retor.
Li saint prient un poi d'atendre
1500 A cels qui le feu font esprendre,
Tant qu'il aient a Deu proié.
Li chartriere l'ont otroié.
Leurs mains ont vers [le] ciel tendues,
S'ont graces et merciz rendues f. 117
1505 Des maus qu'il leur convient sentir,
Si con Dex lor velt consentir.
"Vairs Dex," font il, "plain[s] de bonté.
Qui si avez tot sormonté
Qu'a ço ne porroit nus entendre

1481 B L geu, M just.

1484 B L M riens.

1485 B L M chief.

1486 B Si a le lieu, L leu, M Puis les
a illeuques l.

1487 B Ce.

1490 B tous, M tout.

1491 B siert.

1492 L Aincois, B tous ses chartriers
(L), M a touz ces chartries.

1493 B L M arain.

1494 B L M con fondre.

1495 B L M travaillier.

1496 B L M appareillier.

1497 B M busche.

1498 B eus ardoir et, L eulz, M aus.

1499 L I pou.

1501 B L prie.

1502 B M chartrier, L charterier, B li,
L lour.

1505 M li convient souffrir.

1506 B L M le.

1507 B Vraiz.

1508 L Q'sor touz avez.

- 1510 Qui peüst tant savoir n'aprendre,
 Que tote eüst lor conoissance
 De vos et de vostre puissance.
 Quer n'estes pas chose qu'en voie;
 Mes por nos mettre a droit[e] voie
- 1515 Fu tex la vostre volentez
 Que en cest monde fu presentez
 Vostre cors ainsi proprement,
 Que bien savomes certainement
 Que vos estes nostre Salvere(s)
- 1520 Et nostre Sire(s) et nostre Pere(s).
 Dex, par vostre sainte pitié,
 Queques vos aiez respletié,
 Fetes nos maus ainsi fenir
 Que a vos sainz puisson venir.
- 1525 Dex, Rois de tote criature,
 Qui delivrates de l'ardure
 Les trois enfanz en la forneis(s)e,
 Qu'il n' i orent nule mesese,
 Mes tot enmi le feu chantoient
- 1530 Por ço que nul mal ne sentoient,
 N'a ço nes pot nus desnoier
 Qu'il vos volsissent renoier.
 Glorious Dex, en tel maniere,
 Recevez vos nostre priere
- 1535 Que nus ne nos puist tant destreindre,
 Que nos courages puist esteindre,
 Et si saion aterminé

1510 B L M naprendre.

1511 lor], B L M la.

1512 B poissance.

1513 M Car n iestes.

1514 B L M droite.

1515 B tele vostre, L telx.

1516 M fust.

1518 L M certainement.

1519 B L sauveres, M sauviere.

1520 B L M Et nostre diex.

1522 L M Queque, B L M respitie.

1524 M Qu avoec vos sainz puisson,
 B sainz ciex puissons.

1525 B L M creature.

1526 B L delivraastes.

1527 B fornaise, L fornese, M for-
 naisse.

1528 B mal ne mesaise.

1531 B nel.

1532 B L M vousissent.

1533 B L M Glorieus.

1534 L M proiere.

1535 *missing in M.*

1536 B puissons faindre, L M enfraïn-
 dre.

1537 B M soions, L aions.

1538 B L M soions, B ce feu.

1539 B L M a nos.

- Que par cest feu seõns finé.
 Et cil qui as noz os vendront
 1540 Qui de nos quatre remaindront
 Puissent par nos merci trover,
 De ço qu'il vos voudront rover,
 Et aient por nostre memoire
 Part avec vos en vostre gloire;
 1545 E[i]t cil plenté de bien en terre
 Qui par nos la voldra requerre;
 Et qui peril avra en mer,
 Se nostre non velt reclamer, f. 118
 Otroiez qu'a sauveté viegne,
 1550 Se c'est que de nos li souviegne,
 Ne pechié n'i eit ne meffet.
 Que s'en de nos memoire fet
 Que la votre misericorde
 L'en face pardon et acorde.
 1555 Gloriex Dex en Trinité,
 Quiquonques par humilité
 En nostre non vos priera
 Et memoire de nos fera,
 De quel chose qu'il vos requere,
 1560 Recevez, Sire, sa preire
 Dex, qui tote rien jostisiez,
 Quant nostre feus iert atisiez
 Et la buche miuz abrasee,
 Si soit l'ardor comme rousee,
 1565 Qu'en ne puist feu entor nos mettre
 Qui nos puist ardoir ne maumetre,
 Ne por destrece de dolor
 N'ait nostre chars mortel coulour,
 Ainz soit ausi et bele et saine

1542 L vous voudront rouver (B).
 1544 L Parte.
 1545 B Et si.
 1546 B L M voudra, M li.
 1548 B veult, M veut.
 1550 P qui, B M que.
 1551 B L M n i ait ne meffet.
 1552 B L se de nous, M son.
 1553 L vostre.
 1558 M proierai.
 1558 M de vos ferai.

1559 B L M requiere.
 1560 B sa stre priere (L); M proiere.
 1561 L totes riens, B M justisiez.
 1562 L ert.
 1563 B M busche, B L miex embrasee,
 M bien embrasse.
 1564 L lardeur, M lardons, B Si soit
 douce comme rousee.
 1566 B L malmetre.
 1568 *missing in P only*, B L char, B
 mue coulour.

- 1570 Con s'ele n'eüst eü peinne.
 Beaux Sire, Dex misericors,
 Quant sanz ame seront li cors
 Et nos seron vostre martyr,
 Ne[s] lessiez, Sire, departir."
- 1575 Tantost con il orent oré
 Ne tant ne quant n'a demoré
 Qu'une voiz ont del ciel oïe
 Qu'il ont molt amee et joïe.
 Par cele voiz a Dex mandé
- 1580 Que tot ço qu'il ont demandé
 Et encor plus qu'il n'ont prié
 Lor a doné et otroié.
 Tuit quatre s'en sont esjoï
 Del grant loier qu'il ont oï.
- 1585 Trestot joant et tot haitié
 Se sont au torment afeitié
 Du tor qui si par est boillanz.
 Et li feus si entor saillanz
 Qu'il n'est rien vive qu[e]il n'arde,
- 1590 Se Dex meïsmes ne le garde.
 Mes il lor ha tel merci fete
 Que la force ha au feu reetre,
 Si qu'onques en nule mesure
 Ne sentent ne cholor n'ardure. f. 119
- 1595 Ainz aorent Deu en chantant
 De ço que mal ne sont sentant.
 Damledex n'a pas consenti
 Que nes un[s] chevels nel senti,
 Le feu qui en ha fet fuïr,

1570 *missing in L.*

1571 B L Biax, M Biau.

1572 B L ames, B les cors.

1573 B L M serons.

1574 M Nes.

1581 L M proie.

1582 B otrie.

1583 B M se sont, P toz.

1584 B L Du, M Dou.

1585 B L hetie.

1586 L Sest' autrement a fetic (B), M
 afaitie.

1588 B est entour, L le feu.

1592 L lor force, M a dou feu sous-
 traite (BL).

1594 L *omits second* ne, B L chaleur.

1597 B Jhesu crist pas ne, P Dam-
 ledeu.

1598 B niz I cheveul ait peri, L chevelx
 ait ainssi senti, M cheveus ait
 senti.

1599 B L M quil, B L fourir.

- 1600 Qu'es cors ne puisse riens bruïr.
Et li saint qui a Deu s'atendent
Tot en chantant les ames rendent.
Trois jorz les i a l'on lessiez
Tant que li feus est abessiez
1605 Et toz esteinz et avelez.
Lors i est l'emperere alez,
Quant li troi jor sunt trespasé,
S'i sont avec lui amassé
Bien pres que trestot cil de Rome,
1610 Por oïr et savoir la some,
Coment cil sunt ars et remis
El tor ou il estoient mis.
L'empereres l'a fet ouvrir
Por la verité descovrir.
1615 Si tost con li tors est overz,
S'est li miracles discoverz
Que Dex a fete por ses amis,
Que blecié ne sont ne maumis.
Einz lor ha li fus eschivé
1620 Si qu'il ne sunt de rien mué.
A toz cels semblent qui les voient,
Qu'autre tel sunt con s'il vivoient.
Del tor les ha hom fors sachiez,
Nes voient bruslez ne tachiez;
1625 Nis un chevel n'i ot veü
Qui par le fu ait mal eü;
Einz est leur char et bele et blanche
Comme nois de novel sor branche.
Une clartez les enlumine,

1600 L Q'cors em, B poisse, B L brouir.
1603 L len lessiez, M bien laissez.
1604 B fust, M fu.
1606 M iert.
1607 B sont passe, M trespassez.
1608 M amassez.
1609 B L M trestuit.
1611 B ou remis.
1612 B u, L En, M Ou.
1615 B M fu.
1618 B L malmis.
1619 B les a.

1620 L sont de riens (B), M grevé.
1621 B A tout tel semblant com les,
L M qui les.
1622 L Q'autel.
1623 B L M Du, B L M fors sachiez,
P omits fors.
1624 B ne brouis, L broys, M bruiz.
1625 B L M Nes, B chevel, L chevel,
M chevol, B L ont.
1626 B pour le.
1628 B noif nouvele sor la, L char de
nouvel.

- 1630 Si tres veraie, si tres fine,
 Que nus ne sauroit itant dire
 Qui la peüst mie descrire.
 D'els (i) est un[e] odor si parfaite
 Qui tant leur plest et lor delite
 1635 Que qui auroit especes chi[e]res
 D'odors de diverses manieres,
 Ses eüst ensemble amassées
 Les auroit cest odor passées.
 Tuit cil qui ses miracles voient
 1640 En Damledeu molt s'en esjoient
 Del fu qui rien nes ha grevez.
 Tuit ont en haut leur criz levez
 Et ont loé Deu et prisié,
 Por le fu qu'il a jostisié.
 1645 Einsi que nus mals n'est venuz
 As sainz que il a maintenuz.
 Molt est Adrianz esbahiz;
 Il cuide bien estre trahiz,
 N'ose remanoir en la place,
 1650 Qu'il cr(e)ient cist miracle ne face
 Envers lui sa gent corocier.
 Molt tost se prent a adrecier
 Sanz arester vers son palés;
 Iloec ne velt demorer mes.
 1655 Cil qui avec les sainz remainent
 Grant noise, grant escri demainent
 Chascuns dit et est cognoissanz
 Que desus toz est Dex puissanz.
 Li Dex as Crestiens est Sire(s),

1630 B L veraie, M vraie.

1631 M nus i saroit.

1632 M toute escrire.

1633 B Deuz ist une odeur, L Deuls
 ist, M Daus ist, B L parfite, M
 parfaite.

1634 M plait et tant lor haite.

1635 B L M espices chieres.

1636 B Doudeurs.

1637 B Et fussent.

1638 L M ceste.

1639 L cest miracle, B ce, M ces.

1640 L En ceste odor.

1642 B Tuit on.

1645 B Si que nul mal nen est.

1646 B Aus.

1650 B L M Crient, M cil.

1652 P tost prent.

1653 M palais.

1654 L arrester mes.

1656 B criz, L cri, *verse missing in M.*

1657 L M dist.

1658 B L desor, B L M poissanz.

1659 P es.

- 1660 Encontre toz mals est droiz mire(s).
De lui voit en apertement
Qu'il fet tot son commandement.
Nus mals ne put a cels venir
Qui se volent a lui tenir.
- 1665 Lui doit om aorer et croire
Et en lui avoir sa memoire.
Einsint vont tuit parlant de[l] fu
Et del lion qui doz lor fu,
As martyrs Deu, et debonaire,
- 1670 Onques ne lor pot nul mal fere,
Si soloit les homes mengier ;
Et Dex li fist illec changier
Et sa firté et sa nature
Que d'els grever n'ot onques cure.
- 1675 Einsint tienent en grant memoire
Le non Jhesu Crist et sa gloire.
Mes petit a petit acoise
Li granz escriz et la grant noise,
Einsint cun chascuns se repaire
- 1680 A lor ostel a lor afere
Quant la grant gent s'en fu alée f. 121
Si s'assemblerent a celée
De totes parz li crestien(s)
Qui redotoient Adrien(s).
- 1685 Les sainz martyrs vindrent requerre
Por metre les cors d'els en terre.
Adonc par grant humilité
Les mistrent delez la cité
En une sepouture bele.
- 1690 Desus firent une chapele
Ou chascuns d'els est enhorez
Et Dex serviz et aorez,

1663 B L M puet.
1664 B L M veulent.
1667 P de feu, B L du fu.
1668 *missing in* B, L M douz.
1669 L A martirs.
1672 M Mais, L le.
1673 B L M fierte.
1674 B deus, L deuls, M daus.
1677 M s'acoise.
1678 B Et li escriz.

1679 B L M sen repaire.
1680 B en son affaire, L a son.
1681 B se fu, M en fu.
1682 M Si assemblerent.
1683 B. L. M. crestien
1684 B L M Adrien.
1686 B deus, M daus.
1688 M dedenz.
1689 L sepouture.

Qui sanz fin rengne et rengnera
In seculorum secula.

- 1695 Or deprions saint Eüstace
 Qu'il deprit a Deu par sa grace
 Que toz fruiz de terre a bien viegne,
 Et que par son pri Deu soviegne
 De celui qui solonc la letre
 1700 Sot le latin en romanz metre,
 Et de cels qui le requerront
 Et memoire de lui feront,
 Et cels et nos et toz creanz
 Soit Dex par sa priere aidanz
 1705 Et a la mort et a la vie
 Chascuns de nos amen en die.
 Dex, qui (saint) Eüstace esprova[s]tes
 Et esprovanz ferm(e) le trovastes
 Encontre la tentacion,
 1710 Qui por sa grant devocion
 En paradis le coronastes,
 Donez nos, si com li donastes,
 En tote tribulacion
 Ai(d)e et consolacion.
 1715 Por ses merites nos prions
 Et par le pri ses compaignons
 Qu'aons le solaz pardurable,
 La joie qui ja n'iert finable,
 Qu' einsint le nos doint otroier
 1720 Cil qui fu por l'escot paier,
 Et por aquiter le treü
 Ou il n'avoit riens acreü,
 Trente deniers d'argent venduz,
 Et après en la croiz penduz;
 1725 Qui vit et reigne et reignera f. 122
In seculorum secula. Amen.

1691 B chascun fust honorez, L deuls,
 M chaucuns daus.

1692 B auruez.

1696 B *omits* de, D deprist.

1698 B en souviengne, M pri[re] dieu
 souviengne.

1699 B L M selonc, M leitre.

1700 M Seut.

1704 M proiere.

1706 L *omits* en. L and M end here.

1707 B esprovastes.

1708 B En esprouvant ferm.

1709 B temptation.

1710 B par.

1717 B Qu alons en soulaz.

NOTES.

2. It is interesting to see the copyist of M use the modern preposition *a* for the old *en*. See also 1111 for an instance somewhat different.
12. The form *lie* belongs to the *région d'ouest*, in *francien* the normal is *li*. The MSS. BLM give the variant *lui*, showing the tendency to generalize as tonic form for both genders. "Cet usage qui aurait fini par effacer toute différence entre les deux genres n'était pas très répandu et a complètement disparu." Nyrop, *Gram. hist.*, vol. ii, 528, 3, Rem., and 530, 31.)
14. Repeated in 440.
17. Godefroy gives two examples of *piere*.
29, 30. Cf. 380.
39. "Eüstaces" is the spelling throughout, except in 365 and 384, where we find Eüstaches. The first is more correct, but the latter has become the prevailing form with the reduction of *eü* to *eu*.
42. P has *saide* with a dot under the *d*. B L have the form required by the rime and correct for the thirteenth century. Compare the lesson *aie* of P (1387), where B L have *aide*, and M has *aïue*.
The form *aide* in modern French is due to the verb *aider*. Cf. Dictionnaire Général s. v.
47. The spelling *Iglise* is not isolated. Godefroy, *Complément*, gives two examples: *iglise* (Sans. de Nanteuil, *Proverbia Salomonis*, ap. Bartsch, Lang. et litt. fr., 153, 13).
- 52 ff. This ringing of the changes in the rimes was considered an artistic achievement by the older poets. For a better example cf. 631 ff.
57. Trajan, Emperor from 98 to 117 A. D.
58. The form *empere* in rime with *emperere* is no doubt the correct lesson, as also in 79-80. Godefroy, *Complément*, cites one example of the same rime:

Desconfiz est li emperere
Et trestuit cil de sen empere
Sont mort et pris et retenu.
(Gaut. d'Arras, *Ille et Galer.*, 6505, ed. Löseth.

61. Mahons. The Latin *Vita* says, "daemonum praevalente fallacia." It is not surprising to find this kind of anachronism, nor is it unusual to see the identification of Mahons with the idols of Rome. Cf.

Et aimoient les idoles et les mähommes
Qui sont sans parole et sans entendement.
(Hist. de Tournay, Richel. 24430) in Godefroy.

Cf. also the English words *Mahoun* and *maumet*.

73. Placidus. Although this is the true Latin spelling representing the Greek, some of the other versions in French give Placidus, which is sometimes followed in English works of reference, for example, *New International Encyclopedia*. See also Caxton's translation.
191. Cornelius, the devout centurion told of in Acts, X.

- 198 ff. St. Eustache is regarded by the Roman Church as the patron of the chase. Cf. St. Hubert (c. 656-727), patron and founder of Liège, also converted by seeing a cross upon the head of a stag which he was chasing. Generally regarded as patron of hunters and healer of hydrophobia.
143. The demonstrative force of the article is clear here and in 311.
215. *Que me suis tu?* "O Placida, quid me insequeris?" Evidently this entire incident has undergone the influence of the Bible account of St. Paul's conversion.
- 256 ff. Compare the Latin *Vita*:
- Ego sum Jesus Christus, qui indiscretam materiam distinxi, qui lucem oriri feci, et tenebras divisi. Ego sum qui (solem ad lucem diei creavi et lunam cum stellis ad lumen noctis formavi). Ego sum, qui hominem formavi de limo terrae, qui propter salutem generis humani in terris apparui in carne, qui crucifixus et sepultus, tertia die resurrexi.
275. The incident of Christ's descent into hell is not given by the Latin version, but it is apropos to cite from 1 Peter, III, 19. "By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison." Cf. also G. Paris, *Litt. fr. au moyen âge*, 3d edition, § 139.
280. *Resurrexi*. Cf. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique*, v. ii, 180, 1, Rem., "Comme terme religieux on emploie au moyen âge la forme savante *surrexi*."
290. In the manuscript P, opposite the word *crestienté*, there is a simple drawing of a fish. It is well known that during the days of persecutions at Rome this was a secret sign for the Christians.
338. *Je lo*, Latin *laudo*.
358. *Prinseingna*. Du Cange gives *praesignare* and cites *preseignier*. The form *priseignier* is also found. *Prinseignier* is frequent in Old French, but how explain the presence of the n? "*Prinseignier est l'adverbe primum précédant le verbe signare*." (Gaston Paris in *Mélanges Linguistiques*, p. 199, edited by M. Roques.)
- 365-6. For the rime, compare 1667-8. For the explanation of this rime cf. Darmester, *Traité de la formation de la langue fr.*, § 329, Rem.
368. The Latin names are Eustachius or Eustathius, Theopista, Agapius or Agapitus and Theopistus.
427. *Tu t'as penné*. The auxiliary *avoir* is sometimes found with reflexives in Old French.
- 439-40. Cf. 13-14.
451. A Spanish prose version of the Eustache Legend was published by Hermann Knust in *Dos Obras didacticas y dos Leyendas sacadas de Ms. de la Bibl. del Escorial*, Madrid, 1878. A review of the same was given by Reinhold Köhler in the *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, iii, p. 272. In both of the above the motif of choosing misfortune in youth or old age is illustrated by citations from many literatures, ranging from Armenian to Danish.
541. *Sanz seü*, "without being discovered." This locution usually occurs in the feminine in Old French, cf. Italian *senza saputa*, but two examples of the masculine are given by Godefroy (*Complément*).
570. On *preis* and *presis* cf. Nyrop, vol. ii, 182, Observations.
584. Gloss in M says this line is a proverb.

734. Dadissus. The Latin source gives Badissus. I have not been able to identify the place.
750. For similar use of singular collective with plural verb cf. 942.
763-4. The Latin version gives the names as Antiochus and Achacius.
830. This line seems to result from the fusing of two locutions, *si vous voulez* and *si l'hôtel peut vous plaire*. However, cf. Nyrop, *Gram. hist.*, vol. ii, 6, *Rem.*
1024. Ydaspis, Hydaspis, river of India which flows into the Indus. The author's geography is doubtless confused.
1100. The form *el*, abridged from *ele*, is found as early as the twelfth century. Nyrop cites the last examples in R. Garnier.
1261. The thought is one dear to the poet.
1269. *Mort* is used in the sense of *tué* (as in most of the Romance languages).
1464. Compare the book of Daniel here and for 1527 ff.
1493. *Vita*: aereum bovem.
1628. Nois de novel sor branche, cf. Godefroy, s. v. *nois*.

N'avoit vestu fors sa cemise,
Qui plus estoit blanche, a devise,
Que n'est la nois qui siet sor branche.
(Ren. de Beaujeu, *li Biaus Desconneus*, 2383, Hippeau.)

The gloss in M gives the correct meaning, "snow recently fallen."

1635. *Especies chires*, cf. Godefroy, s. v. *espece*,

Laiens avoit itels odors
Et des especes et des flors
Que cil qui s'estoit laiens mis
Cuidoit qu'il fust en paradis.
(Ren. de Beaujeu, *li Biaus Desconneus*, 4243, Hippeau.)

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THE OLD FRENCH DIPHTHONG EI(EY) AND MIDDLE ENGLISH METRICS

I. SEINT, SEINTE

IN § 140 of the Introduction to my *Middle English Reader* (1905) I wrote:

"The OF. *seint* often appears as *seinte*, but not exclusively before feminines. It is probable that both forms were adopted without regard to the OF. distinction of gender, though *seinte* would naturally occur before certain feminines, as *Seinte Marie*." To this statement I was led by some fairly full examination of the matter in various texts. Moreover, in my *Selections from Chaucer* (1911), I discarded Professor Skeat's *sēynt*, printing *Seinte Loy* (*Prol.* 120), *Seinte Poules* (509), *Seinte Peter* (697). Dr. MacCracken did the same in his edition of *Chaucer* (1913). More recently Professor Tatlock has also rejected "Skeat's impossible *sēynt*" (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXI, 139, footnote), and has given some further examples from Chaucer to support the use of *seinte* (*seynte*) before masculines. It seems desirable to bring together a larger number of examples to illustrate the statement above and perhaps add something to the discussion.

The examples may be classified as follows, references being to Chaucer unless otherwise specified. The predominance of masculine forms is of course due to the greater number of men saints. Vocatives are excluded, as not now under consideration, and no other strictly weak forms occur.

I. Seint (seynt) is monosyllabic and unstressed, (1) before names beginning with a vowel and accented on the first syllable, whether masculine or feminine: Seint Yve (*Ship. T.* 227; *Som. T.* 235); Seint Austin (*Ship. T.* 259); Seint Anne (*Man. of L. T.* 543); Seinte Anne (*Friar's T.* 315), where of course final *-e* was not pronounced; Seint Ambrose (*Sec. N's T.* 271); Seynt Idiot (*Troil.* I, 910).

(2) before a name beginning with a consonant and accented on the first syllable, whether masculine or feminine: Seint Julian

(*Prol.* 340; Gower, *Conf. Amant.* III, 34); Seint Jame (*Prol.* 466; *Reeve's T.* 344; *W. of B's Prol.* 312; *Clerk's T.* 1098; *H. of F.* 885); Seint Joce (*W. of B's Prol.* 483); Seint Nicholas (*Prior's T.* 62); Seint Poules (*N. Pr. Prol.* 14); Seint Paul (*N. Pr. T.* 621); Seint Ronyan (*Host to Phys.* 24); Seint John (*Som. T.* 92, 544); Seint Gyle (*Can. Yeo. T.* 632; *H. of F.* 1183); Seynt Valentyne (*P. of F.* 309, 322, 386; *L. of G. W.* B145, A131; *Amor. Comp.* 85); Seynt Note (*Mil. T.* 585), if a nine-syllable line as is probable; Seint Peter, Seint Poul (Gower, *Conf. Amant.* II, 3335); Seynt Venus (*L. of G. W.* 338B), if a nine-syllable line as seems certain; in the A text, however, *Seint* is monosyllabic with the name stressed on the last syllable (compare II, 1).

II. Seint (seynt) is monosyllabic and stressed before a name of two or more syllables accented on the second: Seint Beneit (*Prol.* 173); Seint Thomas (*Prol.* 826; *Mil. T.* 105, 239, 275; *W. of B's Prol.* 666; *Merch. Prol.* 18; *H. of F.* 1131); Seint Cutberd (*Reeve's T.* 207); Seint Denys (*Ship. T.* 59, 67, 151, 308, 326); Seint Martyn (*Ship. T.* 148); Seint Austin (*Prior Prol.* 7); Seint Edward (*M'k's Prol.* 82); Seint Kenelm (*N. Pr. T.* 290); Seint Ronyan (*Host to Phys.* 34); Seint Eleyne (*Pard. T.* 623); Seint Jerome (*W. of B's Prol.* 674); Seint Dunstan (*Friar's T.* 204); Seint Simoun (*Som. T.* 386); Seynt Johan (*B. of D.* 1319); Seint Cecilie (*Sec. N's T.* 85, 550); Seint Cecile (*Can. Yeo. Pr.* 1); Seynt Cecyle (*L. of G. W.* 426B, 416A); Seint Venus (*L. of G. W.* 313A); Seint Gregoire (Gower, *Conf. Amant.* V, 1756).

III. Seinte (seynte) is dissyllabic and stressed, (1) before a name accented on the first syllable, whether masculine or feminine: Seinte Marie (*Host to Phys.* 22; *Pard. T.* 357; *Friar's T.* 306; *Merch. T.* 1174); Seynte Clare (*H. of F.* 1066); Seynt[e] Venus (*W. of B's T.* 604); possibly also *L. of G. W.* 338B, but compare I, 2); Seinte Cecile (*Sec. N's T.* 274) at beginning of line, though possibly either with the name accented on the second syllable (so coming under II), or even with *Seinte* a monosyllable and the name a trissyllable accented on the first; Seynt[e] Loy (*Prol.* 120; *Friar's T.* 266); Seynt[e] Poules (*Prol.* 509); Seynt[e] Peter (*Prol.* 697); perhaps Seynt[e] Note (*Mil. T.* 585), or better under I, 2) as a nine-syllable line.¹

(2) before *charitee* and *trinitee* in dative phrases: Seynte charitee

¹ The Globe Chaucer reads seinte Venus (*W. of B's Prol.* 604); seinte Loy (*Prol.* 120; *Friar's T.* 266); seinte Peter (*Prol.* 697); seinte Note (*Mil. T.* 585), but seint Poules (*Prol.* 509). Compare its hëynous with split diphthong in *Troilus* II, 1617.

(*Kt. T.* 863); *N's Pr. T.* 500; *Som. T.* 411); per seinte charitee (*Gower, Conf. Amant.* IV, 964); seinte trinitee (*Som. T.* 116).²

In these examples one or two cases of doubt or difference in reading have already been considered. It may be added of *Seint Poules* (*N. Pr. Prol.* 14) that, while *Seint* may be monosyllabic with stress on the preceding *by*, it is also possible to read *Seinte*, *hoste* before the cesural pause then being a monosyllable, as it is in *Manc. Prol.* 56. In *Prol.* 173 a smoother line would be

The reule of Seinte Maure or Seint Beneit,

and such reading might be justified as we shall see. In no other case in Chaucer is *Seint* stressed when followed by a name usually accented on the first syllable, and for this reason I have not included it in the above lists.

Most of these examples need no special explanation. Even if written *Seinte* before a name beginning with a vowel or before a name accented on the second syllable, the final unstressed *-e* would not normally be pronounced. In such cases, therefore, there could be no distinction of gender expressed, even if intended. This accounts for all examples under I, 1) and II. An unstressed *seint*, or *seinte* if it should be so written, is monosyllabic in all cases, as under I, 2), and here again gender could not have been intended by the single form. There remain only the examples under III. In these *seinte* (*seynte*) can not be a feminine form, since it is quite as necessary to the meter before masculine names like *Loy*,³ *Poules*, *Peter*, as before the feminine name *Venus* in *W. of B's Prol.* 604. Besides it also occurs regularly before *charitee*, *trinitee*, which could hardly have retained their Old French gender relations in

² For more completeness I note the following vocatives: *Seinte Marie* (*Merch. T.* 93; *Sir Thop.* 73; *H. of F.* 573); *Seinte Frideswyde* (*Mil. T.* 263); *Seint Valentyne* (*P. of F.* 683; *Comp. to Lodest.* 43). In *Merch. T.* 655 *Seinte Marie* may best be read *Seint Marie* with accent on the last syllable, though possibly with *Seinte* dissyllabic and *Marie* accented on the first syllable. In *Mil. T.* 297, 300, the vocative as well as the meter require *Seint[e] Benedight*, *Seint[e] Petres soster*, and I think there should be no hesitancy in so reading; compare Ten Brink (*Chaucers Sprache*, § 242). For *Seint Valentyne* above, we must assume the occasional loss of final *-e* in a vocative, as in *Troil.* I, 458; *Pard. Prol.* 24, 49.

³ Unless we restore in this word its OF. form *Eloy*. Doubtless, however, the shortened form was the more common in English.

English. The idea that the forms *seint—seinte* represent Old French gender relations breaks down entirely. Can the two forms be accounted for on grounds of English usage?

No one seems to have brought to this discussion a well-known variation between the forms of strictly English adjectives. Ten Brink pointed out (*Chaucers Sprache*, § 231) that final *-e* has been added to certain English adjectives by analogy of forms with that ending historically. He mentions only the two forms *fayr—fayre*, while a considerable number of such double forms might be given, as for instance by Kittredge (*Language of Chaucer's Troilus*, § 49). Let us take for example *fayr—fayre*, *fresh—fresshe*. Both of these, too, in their longer forms with *-e* are common enough before feminine names, but the longer forms are not invariable before such names. In this respect, therefore, the use of the two forms in each case is practically parallel with that of *seint—seinte*. In the examples I exclude weak forms of course, as well as those before nouns beginning with a vowel, and for the present all dative phrases.

Thus *fair (fayr)* appears, to quote only a few examples, in 'a fair forheed' (*Prol.* 154); 'a fair for the maistrye' (*Prol.* 165); 'faire Custance,' where *faire* must be a monosyllable (*M. of L's T.* 621); 'so fair, so debonaire' (*L. of G. W.* B276); 'hit be not fair' (*L. of G. W.* 2548). The second form *faire (fayre)* is also frequent, as 'faire Venus' (*Comp. of M.* 46; *Kt. T.* 1805); 'faire Rewthelees' (*Comp. to his L.* 31); 'fayre Cecilie' (*Sec. N. T.* 115).

Similar examples of *fresh—fresshe* may also be found. Of the first are 'gay, fresh, ne jolif' (*R. of R.* 435); 'so fresh, so yong' (*Troil.* II, 636); 'fresh was his hewe' (*L. of G. W.* 1761). The second form *fresshe* appears often, as 'fresshe beautee' (*Pity* 39); 'robe fresshe' (*R. of R.* 1187); 'fresshe rede rose' (*P. of F.* 442); 'fresshe brother Troilus' (*Troil.* 157); 'This Diomedes, as fresshe' (*Troil.* V, 844); 'fresshe flour' (*L. of G. W.* 116).

Examples of other adjectives of double form might also be cited, as *heigh (hey, hy)—heighe (heye, hye)*, and the foreign derived *fals—false*. For the latter compare 'fals report' (*Troil.* I, 593); 'fals felicittee' (*Troil.* III, 814); 'she is fals' (*Troil.* IV, 616); 'false worldes brotelnesse' (*Troil.* V, 1832); 'false Polyphete' (*Troil.* II, 1467), as most manuscripts read the passage.

It must be clear from these examples that the variation of *fair*—*faire*, *fresh*—*fresshe*, *heigh* (*hey*, *hy*)—*heighe* (*heye*, *hye*), *fals*—*false*, and we may now add *seint*—*seinte*, rests on no gender relation. I suggest that the second form with final unstressed *-e* is due to analogy of the large class of adjectives which have that ending for historical reasons. Middle English adjectives, like Middle English nouns, fall into two well-marked classes—those without final unstressed *-e* and those with that ending; Cf. my *Mid. Eng. Reader*, § 138–9. Some adjectives of the first class regularly assume an inorganic or unhistorical *-e*. Others, as those we are discussing, appear in both forms at different times. Such shifting from one form to another is exactly paralleled by a similar shifting of some nouns between the two similar classes of substantives. As influential, also, may perhaps be considered the constant shifting from strong to weak forms in adjectives capable of weak inflection, as well as the freedom with which an inflectional *-e* in the singular might be used or not for the meter at the pleasure of the poet; cf. Ten Brink (*Chaucers Sprache*, § 236).

But another final unstressed *-e* has a bearing upon the subject. Adjectives like nouns sometimes retain such an *-e* in dative phrases. Such datives of nouns have long been recognized, as by Ten Brink, § 201. In *Mid. Eng. Reader*, § 126, I have cited for nouns the dative phrases as *on live* 'alive,' *to bedde* 'to bed,' *to wedde* 'for a pledge,' *for fere* 'for fear,' and in § 139 (revised ed.) such adjective phrases as 'of *none* gode,' 'of *harde* grace.' To these may be added as examples from Chaucer 'in *olde tyme*' (*B. of D.* 53); 'of *olde tyme*' (*Troil.* V, 470); 'on *alle thing*' (*B. of D.* 141); 'in . . . *salte se*' (*Troil.* III, 8); 'of *ferne yere*' (*Troil.* V, 1176); 'of *faire yonge fresshe Venus*' (*Kt. T.* 1528). With such examples multiplied as may easily be done, it is impossible not to believe in this occasional dative of the adjective in dative phrases.⁴ Not only, therefore, may the final unstressed *-e* of certain adjectives be due to analogy of adjectives which regularly have such an ending, but in

⁴ This dative, not noted by Ten Brink, is occasionally recognized as such by Skeat in his *Glossary*, as also in his *Grammatical Outlines to Works of Chaucer*, VI, § 78. Manly, *Language of Legend of Good Women*, § 49, has a mild suggestion that certain phrases may perpetuate an old dative construction.

some cases it may be due to this retention of final *-e* in dative phrases.

Enough has been said to show that a variation between *seint*—*seinte*, as in other such words, can be accounted for on a wholly English basis. With such variation established, too, must disappear Skeat's *sēynt* forms with the diphthong broken into two syllables,—quite "impossible" in any case as Professor Tatlock has implied. Instead of *sēynt* we should read *seinte* (*seynte*) without doubt. The latter form is by general analogy of adjectives in final unstressed *-e*, as in *Seynte Peter* (*Prol.* 697), a nominative case, or more commonly a dative in a dative phrase. For example all the other instances in which *seinte* (*seynte*) should be read before a masculine noun in Chaucer, *Seynte Loy* (*Prol.* 120; *Friar's T.* 266), *Seynte Poules* (*Prol.* 509), and possibly *Seynte Note* (*Mil. T.* 585), occur in dative phrases, and may be regarded as retention of a final unstressed *-e* from an older case form. So also Chaucer's *seynte charitee* (*Kt. T.* 863; *N's Pr. T.* 500, *Som. T.* 411) and *seynte trinitee* (*Som. T.* 116) are in dative phrases.⁵

One objection may be met. In Gower's *Confessio Amantis* IV, 964, the Old French phrase occurs in full, 'per seinte charitee,' and there can be no question that Chaucer as Gower may have had the French expression in mind. On the other hand, in his considerable number of examples of *seint*—*seinte* Chaucer must have been reflecting English speech usage in the case of other English adjectives, and we may reasonably assume that the double forms of this word were due to purely English analogy. Foreign influence is not necessary, and probably did not make itself felt.

Such general analogy of English adjectives ending in unstressed *-e* seems a much more adequate explanation of the facts than Ten Brink's suggestion of the "petrified vocative" (§ 235, note). The one example which Ten Brink quotes as certainly exemplifying his theory, 'goode faire Whyte' of *B. of D.* 948, might seem to support it, but such a theory would not well explain the great number of examples, especially the frequent datives. To Ten Brink's idea

⁵ It may be worth while noting that in all the examples of *seint-seinte* so far given in this paper, 63 are in dative phrases, compared with 23 nominatives, 9 vocatives, and 1 accusative, all singulars in number.

Zupitza (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 1885, col. 610) demurred, as Professor Tatlock also in the article above. Zupitza proposed that weak forms of adjectives, especially of *god* (*good*), occur before proper names by analogy of such weak forms after demonstratives and possessives. Freudenberger (*Ueber das Fehlen des Auftakts in Chaucers heroischen Verse*, pp. 37-39) fell back on Ten Brink's theory of vocative influence, adding the possible influence of the weak form of the plural. Neither of these accounts for the many phrases which do not contain a proper name, and neither seems as adequate an explanation as the one here proposed. The influence of the vocative and other weak forms may have assisted the analogy I have pointed out, but they are scarcely sufficient in themselves for the majority of examples.

II. DEYNOUS, HEYNOUS

Professor Skeat made the diphthong *ey* dissyllabic at least once in each of these words, and Professor Kittredge (*Language of Troilus*, § 140, 146) suggests such reading of the second in *Troilus* II, 1617, in order to make an otherwise nine-syllable line more regular. If, however, this diphthong may not be separated in this way, and I think I have shown it to be unnecessary in *seint*—*seinte*, what is to be said of these words? For the second, which occurs in the expression 'so heynous' at the beginning of a line, the assumption of a nine-syllable line solves the difficulty at once, and is clearly better than the split diphthong.*

Skeat's *dēynous* occurs in the *Reeve's Tale* 21,

His name was hoten deynous Simkin,

a line which is clearly imperfect without some modification. The Petworth MS. even reads *deynezous*, perhaps suggesting such a double form as occurs in ME. *pitous*, *piteous*. Chaucer, however, uses only the *deynous*, *pitous* forms, the first appearing as a dissyllable in *Troilus* I, 290:

Which somdel deynous was, for she leet falle.

* The Globe *Chaucer* follows Skeat in splitting the diphthong here.

In accord with the latter, therefore, and instead of what I believe is the impossible dieresis in *deynous*, I suggest emending the line by reading *Simekin*.⁷ Double forms of the same name are so common in Chaucer that *Simkin*—*Simekin*, even in the same tale, would be no departure from his ordinary usage. Such classical names as *Theseus*, *Perotheus*, *Almachius*, appear with *eus* (*ius*) as one or two syllables at the pleasure of the poet. A still better classical example is *Cleopataras* (*L. of G. W.* 582), with extra syllable for the meter, beside *Cleopatras* (*L. of G. W.* 604) and the more common *Cleopatre*.

A more exact parallel in a common name is *Jankin*—*Janekin*. Besides the appearance of the first in *Ship. Prol.* 10, *Som. T.* 580, 585, it occurs in *W. of B's Prol.* 548, 628, 713. In the same *Prol.* 303, 383, its variant *Janekin* is found, and should doubtless be read at 595 also.⁸ In his *Glossary* Skeat has suggested such a reading as possible "in some places," without indicating them specifically. So slight a change, therefore, as *Simekin* for *Simkin* is not only in keeping with the double forms *Jankin*—*Janekin* in other places, but is unquestionably better than a dissyllabic diphthong in *deynous*. Perhaps *Simekin* should be read at line 35 also, the final *-e* of *hadde* being elided before *hosen*, and certainly at line 39, where *wolde* is better as a monosyllable. The form *Simekin* is more necessary in the latter line, because of the rime with *boydekin*, and Harleian MS. reads *Symekyn* in this place, a reading adopted by the *Globe Chaucer*.

III. CRESEYDA, ENEIDOS, OENONE

It need scarcely be said that the dieresis marked by Skeat in the first two of these words rests upon a different basis from that in the words so far discussed. In both these cases classical forms of the words fully account for the treatment of *ey* (*ei*) as two syllables, compared with the usual treatment of *ey* (*ei*) as a true diphthong in the first name when derived from Old French. The third name as used by Chaucer is a misunderstanding of a classical form, certainly not a splitting of what was recognized as a true diphthong.

⁷ The *Globe Chaucer* reads *Symekyn* here, in line 39, but not in line 35.

⁸ Mr. MacCracken so reads in his edition of *Chaucer*.

The purpose of this paper is not simply to discount Professor Skeat's splitting of the Old French-Middle English diphthong *ei* (*ey*) into two syllables for metrical purposes. More important, it is hoped, is the suggestion of the true analogy for numerous double forms of adjectives in Middle English, and the fuller explanation of the adjectives with final unstressed *-e* in dative phrases.

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COLOR SYMBOLISM IN TIRSO DE MOLINA

MR. HERBERT A. KENYON recently published an article¹ in which he set forth clearly and with penetration the symbolism of colors which was recognized in Spain during the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth centuries. *Morado* was the color of love, *verde* of hope, *azul* of jealousy, *amarillo* of despair, *leonado* (tawny) of anguish, *naranjado* of constancy, *negro* of mourning, *pardo* of grief, *blanco* of innocence, beside some minor shades.

Mr. Kenyon's study carried the first detailed statement that I know of concerning this elaborate code of color symbols. He touched only lightly upon other forms of literature than the *romances*, devoting a little over one page to the drama, and still less to the early novel. Since the matter is interesting and relatively unconsidered, it may be worth while to illustrate it further with certain passages from the plays of Tirso de Molina.

The fullest explanation of the code that I have observed in Tirso occurs in *La república al revés*, III, 8. (*Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, edited by Cotarelo, Madrid, 1906-7; vol. II, p. 108.) The play is not one that will ever be widely read, and perhaps it is permissible to drag the entire scene from its obscurity. The pure symbolism, it will be observed, is intermingled with puns springing from the dramatist's sparkling invention.

"Sale LIDORA con CAMILA a tocarse al espejo y siéntase.

CAM. ¿Qué vestido has de ponerte?

LID. Cualquiera; saca el morado
sobre tela acuchillado.

¹ *Color symbolism in early Spanish ballads*, *ROM. REV.*, VI (1915), 327-340. The title is a little misleading, as none of the ballads from which Mr. Kenyon draws his material are *romances antiguos*. Nearly all are of the *morisco* and late *artístico* period (1570-1620), and the one (Durán, *Rom. gen.*, no. 297) which reaches back nearly to 1500 belongs also to the cultured product. The really early ballads contain, I believe, nothing of the kind.

Quite independently, Prof. F. O. Reed let fall a few words concerning color symbolism in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXI (1916), 176.

- CAM. Triste estás de aquesta suerte.
 LID. ¿Triste? ni por pensamiento;
 lo morado, ¿no es amor?
- CAM. Sí; pero aquese color
 es de Cuaresma o Adviento.
 LID. Salga el turquesado, pues.
 CAM. Deja lo azul a los cielos,
 no te pronostiques celos;
 el de rosa seca es
 buen color y grave.
- LID. Quita
 allá tanta terquedad;
 que la rosa de mi edad
 ni está seca ni marchita.
- CAM. Ponte el de flor de romero.
 LID. La color es extremada,
 pero el nombre no me agrada.
- CAM. ¿No le quieres?
 LID. No le quiero.
- CAM. ¿Qué es la causa porque cobras
 odio al romero?
- LID. ¿No ves
 que huele a pobreza y es
 la pastilla de los pobres?
- CAM. Pues traeréte el verde obscuro.
 LID. Verde obscuro, ¿qué mudanza
 entristece mi esperanza?
 ¿No vive mi amor seguro?
- CAM. Ponte el blanco.
 LID. Es de novel
 que se arma caballero.
- CAM. ¿Pajizo?
 LID. No desespero.
- CAM. ¿Encarnado?
 LID. Es muy crüel.
- CAM. ¿Verde mar?
 LID. No me contenta,
 que esperanza puesta en mar
 o se tiene de anegar
 o ha de padecer tormenta.

CAM. El leonado es a mi gusto.
 LID. No me llamo yo Leonora
 ni estoy congojada ahora.
 CAM. Ponte el negro.
 LID. De ese gusto
 ningún color se le iguala,
 por eso con él me alegro.
 que sale sobre lo negro
 por extremo cualquier gala.
 Ponle los botones de oro
 porque no digan que es luto."

Scarcely less explicit is a passage in *La huerta de Juan Fernández*, II, 6 (*Bibl. de aut. esp.*, vol. V, p. 642a), in which Don Hernando expounds the symbolism of his garden.

"Este jardín es mi escuela
 donde cursando desvela
 el miedo imaginaciones;
 sus lazos son mis renglones,
 y en sus cláusulas revela
 misterios mi amor. Sus hojas
 dan materia a mis cuidados,
 encendidos con las rojas,
 si moradas, aliviados,
 si leonadas, son congojas.
 Ya con las verdes espero;
 con las azules me abraso,
 con las amarillas muero,
 casto con las blancas paso,
 y con las pardas me altero. . . ."

Similarly, the heroine of *El amor y el amistad* voices the teachings of nature (I, 2; *Bibl. Aut. Esp.* V, 329a):

"Las flores, cuyos matices
 labran planteles perfetos,
 de amor imitan afetos,
 ya prósperos, ya infelices;
 y siendo sus semejanzas,
 pintan con varias colores,
 en lo amarillo temores,
 como en lo verde esperanzas.

Si lo azul me causa celos,
 lo morado me asegura;
 lo blanco es voluntad pura,
 si lo leonado desvelos;
 y todo junto pregona,
 con guirnaldas que me ofrece,
 que al que amando permanece,
 la posesión le corona: . . ." etc.

There are in other plays short references that may shed light on some doubtful point. In *Tanto es lo de más como lo de menos*, II, 2 (ed. Cotarelo, I, p. 130b),

LIBERIO: "Yo quiero salir de verde
 y encarnado, que es color
 que conforma con mi humor."

His "humor" is a very merry one, as becomes the Prodigal Son in his most spendthrift mood.

In *La villana de la Sagra*, III, 2 (B.A.E., V, 320b):

"el verde de su esperanza
 y el morado de su amor."

In *Amar por señas*, I, 15 (B.A.E., V, p. 468a):

FELIPO: "¿Qué colores son las vuestras?
 ENRIQUE: Blanco, leonado y pajizo.

In *Doña Beatriz de Silva*, I, 6 (ed. Cotarelo, I, 494b):

MELGAR: ¿Qué color?
 JUAN: Azul y plata.
 MELGAR: ¿Celos castos? ¡Oh, qué bien!

There are also a number of color symbols, too scattered to be copied profitably, in *Palabras y plumas*, I, 4 (B.A.E., V, 3c).

In addition to the passages from plays, there is a sonnet *To Jealousy* which Tirso included with other lyrics in the *Segunda Parte* of his *Comedias* (1635).² It has been reprinted by Cotarelo, vol. I, p. lxxxiii. It contains these lines, addressed to "los celos":

² There seems to be no certainty that Tirso wrote these lyrics, which are printed between some *entremeses*, mostly by Quiñones de Benavente.

"Si azules os pintaron muchos legos,
los cultos os pintamos ya pajizos."

Which appears to be nothing more than one of Tirso's wonted thrusts at the *poetas cultos*. Since *pajizo* is a variety of yellow, the implication is that in the followers of Góngora jealousy turned quickly to despair.

One may cite also a longish passage in Lope de Vega, *El Marqués de Mantua* (*Obras*, ed. Acad., vol. XIII, p. 295a), which I will not transcribe, since it adds little that is new.³

If one takes the trouble to compare the definitions of various colors furnished by these passages with Mr. Kenyon's article, he will find that they add nothing of much importance to his results. *Turquesado*, which Cetina, in his sonnet upon the meanings of colors, defined as *soberbia*,⁴ is here treated as merely one form of *azul* (*La república al revés*, III, 8). *Encarnado*, one of the many shades of red, is described in the same passage as *muy crüel*, which corresponds to Cetina's conception, "crüeza o sujecion es lo encarnado." So also Lope in *El Marqués de Mantua*. But in the speech of the Prodigal (*Tanto es lo de más*, II, 2), it almost certainly symbolizes joy, as Pérez de Hita said it did.⁵ Cetina said joy was represented by *colorado*, and Mr. Kenyon (p. 334 and note 50) found red twice standing for *alegría*, but in both cases the word used was *carmesi*.⁶ All of which goes to show that the shades of red had no firmly fixed place in the code.

Leonado is three times (*Repúb. al revés*, *Huerta de Juan Fern., Marq. de Mantua*) said to represent *congojas*, and once *desvelos* (*El Amor y el amistad*). This corresponds to Mr. Kenyon's determination.

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³ *Nácar* is there bracketed with *azul* as a symbol of jealousy. In Tirso's *Palabras y plumas*, I, 4, Don Iñigo wears "de verde y nácar el vestido," but I cannot determine whether *nácar* adds anything to the thought.

⁴ Mr. Kenyon does not discuss *turquesado* himself. Cetina's sonnet is reprinted on p. 338 of his article.

⁵ "Encarnado y blanco, señal de alegría y contento." *Guerras civiles de Granada, Primera Parte*, ed. P. Blanchard-Demouge, Madrid, 1913, p. 45, ll. 41-42. Cited by Kenyon, p. 339.

⁶ Durán, *Rom. gen.*, nos. 153 and 154. Is there any justification for thinking that *columbino*, which seems to indicate joy in Durán, is a red color, as Mr. Kenyon supposes?

THE IRRATIONAL NEGATIVE IN CONCESSIVE CLAUSES IN FRENCH

IN an article on the use of the illogical negative in concessive sentences in German and cognate languages, W. E. Collinson says:¹ "Outside the Germanic languages no parallels have come to light, though irrational negatives are known in both Greek and Latin in other connections. There is, strange to say, an irrational 'never so' in certain Modern Romance languages, but not in concessive clauses of degree. In the *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen* of Diez, in Part III, p. 429, are to be found the questions *quien vió nunca tal mal?* and Portuguese *quem vio nunca tal cousa?*"

With reference to the use of the irrational negative in concessive sentences in Anglo-Norman,² Johan Vising says:³

Comme on le voit, ce *ne* se trouve toujours combiné avec *ja* et *si* ou *tant*; cette combinaison est l'équivalent de la tournure anglaise *never so*, et de la tournure scandinave *aldrig sa* (voir l'article de M. Collinson, *The Irrational Negative in Concessive Sentences*, *Modern Language Review*, t. X, pages 362-3). Il est probable que quelques auteurs anglo-normands—ils sont rares—ont adopté ou imité l'usage anglais. Ils n'ont certainement pas pris cet usage de *ne* dans le français du continent, car je ne crois pas qu'il y existe.

An examination of early French texts shows that the construction under consideration was also used by French writers living on the continent:

Il n'est nus hon, s'il les öist,
Quant li uns a l'autre jehist,
Comant il avoient erré,
Ja tant n'ëust le cuer ferré,
Qu'a öir mout ne li plëust,
Et joie et pitié an ëust.

(*Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 2683-2689.)

¹ See *Modern Language Review*, 1915, p. 364.

² Cf. Chescun i ad ovel dreit,
Ja si povres hom ne seit.

(*Le Roman de Philosophie*, ed. by Matzke, 523-524.)

³ See *Modern Language Review*, 1916, p. 221.

Tot fet sanz ire et sanz rancune :
Ne refuse chose nes une,
Ja n'iert tant vils ne tant despite.
(*Ibid.*, 1029-1031.)

Et l'espee est an son aguet
Desus, qui tret et fiert et prant ;
Qu'ele eschape lués et desçant,
Que riens nule adoise a la clef,
Ja n'i tochera si soef.
(*Yvain*, 916-920.)

Por quoi aussi come an prison
Est gardeë an Costantinoble,
Ja n'iert tant riche ne tant noble,
L'anpererriz, ques qu'ele soit ;
Que l'anperere ne la croit
Tant con de cesti li ramanbre.
(*Cligés*, 6772-6777.)

Vers la chambre torne son vis,
Si que ceus puet de plain veoir
Qui as fenestres vont seoir,
Ne jamais cil ne le verront,
Ja tant garde ne s'en prendront.
(*Guillaume de Palerne*, 1284-1288.)

Car à piece nonnés n'aroie,
Ja si pener ne m'en saroie,
Les dons qui là furent donné,
Tant en i par ot grant plenté.
(*Li Roumans de Cléomadès*, 17949-17952.)⁴

Li rois dist k'il l'esproveroit,
Jai si fort ne li greveroit.
(*Li Romans de Dolopathos*, 6147-6148.)⁵

Of the texts examined, the one in which this construction occurs most frequently is the *Roman de la Rose*.⁶ This text contains nineteen⁷ examples of the irrational negative in concessive clauses,

⁴ Compare also ll. 8547-8548.

⁵ Compare ll. 2221-2223 ; 6180-6181.

⁶ See *Le Roman de la Rose*, edited by Francisque-Michel, Paris, 1864.

⁷ Compare ll. 5711, 6546, 8661, 8679, 8719, 8948, 9008, 10659, 11581, 11842, 12936, 13287, 14897, 16431, 16837, 16857, 18663, 19419.

the form of the verb used in each case being either the future or the conditional. The examples just cited not only show that Vising is wrong in assuming that French writers living on the continent did not make use of the irrational negative in concessive clauses, but they also lead one to believe that the statement that Anglo-Norman writers *n'ont certainement pas pris cet usage de ne dans le français du continent* is at least open to doubt.

It will be observed that the verb found in this construction may be either the future or the subjunctive. Of the four examples of this usage cited from the works of Chrétien de Troies,⁸ the future is used three times and the subjunctive once. In the case of the two Anglo-Norman poems, *Le Bestiaire* of Philippe de Thaon and *Le Roman de Philosophie* of Simund de Freine, the irrational negative is followed by the future in the former⁹ and by the subjunctive in the latter.¹⁰ In the earliest stage in the development of this construction the future was probably used altogether.

The concessive sentences under consideration may be divided into two groups.

I. Clauses containing *tant*, a verb in the subjunctive, and an adjective, adverb, or noun :

Ne n'a baron an cest païs,
Tant soit riches ne poestis,
 Qui l'eüst a fame prise
 Volantiers tot a ma devise.

(*Erec et Enide*, 525-528.)

Por savoir et por esprover,
 Se ja porroit home trover,
 Qui l'un de l'autre desvisast,
Tant clerement i avisast.

(*Cligés*, 1163-1166.)

Onques n'avoit oï parler
 D'ome qu'ele deignast amer,
Tant eüst biauté ne poesce.

(*Ibid.*, 447-449.)

⁸ See the examples given above.

⁹ See Emmanuel Walberg's edition, Paris, 1900, 714-716:

Durs est li quirs qu'il at,
 Pur pierre n'iert rumpuz,
Ja tant nen iert feruz.

¹⁰ See Matzke's edition, Paris, 1909, ll. 500, 524, 850, 862.

This type of concessive sentence was used regularly in Old French and is the form used today.¹¹

II. Constructions in which *ne* is combined with *ja* and *si* or *tant*, the equivalent of the English phrase *never so* (cf. Be he never so noble). The concessive clauses falling under this group may be divided into three types:

a. Clauses where the meaning of *si* or *tant* is completed by a subordinate clause introduced by *que*:

Autresi est de la verriere:
Ja n'iert tant forz ne tant antiere,
Que li rais del soloil n'i past,
Sans ce que de rien ne la quast;
Ne ja li voirres tant clers n'iert,
Se autre clartez ne s'i fiert,
Que por la soe voie an miauz.

(*Cligés*, 725-731.)

Mes ci a un mout mauvés point;
Quant il l'aplaingne par defors,
Et se il a dedanz le cors
Ne mauvestié ne vilenie,
Ja n'iert tant cortois, qu'il li die.

(*Ibid.*, 4534-4538.)

Et dessoz l'ante est li praius
Mout delitables et mout biaux,
Ne ja n'iert li solauz tant hauz
A midi, quant il est plus chاوز,
Que ja rais i puisse passer.¹²

(*Ibid.*, 6411-6415.)

In constructions like those just cited the use of the future and the negative is perfectly logical, both serving to render the statement more emphatic.

¹¹ Quelque méchantes et quelque dignes de punition qu'elles fussent, *La Fontaine, Psyché*, II, p. 145; Quelque fort qu'on s'en défende, Il y, faut venir un jour, *Mol., Princ. d'El.*, v. 5e intermède.

¹² For additional examples of this construction, compare *Floire et Blancheflor*, ed. by Du Ménil, ll. 884-886; *Erec et Enide*, ll. 4848-4849; *Ille et Galeron*, ll. 5566-5567; *Le Roman de Thèbes*, ed. by Constans, ll. 2511-2514; *Cligés*, l. 5580.

b. Type *b* is the same as *a*, with the exception of the fact that the *que*-clause has become a principal clause:¹³

Que vous verrés les murs croler,
Et chanceler tors et torneles,
*Jà tant ne seront fors ne beles.*¹⁴

Type *b* probably developed out of type *a*. The main difference in the two constructions lies in the fact that the subordinate clause of *a* has become an independent sentence in *b*. The meaning in both cases, however, is similar. Concessive sentences of the type under consideration may be translated in English by the adverb *however* followed by an adjective or an adverb, or in their negative form by *never so*. Take, for instance, the following example of type *a*:

Autresi est de la verriere:
Ja n'iert tant forz ne tant antiere,
Que li rais del soloil n'i past,
Sans ce que de rien ne la quast.

The literal meaning of this passage is: Likewise with a pane of glass, which will never be so strong and solid that a ray of the sun cannot pass through it without cracking it. However, the idea contained in these lines may also be rendered as follows: Likewise with a pane of glass. However strong and solid it may be (or be it never so strong and solid) a ray of the sun can pass through it without cracking it. If the *que*-clause is changed into an independent sentence as just indicated, the examples given under *a* will be similar in form and meaning to those included under *b*.

If type *b* is a later stage in the development of type *a*, this fact not only explains the use of the future in *b*, but it also explains the origin of the irrational negative. In *a*,¹⁵ the negative has its regu-

¹³ For additional examples of this construction see the references given under foot note 7.

¹⁴ See *Le Roman de la Rose*, 8659-8661.

¹⁵ Compare

Ja si durs n'ert mon essient,
C'a moi ne viegne isnelement.
(*Ille et Galeron*, 5566-5567.)

lar meaning. It does not become irrational until the subordinate clause is changed into a principal clause.¹⁶

c. Type *c* is the same as *b*, with the exception of the fact that the subjunctive has been substituted for the future:

Tant fu meu de l'avisiun
Ke tutes les meschines environ
Ne presout mie une ceñele,
Ja tant ne fust cointe ne bele.

(Chardry's *Josaphaz*, 2079-2082.)

That the meaning of types *b* and *c* is similar may be seen from passages like the following, where the two constructions are used interchangeably:

Cil ki avoir rescut, u chevaux u bos u vaches u berbiz u pors, que est forfeng apelé en engleis, cil kis claimed durrad al provost pur la rescussion viii den.; *ja tant n'i ait*, mes qu'il i oust cent almaille, ne durrad que viii den.; e pur un porc i den., e pur i berbiz i den., e issi tresque a viii, pur chascune i den.; *ne ja tant n'i averad*, ne durrad que viii den. (*Lois de Guillaume Le Conquerant*, ed. by John Ernst Matzke, Paris, 1899, 5.)

The use of the subjunctive in type *c* is probably due to the influence of the subjunctive¹⁷ in concessive sentences of group I.¹⁸ For example, clauses like *ja n'iert tant riches* and *tant soit riches* were used side by side and out of these two types developed a third form of this construction, namely, *ja ne soit tant riches*.¹⁹

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¹⁶ Ge ferai quanque tu vorras,
Ja si haut vouloir ne porras.

(*Le Roman de la Rose*, 6544-6545.)

¹⁷ Compare

Ne n'a baron an cest pais,
Tant soit riches ne poestis,
Qui ne l'eüst a fame prise.

(*Erec et Enide*, 525-527.)

¹⁸ See the examples cited under I above.

¹⁹ For suggestions as to the origin of the use of the illogical negative in concessive clauses in the Germanic languages, compare W. E. Collinson, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

MISCELLANEOUS

SYNALEPHA IN OLD SPANISH POETRY: A REPLY TO MR. LANG

IN an article entitled "A Correction," published in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. vii, pp. 345-349, Mr. H. R. Lang reviews my recent study, "Notes on the Versification of *el Misterio de los Reyes Magos* (vol. xi, pp. 378-401). Mr. Lang's article contains:

1. A denial of my assertion that Mr. Lang had announced his belief in the theory of Hanssen, that synalepha does not exist in Old Spanish.

2. A few general statements concerning the value of my article as a scientific contribution—a list of affirmations and denials.

3. Corrections to my work relative to *bine*, *nocte*, *pace*.

4. Two confessions of weakness in his method of recording and stating facts (page 346, note 2, and page 349).

Lest my silence be interpreted as acquiescence in Mr. Lang's asseverations and in his unfavorable review of my article, I beg to submit the following reply:

Mr. Lang is quite right in supposing that the words "and synaloephe is excluded,"¹ gave me the impression that he believed in Hanssen's theory of no synalepha for old Spanish poetry. This clause of Mr. Lang's is not very clear, and Mr. Lang himself admits this on page 349:

Doubtless some such fuller phrasing as "cases of synaloephe are not included in the count," or "hemistichs containing what may be considered cases of synaloephe are excluded" would have been better than "synaloephe is excluded"; but the latter expression seemed sufficient for the purpose and it must be born in mind that even explicit statements are subject to misconstruction if read without consideration of the context.

¹ "Notes on the Metre of the Poem of the Cid," in *THE ROMANIC REVIEW*, volume V, page 13.

I have copied this passage from Mr. Lang's article because it is one that helps us to refute his own words. It is quite true that his statement, "synaloephe is excluded" is rather vague. It could mean various things. One even suspects that it is worded so that it may be used for various emergencies. In any case, however, this statement alone could not have warranted my assertion that Mr. Lang believed in Hanssen's theory of no synalepha for Old Spanish poetry. In the first place, I took Mr. Lang at his word, giving his statement one of the many interpretations which it may have. But this was not sufficient. To make sure of my interpretation I have examined the verses of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, which Mr. Lang studied, and which he classifies as 5 + 7 verses, "a line resembling the metre of the *Chanson de Roland*."² In the examination of these I have found that in order to read them as 5 + 7 we must allow hiatus and not synalepha wherever the verses present concurrent vowels. Taking into consideration, therefore, the context, as Mr. Lang advises, as well as the author's statements, it is clear to any one that Mr. Lang by his words and by his work expressed his belief in Hanssen's theory. He measured the verses of the *Cid* and allowed hiatus, but not synalepha. This is exactly Hanssen's theory. Mr. Lang, or anybody else, who measures Old Spanish verses with the admission of hiatus and the rejection of synalepha in his method of counting the syllables, believes in Hanssen's theory, or follows it, which is equivalent to the same thing.

The following verses of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, Mr. Lang tells us, are of the type 5 + 7.³ I shall count the syllables and show that Mr. Lang allows hiatus, but never synalepha, if they are to be considered as 5 + 7.

² "Notes on the Metre of the Poem of the Cid," *op. cit.*, p. 13. It is true that some of these verses (many read with hiatus) resemble the metre of the *Roland*, but they likewise resemble, or are identical with, some Italian, Provençal and other Spanish metres. It seems to me that for purposes of Spanish versification it would be far better to study carefully the metres of Spain, before comparing them to those of France.

³ "The numbers in italics represent the combination 5 + 7," page 13 of Mr. Lang's article on Metre of Cid, note 34.

35	Los de myo Çid a altas voces laman	Hiatus, 1 case.
	_{1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 5 6 7}	
97	Passo de Burgos, al castiello entraua	" 1 case.
	_{1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 6 7}	
282	Plega aDios e a santa Maria	" 2 cases.
	_{1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 5 6 7}	
356	Abrio sos oios, cato atodas partes	" 1 case.
	_{1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 6 7}	
406	El angel Gabriel a el vino en sueño	" 2 cases.
	_{1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 6 7}	
446	Fita ayuso e por Guadalfaiara	" 1 case.
	_{1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 6 7}	
471	En mano trae desnuda el espada	" 1 case.
	_{1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 6 7}	
496	Yo uos la suelta e auello quitado	" 1 case.
	_{1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 6 7}	
533	Mas el castiello non lo quiero hermar	" 1 case.
	_{1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 6}	
745	Bien lo acorren mesnadas de christianos	" 1 case.
	_{1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 6 7}	
772	Los de myo Çid firiendo en alcaz	" 1 case.
	_{1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 5 6}	
783	Que a Castiella yran buenos mandados	" 1 case.
	_{1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 6 7}	
866	Metio en paria aDoroca en antes	" 2 cases.
	_{1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 6 7}	
914	ASaragoça metuda la en paria	" 1 case.
	_{1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 6 7}	
934	Ya Albarfanez, Çiua des muchos dias!	" 1 case.
	_{1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5 6 7}	

In the above fifteen verses, which Mr. Lang classifies as 5 + 7, a verse resembling the *Roland* metre and, therefore, with the fourth and sixth as final accented syllables in the first and second hemistichs, respectively, we have eighteen cases of hiatus and not a single case of synalepha! Verses 308 and 527 can be classified as 5 + 7 if we allow both synalepha and hiatus, but since Mr. Lang consistently rejects synalepha I cannot tell how he measures them. In 308 it seems that he admits crasis of a + a.⁴ The fifteen verses above measured and the two just mentioned are the first seventeen of the so-called 5 + 7 which have concurrent vowels, and as the

⁴ In the *edición crítica* it reads 5 + 7, with one case of hiatus:

Mando | el rey a mio Çid aguardar,
_{1 2 | 3 4 1 2 3 4 5 6}

but Mr. Lang says the text has been taken exactly as handed down.

reader will see they are measured with hiatus, and synalepha is rejected. Is it not clear that Mr. Lang follows Hanssen's theory? If he follows it, am I not justified in asserting that he believes in Hanssen's theory? It is evident, therefore, that Mr. Lang believes in this theory, unless it be that he measures verses according to a theory that he does not believe. In measuring Old Spanish verses, Mr. Lang rejects synalepha and accepts hiatus, and this is, as every Romance scholar knows, Hanssen's theory. And synalepha is a well known phenomenon in Old Spanish poetry, and here is where the shoe pinches. And in spite of the fact that he measured verses with hiatus and rejected synalepha, as I have shown in the above fifteen verses, where we have, not two or three, but eighteen cases of hiatus and none of synalepha, Mr. Lang still has the temerity to tell the honest readers of the ROMANIC REVIEW,

for the very reason of that absence, it was thought best to exclude for the present from the count of pentasyllables such hemistichs as contained combinations of final and initial vowels which might with some reason be regarded as cases of synalepha, and which if so treated would yield additional examples of the same metre.

No, indeed not. Mr. Lang would *not admit cases of synalepha* which might yield additional examples of the same metre, but, as we have seen above, *he does admit all possible cases of hiatus and this method yielded him fifteen very nice examples of the metre he was seeking*. And in view of the fact that Mr. Lang admits hiatus freely, what will the reader say about the statement quoted above from Mr. Lang's article, or about his statement in a letter to me, where he says, "and I simply state that cases of synaloephe or rather verses containing what might be interpreted either as synaloephe or as hiatus are not included in my count"? I shall not waste time in unkind comments and will leave the reader to give the answer.

When Mr. Lang wrote his article on the metre of the *Cid*, therefore, he measured verses admitting hiatus and rejecting synalepha, and for that reason I stated that he believed in Hanssen's theory. From the above discussion the reader will see that not only is this true, and not only was Mr. Lang's "Correction" unwarranted in this respect, but his statements about his method do not agree with

the method he actually used. One is almost forced to conclude that Mr. Lang measured the verses of the *Cid* without knowing himself what his method of counting the syllables really was. It is clear from the last article that he insists that he did not do what he actually did. Does Mr. Lang believe that admitting hiatus *a tontas y a locas* in all cases of concurrent vowels and consistently rejecting synalepha is not expressing one's self about synalepha? Any one who knows the subject is aware of the fact that the presence of hiatus implies the absence of synalepha (or crasis, or elision in some cases), and *vice versa*. As for the *Cantar de Mio Cid* my own opinion is that synalepha and hiatus were both allowed, and the future philologist who will solve the problem of the metre of this old epic poem will have to be able to decide where we have the one and where the other. To admit hiatus alone and not synalepha is as unscientific as to admit only synalepha and never hiatus.

But what if Mr. Lang says in a future article that the fifteen verses measured above with the eighteen cases of hiatus *a la Berceo*, included in his article, were "due partly to overlooking of misprints, partly to inadvertent inclusion of lines having debatable features"?⁵ In that case we shall never reply to anything that Mr. Lang may say.

Mr. Lang says that Hanssen does not express himself with the absoluteness that I ascribed to him with respect to synalepha. Hanssen says in section 200 of the *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*:

Por este motivo, la sinalefa castellana no está en relación histórica con la sinalefa romana. Berceo evita igualmente cualquiera contracción en la palabra y en el verso (Fitz-Gerald, *Versification of the Cuaderna Via*, 40). Resultados seguros se podrán obtener por una comparación de las dos versiones del Poema de Alejandro. A pesar de la aversión de los poetas a la sinalefa, parece que ésta, en algunos ejemplos aislados, ya existió temprano en el idioma: *faciem ad > faze a > fazia, hacia; y elo* (leon.) en lugar de *e elo* (Staaff, L. 200). Los primeros ejemplos seguros del uso de la sinalefa en la versificación, presenta el Arcipreste de Hita. Más tarde la sinalefa avanzó poco a poco.

The facts show, as any one can see from Hanssen's own words, that the exact contrary of what Mr. Lang says is the truth of the

⁵ "A Correction," page 346, note 2.

matter. Hanssen does express himself absolutely. He says clearly that Castilian synalepha has no historical relation with Latin synalepha, that Berceo avoided all contractions in words and verses, and that the first sure examples date from Juan Ruiz, a fourteenth century poet. He then goes on to say in as clear Spanish as one can find anywhere that in spite of the poets' aversion to synalepha there are isolated examples of it *in the language (not poetry)*, and the examples he gives show definitely and clearly that he means in prose, not in versification. He expresses himself so absolutely in the matter that, immediately after the words "en el idioma," he adds: "Los primeros ejempjlos seguros de la sinalefa en la versificación, presenta el Arcipreste de Hita." He says the first sure examples in *verse* date from the fourteenth century. Does this not mean that the Spanish poets did not use synalepha before the time of Juan Ruiz? The statements of Hanssen can mean nothing else. Mr. Lang's defense of Hanssen is therefore unnecessary. Every one who has followed Spanish studies and knows the work of the distinguished Chilean professor is aware of the fact that he has always maintained the theory that synalepha is not to be allowed at all in the Spanish poetry of the 12th and 13th centuries. With Berceo he attempts to correct all editions in order to exclude synalepha and permit only hiatus. Professor Fitz-Gerald, who has applied Hanssen's theory in his edition of the *Santo Domingo de Silos*, also corrects his manuscripts and allows only hiatus. In a letter recently received from Hanssen he does not deny that he held the theory I ascribed to him in my article, and he certainly ought to know.

On pages 347 and 349 of his "Correction," Mr. Lang makes a few general assertions to the effect that my article, "Notes on the Versification of *El Misterio de los Reyes Magos*," was a mere confusion of writing and utterance, which proved nothing whatever. I am not in the habit of writing articles in defense of my publications, and I shall not attempt it here. Since I wrote my study of the versification of the *Misterio* I have continued my studies on synalepha and I have more material which supports my contention that synalepha is a phenomenon well known in Old Spanish poetry. If after a close examination of my article on the versification of the

Misterio Mr. Lang is of the opinion that I proved nothing, he has a right to his judgment in the matter, but it is a time-honored custom for scholars to bring forth proof in support of general statements. When Mr. Lang overlooks the fact that I have studied every verse of the *Misterio* and (leaving out for the present the verses where *bine* occurs and two or three more which may be interpreted without synalepha) that I have found *unos treinta ejemplos seguros de sinalefa*, or over thirty per cent. of the total number of cases of contiguous vowels in mid-verse, and have shown that in many of these synalepha is necessary not only for metrical reasons—which are the all-important reasons here, of course—but also for reasons of rhythm,⁶ and when he entirely overlooks the fact that I not only found some thirty cases of synalepha in the *Misterio*, but actually formulated the conditions under which it occurs (see section V of my article), with the result that not a single case is to be found after a tonic vowel, thereby opening up the question as to whether this is the only general restriction to the use of synalepha in Old Spanish poetry, and says that I expressed my certainty in the belief that synalepha existed in Old Spanish merely by denying and affirming (page 347 of his “Correction”), and merely stated what every one knows without advancing the problem in any respect, and specifically denies me the credit of having formulated the rules under which synalepha occurs in the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*, it would seem that Mr. Lang suffers from an obsession which I sincerely hope he will some day overcome.

On pages 347, bottom, and 348, top, Mr. Lang makes use of the words *bine*, *pace*, *nocte* of the *Misterio* to attack my method. It is true that in my note to verse 39 of the *Misterio* I stated that I was inclined to consider *bine* as monosyllabic, but as a matter of fact

⁶ For example in the following verse of the type ...4...8.:

3	Agora	primas	lae	ueida	
	1	2	3	4	5 6 7 8 9
4	poco	timpoa	que	es	nacida
	1	2	3	4	5 6 7 8 9
12	en	todoen	todo	lo	prohio
	1	2	3	4	5 6 7 8 9
15	nacidoes	Dios,	por	ver	de fembra
	1	2	3	4	5 6 7 8 9
146	nien	nostras	uocas	es	falada
	1	2	3	4	5 6 7 8 9

any one who can count will see that in all cases *bine* was counted as dissyllabic, as the author of the *Misterio*, or the scribe, wrote it several times. For the same reason I also counted *pace* as dissyllabic. In a work that is full of Latinisms I did not feel justified in juggling with the language, except in certain well-defined cases. There are many Latinisms in the *Misterio*, and as such they may be well accepted. Every one knows that *bien*, *paz*, are the regular Old Spanish forms, but the presence of final *ε* in some dialects can not be denied. We do not yet know the dialect of the author of the *Misterio*. In any case, the fact remains that in the manuscript we find *bine*, *pace*; and Mr. Lang is certainly departing from the usual custom of stating exact facts when he implies that I have anywhere in my article said that *bine*, *pace*, were regular Old Spanish forms. Whether these words are to be interpreted as pure Latinisms or as scribal errors for the regular Old Spanish forms may be open to argument. I admit that here there may be an honest difference of opinion, and Mr. Lang would certainly have the right to his own opinions in the matter, but I do not say anywhere in my article that I consider *bine*, *pace*, as regular Old Spanish forms, and even if we were to grant that I was wrong in considering these words as dissyllabic, it would not in the slightest way invalidate the conclusions reached in my publication as regards synalepha.

Synalepha, therefore, is a phenomenon of frequent occurrence in Old Spanish poetry, and in the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos* it does not occur after a tonic vowel. I am also inclined to believe that synalepha is a direct continuation of the same phenomenon in Latin poetry. Although I do not wish to anticipate matters which I shall discuss in another article, I may say that I consider many of the numerous cases of elision, crasis, and *vocal embebida* as examples of historical synalepha.

A final word about *bine*. The *Misterio* presents not only *bine*, but also *sines*.⁷ The last form, which has an analogical final *s* (with a supporting vowel *ε*?), may be derived from *sin*, but it can also be derived from *sine*. This latter form, which is an exact parallel to *bine* with respect to the final *e*, may be a Latinism or

⁷ For other cases of *sines*, also *senes*, see Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, 391, and Pietsch, *Modern Philology*, vol. IX, page 420, note 2.

anything else, but it is found in Berceo and counts for two syllables, for example in *Sacrificio*, 56a:⁸

As for *nocte*, whether we consider the word as *noche* or *nocte*, I cannot agree with Mr. Lang that it must necessarily be considered as monosyllabic. *Noche* by the side of *noch* is frequent enough in Old Spanish. By this I mean that it is frequent in the Old Spanish texts, not in all the historical grammars, although Hanssen in the paragraph to which Mr. Lang refers me is of an opinion quite different from that of Mr. Lang.⁹

But the most surprising thing in Mr. Lang's recent article is the admission of weakness expressed in note 2 of page 346, referring to the list of the so-called 5 + 7 verses of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*: "A number of errors contained in this list, due partly to overlooking of misprints, partly to inadvertent inclusion of lines having debatable features, will be corrected in a subsequent article."¹⁰ Now it must be borne in mind that this is precisely the list which I examined and from which I learned Mr. Lang's method of counting the syllables, and which I used as the basis for my assertion about his metrical theories, as I have already shown. A young scholar who is beginning to write may be pardoned for a note such as this, but in a scholar of the standing of Mr. Lang the case is different. In his subsequent article we shall know how great is this number of errors and inadvertences. The excuse that eighteen or more cases of hiatus can slip into an article where one is solving metrical problems, through inadvertence or owing to misprints, when the intention was to have nothing to do with cases of contiguous vowels, can not be accepted by modern scholars. Even in the verses which have no cases of contiguous vowels Mr. Lang did not always count the syllables correctly. Verse 728, for example, is 5 + 7 in the *edición crítica*, but in the *edición paleográfica* it is 5 + 6, and Mr. Lang says explicitly, "the text has been taken exactly as handed down. . . ." Verse 544 is 7 + 7, and not 5 + 7. But after all it

⁸ Ed. Solalinde. Berceo uses *sin*, *sine*, *sines*. See Lanchetas, *Diccionario*, s.v. Esto es sine dubio cosa bien ordenada.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

⁹ *Gramática Histórica*, 67: "Vacila el idioma cuando precede *v*, *b*, *y* las combinaciones latinas *ss*, *rr*, *nn*, *ll*, *nt*, *rt*, *st*, *nd*, *nc'*, *lc'*, *sc*, *x*, *pt*, *ct*: etc."

¹⁰ Mr. Lang's lists are given on page 13 of *THE ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. VI.

seems well nigh impossible to make out Mr. Lang's method of counting the syllables and we may have to give up the attempt.¹¹

To conclude, I repeat that synalepha is a well known phenomenon show that its only general restriction was in the case of tonic in Old Spanish poetry, and I believe that further investigation will vowel + vowel (tonic or atonic).

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Note.—At the last moment I have received *Revista de Filología Española*, Tomo III, 4 (1916), where appears an article of Hansen, *La elisión y la sinalefa en el Libro de Alejandro*. The old theory so eloquently defended in so many of Hansen's former publications, including his late *Gramática Histórica*, is no longer defended with the same vigor. In fact it seems that he would have us believe that his old theory applied only to Berceo. A study of the *Alejandro* convinces Hansen that synalepha occurs in Old Spanish, and my article on the versification of the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*, is also convincing. As to the numerous cases of synalepha in the *Elena y María* studied by Menéndez Pidal in *Revista de Filología Española*, I, 93-96, Hansen is silent. It is clear, therefore, that in view of all this the first sure cases of synalepha date from the 12th and 13th centuries, and not from the 14th century. Hansen, however, must uphold his old theory and he now invents a new one, namely, that all the cases of synalepha in the *Alejandro* and in the *Misterio* are not cases of synalepha but cases of elision. On page 355 of the recent number of the *Revista de Filología Española*, he says, referring to the *Misterio*: "Las sinalefas para mi son elisiones." Every one knows that the vowel E is frequently elided in Old Spanish before another vowel, especially when atonic, as in monosyllables, and that elision is frequent also in many other

¹¹ Menéndez Pidal has already called attention to the hopelessness of attempting to make out Mr. Lang's metrical method, in *Revista de Filología Española*, iii, 339, note:

Verdad es que no sabemos cómo L. cuenta sus octosílabos, cuando nos presenta el v. "3064 being a full romance line" (1), págs. 5-6. Y me parece que debemos renunciar a comprender ese sistema métrico, cuando en la pág. 10, n. 22, vemos que L. encuentra "the use of the *romance* metre" en esta frase de la Crónica: "amidos, mas si Dios me diese consejo yo gelo enmendare e gelo pechare todo."

cases; but to state that all the cases of synalepha of the *Misterio* are cases of elision, even such violent cases as *timp' a, l' e veida, nacid' es, n' en (ni en)*, is absurd. If we were to accept such an extraordinary theory we would at once deny the existence of all past, present and future synalephas in Spanish, and call them all elisions. That Mr. Hanssen himself is aware of the weakness of his new position is evident from the vague language of the second paragraph on page 353, where he tells us that the synalephas of the *Alejandro* are of a special kind (*sui generis*), recorded in some manuscripts as elisions, and that, therefore, they are elisions. Furthermore, says Hanssen, "It may be that the author (of the *Alejandro*) used both synalepha and elision. Or it may be that he used only elision." (!)

A. M. E.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Giulio Bertoni: *I Trovatori d'Italia, biografie, testi, traduzioni, note*. Modena, Orlandini, 1915. Grand 8vo, pp. 608.

We have here the most important work yet published in the field of Ætalo-Provençal studies. Mr. Bertoni has not only provided us with a representative and fairly complete anthology of the Italian troubadours, but has added thereto, as introductory matter, practically all that is known in regard to their personalities and their art. The greater part of this volume is made up of the critical text of no fewer than seventy-six poems, representing more or less extensively the work of every known Italian troubadour. Each song is equipped with a translation and grammatical and historical notes. In his choice of texts Mr. Bertoni has decided, wisely no doubt, to restrict the space allotted to those authors whose songs are widely known or easily accessible, in favor of those whose merits have not yet received due recognition or whose work is procurable with difficulty. Thus, Sordello is represented by three selections only, while Peire Guilhen de Luserna gets five and Lanfranc Cigala no less than sixteen, besides some additional *tensos* in which he appears as one of the parties.

In all, twenty-three troubadours of Italian birth are known by their preserved works and represented by selections in this volume. Four more receive the honor of a brief biographical sketch, on the strength of allusions to their songs or other evidence. In this respect, Mr. Bertoni may have been too generous. The only testimony we have that Luca Grimaldi (p. 102 ff.) poetized in Provençal rests on the more than doubtful evidence of Jean de Nostredame. And while it is certain that Terramagnino da Pisa wrote a "*Dotrina de cort*" in Provençal, there is no proof at all that he composed lyric poems in that language.

In general, the selections, which comprise *cansos*, *sirventes* and *tensos*, are wisely made and include practically all the themes handled by these poets. The political and personal *sirventes* and *tensos* are undoubtedly the most interesting, the love-poems appearing pale and conventional in comparison. Songs like the *Estier mon grat* of Lanfranc Cigala (No. 44), which is devoted to the vigorous scolding of a "flac marques," Boniface of Montferrat, or the *Cora qu'eu fos* of Luquet Gattiluz (No. 64), in which he cheers on to the fray Charles of Anjou, Conradin and Manfred turn by turn, are such productions as lend life and color to an epoch. No doubt historians will make increasing use of such material as these poems, far more vivid as it is than the jejune Latin of the monkish chroniclers.

Mr. Bertoni begins his work with four interesting and valuable chapters of introductory matter. The first (*Lirica provenzale in Italia*) discusses the relations which existed between the Italian courts and cities and the troubadours, and the diffusion and popularity of Provençal song in the peninsula. It is difficult to discover on what principle Mr. Bertoni has arranged his material in this chapter. He begins with the marriage between Beatrice of Savoy and Raymond

Berenger of Provence in 1219, a date without significance in the history of these relations, and then ranges freely among the Italian courts where the troubadours appeared. He has likewise gathered together in this chapter most of the allusions to Italian matters to be found in the works of the troubadours. Several references seem to have escaped his notice. For example, Pons de Chapdeuil,¹ in a poem which dates from 1188-89, expresses the wish that the "reis de Poilla" (William II) and the "empeiraire" (Frederic Barbarossa) may compose their differences and unite in a crusade. Another interesting, tho late, allusion, which seems likewise to have escaped Mr. Bertoni, is found in a *sirventes* of Guiraut Riquier,² written in honor of the viscount Amaury II of Narbonne, about 1290, in which he makes mention of the "onratz comus (commune) de Florensa valens."

P. 23.—In speaking of the *giullari* at the Italian courts, Mr. B. says that they often recited there "la propria storia." How does he know this? Several instances in North French can be cited (Rutebuef, Colin Muset, Jehan Bodel, etc.), in which the *jongleur* tells of his own misfortunes in song, but similar examples from the Midi or from Italy are very rare. Certainly, none such is included in this volume.

P. 30.—For the Italian canzone *Alegramente e con grande baldanza*, a reference might well have been made to the fine study "Don Arrigo" by Mme. Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, in *ZfrP*, XXVII, 195 ff.

P. 32.—For 1205 (date of the death of Peter II of Aragon), read 1285.

The second chapter of the introduction is devoted to the biographies of the Italian troubadours. All possible sources of information have been diligently studied, and the statements of previous investigators have been checked and verified, so that little remains to be done in this field, at least until the discovery of new material. Mr. Bertoni's results seem to be, in general, sure. He is conservative and little inclined to venturesome identifications. Only in a very few cases he has, in my opinion, drawn some biographical conclusions hardly warranted by the facts.

P. 43.—Mr. B. is inclined to accept the date 1195 for the *sirventes* of Peire de la Cavarana (No. 11), first proposed by Schultz-Gora. But it was not till 1197 that Henry VI took cruel vengeance on the rebel nobles of Apulia, alluded to in lines 18-24, and he did not return thereafter to Germany, dying in September of that same year. So it could hardly be said that "nostr' empeiraire aiosta granz genz" after the severities in Apulia. But his harshness would naturally be remembered the next time that an emperor was gathering a host in Germany for an Italian expedition. So Torraca's proposed date, 1226, seems preferable.

P. 65.—The identification of "N'Imbert," interlocutor of Guilhem de la Tor in the *tenso* No. XVIII, with Oberto of Biandrate, seems to me very risky. There are absolutely no historical allusions in the *tenso*, which discusses one of the usual subtleties of the code of chivalric love.

P. 84.—Mr. B. here adds a new name to the list of Italian troubadours, that of Girart Cavalaz, joint author with Aycart del Fossat of the *tenso*, *Si paradis et enferns son aytal* (No. XXX), whom he identifies, convincingly, with a certain Girardo Cavalazzi of Novara, who flourished 1227-47.

¹ Ed. Napolski, xxvi, 55-56.

² Cf. Anglade, *Le Troubadour Guiraut Requier*, p. 192.

P. 94 ff.—Mr. B. gives us here a long notice of Lanfranc Cigala of Genoa, a troubadour little known hitherto, whom he justly considers to be the best of the Italians, along with Sordello. Personally, I prefer Cigala to the enigmatic Mantuan. He has more variety and vigor.

P. 116.—Another new identification, that of the troubadour "Scot" with Scotto Scotti of Genoa, named in a document of 1239.

In chapter three (*La poesia e la lingua dei trovatori italiani*) Mr. Bertoni gives us a well-founded and reasonable *jugement d'ensemble* on the Italian troubadours, their style and language. He emphasizes once more the conventional character of much of their poetry, their rare originality. Most often, they simply repeat the strains of Provence. He ranks highest, both as to form and matter, Sordello and Cigala. The praise given to the latter for his simplicity and sincerity (with only an occasional touch of "preciousness") seems to me fully justified. I should likewise feel disposed to single out the patriotic *sirventes* of Peire de la Cavarana (No. 11), which is very spirited and fiery.

P. 159 ff.—Mr. B. discusses carefully the language of these poets, indicating the Italianisms which appear in their songs. Here it seems to me that Mr. B. does not reckon sufficiently with the copyists, who were, in nearly every case, natives of the peninsula and but little accustomed to the niceties of Provençal speech. Sometimes a very slight emendation of the MSS. will enable one to get rid of the Italianism. For example, LXXVI, 13, the MS. reads:

Que non es hom qu'ab se l'apel, ni res,
Coms, ni Marques, ni Reis qe's fass' enan
Ni la semo que veŋga a lor repaire.

Mr. B. considers this *semo* (where the construction certainly calls for a subjunctive) as "dovuto certamente all' autore." But it is perfectly feasible to correct: *Ni la semona venga*, omitting *que*, in which case we should have one of the paratactic constructions so common in Provençal.

The final chapter of the introduction gives an exact and ample account of all the manuscripts which contain poems by Italian troubadours. We find here also some noteworthy considerations on the importance of Italian scribes and lovers of poetry in the preservation of Provençal song.

The text of the poems is naturally as well constituted as possible, and the translations are exact and graceful. The following proposed corrections must therefore be considered merely as suggestions for the interpretation of some of the more difficult passages.

IV, 41-44.

Qan mi soven dels bels digz amors
E dels plazers qe'm saubetz dir tant gen,
Bella dompna, cui hom sui veramen,
Granz esfortz fi quand me loigniei de vos.

Read, in line 44, *granz esforts fauc quand me loigna de vos* (with MS. A), and thus avoid the harsh change in tense.

VI, 8.

Genz acuellirs ab tant bella paria.

Mr. B. translates: "gentili maniere con si bell' aspetto." But *paria*, at least in all texts known to me, never means "aspetto." Translate rather: "noble hospitality with such lovely affability."

X, 14-15.

E dobl' ades mon pessamen
De lei servir, si m'aiut fes.

Mr. B. translates: "e si raddoppia sempre il mio intendimento di amarla," and in his note on the passage takes *mon pessamen* as an accusative in the function of a nominative, due to Italian influence. But the verb *doblar* is often used transitively, and nothing forbids such a construction in this passage. So I should translate: "And I redouble the intent I have of loving her."

XI, 3-4.

Car lor enois creis a poia,
E qui mais los serv mescaba.

For the sake of the contrast, I should prefer to read:

E qui mais los serv, mens caba,

and translate: "He who serves them best, gets least."

XIII, 1.

Ia de razon no'm cal mentr'en pantalais.

Read *metr' en* with A.

XIII, 12-13.

Q'u non i a q'a la fin tot non lais
Ni que ia'n port mas una sarpeillieira.

The author (Peire de la Mula) is speaking of the "*ric ioven croi, avar ni co-beitos*" of the preceding lines. The meaning seems to me evidently "for there is not one who does not leave all at the end (when he dies), nor who carries away more than a wrapping-cloth (winding-sheet)." I do not understand Mr. B.'s note here: he takes *serpeillieira* to refer to the "tela che avvolgeva gl' effetti dei girovaghi poeti e giullari." But "giullari" are nowhere mentioned in the poem. The whole stanza merely repeats a commonplace of medieval moralizing that at death we shall take nothing away with us.

XVI, 1.

En Nicolet, d'un sognie qu'ieu sognava
. . . Voil m'esplanez.

According to Mr. B.'s note on this passage, the preposition *de* is here used as in many places in the popular poetry of North Italy: *pianteremo d'ôn bel fior*, etc. It seems to me rather that we have here the same *de* which appears so frequently in Old French, for instance: *Vez de Raoul, com il m'a justicié, Raoul de Cambrai*, 3042. See, for this construction, Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, I, 18 f.

XVIII, 3-6.

S'una dompna amatz de fin talan
E'i avetz mes lo cor e l'entendenssa
Qe'us don s'amor et ill fai se'n preiar
Tan tro conois qe non i pot pechar.

Here *pechar* is unsatisfactory, as is recognized by Mr. B. himself. He says in his note: "Non può peccare in amore, quindi non può fare le vostre voglie, s'io bene intendo." I should emend: *penssar*, and translate: "until she recognise that she cannot think of you."

XXI, 7-9.

Car cill, on bos prez s'atura,
Lo (cor) m'emblet e no'l qer mai
Cobrar ni talan no ai.

Here read: *talán no'n ai*.

XXIV, 17-18.

Car lo savis n'aura talan que'us n'ondre
Si de respondre'us troba ben apres.

Here the "rimalmezzo," *ondre-respondre*, very unusual in Provençal, might have been noticed. MS. R has *del respot*, which I am inclined to consider the correct reading.

XXVII, 9-10.

Tant pes en lieys e tan l'am coralmens
Que nueyt e iorn tem mi falh al pensar.

Appel's⁸ reading *falh'* seems to me preferable.

XXXI, 40-42.

En Espagn' a pro d'afan,
Qe'il Serrazi no'il rendran
Per lur Granada ugan.

Mr. B. translates *per lur* by "spontaneamente." I fail to see exactly what he understands by that. I interpret *lur* as a possessive, and should read: *pel lur*, "for their own."

XXXIII, 13-15.

E pres mais, qui q'en als s'apil,
Clars digz ab obra polia,
Qu'escurs motz ab serran lia.

A very obscure passage. Mr. B. translates *ab serran lia* by "strettamente legate," but this does not provide a satisfactory contrast to the *obra polia* of the preceding line. I should read, by a rather violent emendation: *qu'ab serr' om dia* and interpret: "And I prize more, whoever thinks otherwise, clear and polished verse than obscure words versified with a saw."

XXXIV, 3.

For *autras flors* (a nominative) read *autra flors*.

XXXIV, 26-27.

Es ad amic adoncs amors esglai,
Sentit n' agr' eu em fag o en semblansa.

⁸ *Prov. Chrest.*, 72.

Mr. B. here considers *esglai* as an accusative used as a nominative, for the rime's sake, and translates: "se amor fosse tormento all' amante, io avrei dovuto aver sentore poco o molto di codesto tormento." This leaves, however, the syntactical relation between the two clauses rather obscure. I should prefer to emend:

Si es qu' amic adoncs amors esglai,

considering *esglai* as a subjunctive and translating: "If it is the fact that Love frightens the lover, I should have felt it actually or figuratively."

XXXVI, 22-24.

Quan fon e mon fin cor intratz
Dedinz lo bels ris e l'esgart.

To avoid the use of the accusative as nominative, read: *lo bels ris ab l'esgart*.

Mr. B. has failed to notice that this song (No. XXXVI) contains a series of "rims derivatius,"* arranged according to a system by which some word in one line is repeated by a cognate word in the following, as *ris-rizen*, *plazentier-plazen*, *alegrier-alegre*, etc. This rather puerile *jeu d'esprit* is carried out consistently throughout, save in lines 12-13, 25-26, 45-46. By changing in 13 *sagites* to its synonymous *archejes*, to agree with *archier* in 12, and likewise by changing *par* in 46 to *vi*, to go with *vezer* in 45, two of these breaks may be corrected. I can find no good emendation for 25-26, and am inclined to think that the author considered *vivat-vas* a good enough "derivatiu" for his purposes.

XXXIX, 18.

E non er mals que de mal senta.

The emendation suggested, *non er mais*, seems to me evident.

XL, 13-14.

Q'el destreing l'un e laiss' a l'autre'l fre
E l'un te sors, l'autre carga d'afan.

For a better contrast in the last line I should read:

L'un de tesors, l'autre carga d'afan.

"One he loads with treasures, the other with sorrow." The form *tesors* for the strictly Provençal *tesours* need occasion no surprise in a text due to an Italian copyist.

XLII, 27-29.

Eu crei si'l Turc fugisson de la 'nsegna,
O fosson tan com li corp de Sardegna,
Q'il troberan a pro de cassadors.

Here read *cerp* (with IK), instead of *corp*, to correspond with *cassadors* in the next line. Hunters usually chase deer, not crows.

XLIV, 23-24.

E s'el (lo marques de Monferrat) a n'Atz volgues rendre l'argen,
Del sagramen crei q'om lo quitaria.

* Cf. *Las Leys d'Amors*, ed. Gatién-Arnoult, I, 188.

Mr. B. has not succeeded in identifying this "n'Atz." I believe that the difficulty may be avoided by reading *az Ast*, that is, "to Asti." Boniface II of Montferrat was intimately connected with the negotiations by which Asti, hitherto imperial, surrendered to Innocent IV in 1245.⁵

LI, 1-2.

N'Albert, chauçeç la cal mais vos plairia
En dreit d'amor, puous tant forç n'es l'asais.

Mr. B. translates: "dal momento che la tentazione è così forte." I should interpret *asais* rather as "test, examination," and refer it to the *partimen* itself.

LI, 34-35.

C'aisi pogra tocar laida pentura,
S'eu no la vis quan l'i sere ne'l broc.

Mr. B. evidently takes *sere* as a first person, present indicative. Such analogical forms are not unknown in Provençal, but they are rare. Hence I should prefer to read: *qan la sera la broc*, in this way keeping up the allusion to the darkness, which is constant throughout the poem.

LIV, 7-8.

Qar cil qi m'a del tot el sieu poder
Mi mostr' orgueil e fai non da dever.

Mr. B. interprets "daddovero, sul serio," keeping the Italianism *da*, but even so the expression and order of words are very unusual. I should prefer to read: *e non fai son dever*, and translate: "and does not do what she should."

LV, 41-42.

Amics Symon, ben par qe'us etz fegnenz,
Qar non avetz lo cor dels amadors.

Mr. B. translates *fegnenz* by "ondeggiate." To me it seems rather to mean "deceitful, cowardly."

LVI, 37-38.

L'onrars del larc, Symon, qais d'aventura
Ven ses pechat.

Mr. B. translates *ses pechat* by "senza fatica"; but can *pechat* ever mean this? I should prefer to read *ses pensat*, and translate "the honor of the liberal man comes by chance, without thought on his part."

LVII, 59 f.

Symon, ab mi si deu tener,
Al mieu parer,
Na Flors, e s'il n'es accordanz,
No'm chal s'en Iacmes ten ab vos.

For this sense of Provençal *tener ab alcun*, compare English "hold with someone."

⁵ Cf. Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, xi, 195 ff.

LXII, 14-16.

E donatz vos luecs a tornar los fres
 En las bochas de cels que, per conten
 Qu'avetz mest vos, si van desconoissen.

Mr. B. translates "date opera a indirizzare coloro che, per la contesa che avete fra voi, si fanno vostri avversari." I should interpret rather: "take occasion to turn the bridle in the mouths of those who, by the strife amongst you, become presumptuous (*si van desconoissen*)."

LXIII, 35-36.

Cel es fols proatz
 C'am' e languir vol aman leialmen.

The MSS. has *can e se languir*. A simpler emendation—suggested by Professor Todd—would be: *Can se languir vol aman leialmen*; and I should translate: "He is a proven fool when he wishes to pine away loving loyally."

LXIV, 9.

Per q'entrels faitz aura pretz sa bailia.

Mr. B. translates: "per questo, fra le imprese, acquisterà pregio la signoria di Carlo." But the reference of *sa*, in this line, to Charles of Anjou, mentioned five lines before, seems to me far-fetched. I should prefer to change *faitz* to *fait*, and translate: "wherefore, among them (Charles, Conrad, Manfred), Praise will have established her rule."

LXIV, 21-22.

E membre li qe Carl ab sos baros
 Conques Puilla e n'ac la segnioria.

The use of the form *Carl* as a nominative seems to me extremely doubtful. I should omit *li* (the verb *membrar* is sometimes personal) and change to the usual form, *Carles*.

LXIV, 28-30.

E se Conratz non es valenz e pros
 Deslignara, car li seu an Soria;
 Non era'l seu bastant, se plus no'i fos.

Mr. B. arrives at this text by a critical reconstruction of the two manuscripts, *a* and *e*. Line 29 reads in *a*: *deslignara qal seu ancessoria*, while in *e* we find: *deslinhara car li sieu sobranson suria*. I do not believe that the reading *suria* can be retained, as the word is already found in the rime, line 17, and furthermore it could hardly have been asserted of Conradin in 1260 that *li seu an Suria*. I should read therefore:

E se Conratz non es valenz e pros
 Deslignara dels ancesors qu'avía;
 Non er lo seu bastant, se plus no'i fos.

That is: "And if Conrad is not brave and worthy, he will degenerate from the

ancestors whom he had; his own possessions will not be sufficient, if he does not add something to them."

LXIV, 33-35.

E si no'l ven recobrar demanes,
Fara creir so qe'l reis diz espes:
Q'el sia mortz e q'autr' el sieu luec sia.

A difficult passage. Mr. B. does not tell us what he understands by it, nor who *lo reis* may be. I suspect that the author had in mind the well-known passage from the "imprecatory" psalm, CXVIII, 8: *Fiant dies ejus pauci, et episcopatum ejus accipiat alter.*

LXX, 20-26.

E de pueis tengutz
Mutz
Per re non seray
May
Ez en locs degutz
Cutz
Nos' e criz partray.

Here the MS. has: *dels nose triz*. It seems to me simpler to emend as follows:

Cutz
Del e criz partray.

LXXII, l. 45.

Read *mi* for *ni*.

LXXIII, 14-16.

Qu'us no'us estors parenta ni cozina
Que no'n acsetz anz lo iazer o'l bays,
Per que es fals, si com yeu vei maitina.

The MS. has in 15 *canc.* and in 16, *mesina*.

It is not clear how Mr. B. understands this passage. I should prefer to read, keeping somewhat closer to the MS.:

Qu'anc no'us estors parenta ni cozina
Que no'n acsetz anz lo iazer o'l bays;
Per que es fals, on yeu no vei mecina.

And I should translate: "For neither kinswoman nor cousin ever escaped you, without your first getting her bed or her kiss; wherefore that (what I said before about your hope of salvation) is false, and for that I see no remedy."

LXXVI, 13.

Read, as indicated above: *Ni la semona venga a lor repaire.*

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Folque de Candie, von Herbert Le Duc de Danmartin, nach den Festländischen Handschriften zum ersten Mal herausgegeben, by O. SCHULTZ-GORA, Band I. Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur, Band 21. Dresden, 1909. XXVIII + 467 pp.

It was my intention to delay mention of the edition of *Foucon de Candie*—as the editor might better have called the poem—until the second vol. appeared, but in view of the delay caused by the war, I venture to offer some notes concerning vol. I.

Professor O. Densusianu was reported to have in preparation an edition of *Foucon*, either alone or in conjunction with some other scholar. His name, however, does not appear in the Preface, pp. v-x, which, to be sure, is not surprising. One may regret that he did not carry out his plan, since his competency in paleography would have assured the accuracy of the published text.

Professor Schultz-Gora publishes the text of MS. 25, 518 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which he calls P¹, and gives variants from MS. 774 (P²), 778 (P³), and Boulogne (B). The amount of work involved in an edition of *Foucon* can be seen from the fact that the first of the two volumes which are to give the text, includes 9,882 lines, together with Addenda of 267 lines from B and 144 lines from P³. The editor intends to publish a third vol., which will be devoted to criticism.

The following corrections and suggestions are offered concerning the first one thousand lines of the text.

Several of the first lines of the chanson had evidently become dim and have been retraced in black ink. Is it not likely that the retouching followed the still dimly visible letters of the MS.? In this event, the editor should have given the lines as they stand, instead of drawing on MS. P³, as he has done. . . . In the variants, in the caption which stands under the miniature mentioned, read *G* instead of *6*, an aggravating substitute used by the editor. . . . It may be worth while to note that *B* replaces *neveu* by *parent*, in verse 7. . . . In the variant of v. 19 for MS. P³, *haute* is perhaps a misprint for *hante*. . . . V. 22 is said to be lacking in B, but this is not the case. The verse reads: *Couert d'un paile s'ot mance de samin*. . . . In v. 30, P³ has *de*, not *le*, and it will be well to read *cui* instead of *qui* in B. . . . The reading in v. 40 of the printed text should be *qu'ainz*, as in the MS., not *quaitiz*, hence the editor's correction is incorrect. . . . In v. 47 the MS. has *Qui*, not *Que*. . . . With regard to the note to v. 46, the scribe had simply written *sen*, having omitted *cil*. He then perceived his error. . . . The variant of v. 52, MS. P³ should read *vint*, not *vait*. . . . In the variant of B for v. 60 the reading is *Que*, not *Qui*, and it is preferable to read *sui* rather than *siu*. . . . The last word of v. 65 is *burnie* in both B and P³. . . . Instead of *chapin*, the MS. has rather *chapm*, a slight error for *champ*, in v. 83 of the text. . . . The legend under the miniature mentioned in v. 72 of the variants, should read: *Si cōme .i. roi p. et .i. G. sentrebaten as cos de lances*. The short line cited at close of this note has: *Ore ores la b*. . . . In the variant of B for v. 79, the abbreviation is that of *prent*, and is not as indicated. . . . The variant of P³, v. 90, shows a probable misprint: *veuez* should be *deuez*. . . . If we follow strictly the MS., we should read *vn* in the variant of B, v. 93. . . . MS. P³ has *Veulliez* in v. 97. An interesting variant of this line in B is: *Doune*. . . . In v. 113 of the text the MS. reads: *cui* instead of *au*, and in v.

115 *roches* instead of *rosches*. . . . Similarly, in line 127 the MS. reads: *Aleschans*. . . . The abbreviation in the last word of v. 131 has been wrongly transcribed. The MS. reads: *prouaigne*. . . . Among the variants, that for B, v. 117, should have *la*, not *le*; that for P³, v. 122, should have *lors* instead of *tors*. . . . The variant of v. 124, MS. B, includes an error. The verse is to be read thus: *Qu'il li traroient le cuer de sous l'entraigne*. . . . In the fifth line of the variants at the bottom of p. 7, the word should be *linages*, and the abbreviation for *prendre* is incorrect in the next line. In v. 145 the figure should read: .iii. . . . In the variant as given for v. 150, the scribe seems to have made a correction of *esgardes* which transforms it into *les gardes*? . . . In v. 173 of MS. 25, 518, the reading is *mort*, the *r* being simply somewhat obscure. . . . The variant of P³ for v. 157 has *gieste*. . . . The MS. of the text reads *escuz* in v. 191 and *toz* in v. 193, while in 192 it reads *dessaffrez*, not *desfassiez* as given in the variant. . . . The variant for B, v. 185, should be *renes*. In the long variant from B, on p. 10, the MS. reads *defaee*, and, in the following line, *isi*. . . . The variant for v. 226, B, should read *drus*. . . . In the variants given for B after v. 236, the abbreviation is wrongly given for the word to be transcribed *brans*. . . . The variant for v. 243, MS. P³, should read: *defensee*. . . . In v. 245 the MS. has *sa*, and in 258 *Guibor*. . . . In v. 252 B has rather *Entor*. . . . In v. 294 of the text it would be preferable to print *avis*, and of course in v. 296 *dira*, as in the MS. . . . The variant for v. 287, B, is *cis*. . . . The colon in v. 301 of the text is unfortunate. . . . After v. 321 B has: *Li plus hardis de trestot le parage*. . . . The MS. followed by the text has *ert* in v. 337, and *uns* in v. 346. . . . In v. 355 of text the spelling is *Membre*. . . . The note concerning v. 356 appears to be erroneous. The word *fu* is totally lacking here. It is true that this word and the lettre *i* of *reprochiee* of lines 367 and 354 respectively are written above the line in different colored ink. . . . In the variant of B, after v. 351, read *essillie*, and not as given. . . . In 355, P³ has *enuoiee*, and in 363 B has *cil*. . . . After v. 364 B reads: *Il s'apareille et fait chiere haitie*. . . . In the variant of v. 385 P³ has *em*, and B: *par son v*. . . . The variant of v. 390 should read *y* and not *7*. . . . In v. 401 the text should read *montaigne*, in v. 405 *ainçois*, and in 407 *ce*. . . . The variant of B for v. 400 has rather *nut*. . . . P³ reads *destent*, not *desfent*, in v. 401. In the variant cited under vv. 414-415 P³ has clearly *nef el*, and in v. 416 *euls*. This MS. has further *nies* in v. 426. . . . The editor's emendation in v. 435 should be *Baudit*. . . . V. 422 does not seem to be lacking in B, but reads: *Et cil le prent sel baille .i. capelain*. . . . The MS. does not have *home* in v. 442, but *hom*, and *sa* in v. 458. . . . In the passage cited from B after v. 451 the word after *frere* has no period in it, and the abbreviation is incorrectly indicated for *verres* in *verres a maison*. . . . Why a capital letter in the first line of p. 21? The usage is not French. . . . In v. 481 on this page the word is *mautalent* in the MS. . . . One might infer from the variants under 479-481 that 479 is lacking in MS. B. This is not the case. . . . The last word in v. 501 of the text stands *sousiez* in the MS. and not as given. . . . In vv. 504 and 505 the editors prints *e* and *et* for the same word, as frequently elsewhere. Why this diversity in transcription? . . . In the variant of P³ cited under 489 the MS. has *guerisse*, also *cuidiez* in v. 500, *ellesiez* in v. 501, and *touz* in v. 504.

The first word of the last line on p. 23 should be *Por*, as in vv. 678, 3398. The editor occasionally misreads this abbreviation, as for example in v. 131. . . .

In the variant of P³ for v. 511 the MS. has *est*, and B has *oies* in the *laisse* cited under v. 512. The latter MS. has *essiente* in the passage quoted under 516-520. . . . The first word of v. 524 in MS. P³ is *Que*. . . . In v. 537 of the text one should read *jorz*, and in v. 545 *doaire*. . . . In view of the importance of the passage, it may be worth while to say that the reading of B in v. 539 is: *le vace voire*. . . . The first lines of the variants on p. 25 include several errors. The reading ascribed to P³ is that of B, which reads: *De Guiborc lot* (the *l* appears to have been expunctuated) *bien l'ai oi retraire*. The reading: *Guy. en ot*, which is not ascribed to any MS., is from P³. . . . Somewhat similarly, the reading of v. 542 in B is said to come from P³, and the reading of this latter MS. is ascribed to B. The editor has simply confused the MSS., which is natural in such a large enterprise. V. 545 as here given should be numbered 544, and 546 should be numbered 545. . . . In the variant 560 *ml't* should be *grant*.

In the last line of the text on p. 26 the editor prints *Comarcis*, yet the *Commarcis* of lines 295, 634, etc., shows in the MS. the same abbreviation. Other examples of this lack of system could easily be shown. . . . The variant of v. 578 of MS. 25,518 indicates that this MS. has *qil*, which is an error. It has *Q'il*. That is, it offers the usual abbreviation for *que*. . . . In the variant of B for v. 577 read *Car*. . . . P³ has *tele* in v. 581, and B has *jors* in 583. . . . The punctuation of vv. 602-605 ss., indicates that the editor failed to understand the passage. . . . In the lines cited under variants 592-595 B reads *socorez*, and in v. 601 *sacies*. . . . The *nous* of v. 607, MS. P³, should read *vous*. . . . In v. 614 of the text one should read with the MS. *uns* instead of *nus*. . . . The indication B should be added after the variants of v. 614. . . . In v. 623 and following read *paiens* instead of *parens*, and in 624 *ore quit*.

Line 643 of the text should read *fausez*. The variant for v. 630 should be followed by B and should read *quit*, not *cuit*, and that of v. 634 *apele*. . . . The reading of 649 in P³ is: *Quar vcuer mest*. The *v* is a scribal error, but is not expunctuated. . . . The same MS. has *grant* before the last word in v. 654. . . . In the passage from B cited under 655-658 the MS. has *ses pere* instead of *son pere*. . . . The description of the miniature under v. 671 is not perhaps sufficiently exact. There are seven persons in the miniature. . . . In v. 680 of the text one should read *ert*, in v. 682 *soies*, and in 690 *mengierent*. . . . The variant of B cited under v. 682 should read *aparcreus*. . . . After variant 699 might have been added for MS. B: *Ce totroit .j.hū cris*. . . . In lines 702 and 703 of the text read *Cordres* and *nies*. . . . In the variants v. 713 is not lacking in P³, but reads: *Icil iert cex qui en son cuer se prise*, and the following line reads: *Quant iert armez sus le uairon de frise*. . . . V. 717 of the same MS. has *or ait*. . . . The last word in the variant of B for v. 721 is to be read *prosiez* for *proisiez*. . . . It is worth while to add *escousse* to the reading of P³ for v. 726. . . . In the variant for v. 730 there is a slight misprint: read *atargiez*. . . . Under variant 734 read *ierc* instead of *iere*. Further on read for MS. B *anfelise*. . . . The same MS. has *tente* in v. 739. . . . Under 742 P³ has *lutiz*. . . . In the note to v. 743 of the text *a* is indicated as expunctuated. This is not according to the MS. . . . The variant of P³ for v. 744 should read *lampatriz*. . . . MS. B has in v. 754: *Baudus de Rames*, and in 755 *estrais*. This MS. adds after 756: *Et fiert isi Robert de Biauvoisis*. . . . In the variant of B under vv. 775-776 read *salemon*, and under 797 *prosie* instead of *prisie*, another error in the transcription of an abbreviation. . . . The same MS. has *ot* instead of *a* in v. 798. . . . Line

807 is not lacking in this MS., but reads: *Lase coitive lafors ere jugie*. . . . V. 821 of the text should have *seles*. . . . Variant B of v. 816 should be: *Desi es d. li fait*, etc. . . . The same MS. has *mortel* in v. 837, and *nauvoirs* in 852.

It would have been preferable to resolve as *Vos* the abbreviated word in v. 859. The word stands thus written out in vv. 929, 974, 982, etc. . . . The note under v. 876 of the text belongs on the following page. . . . After v. 856 B has: *Doutent despie si le font coient*. . . . In the variant to 861 MS. P^a reads *get*, and offers for v. 871: *Le matin li enuoions Morant*. . . . MS. B. reads *aes* in v. 885, *tornes* in the following line, and similarly *ases* in 895. . . . After v. 899 B has: *Maint ent Guiborc qui tant jors a amee*. . . . The same MS. has *duska* in v. 911, *tout* in the passage given under v. 914, and *guibourc* in the legend over the miniature. . . . The word *nul* is not lacking in v. 933 of MSS. B and P^a, but *mais* is lacking: *Ne devers france nul secours nauera*. After this line B adds: *Sil cel plait laise jamais ni avendra*. . . . MS. P^a reads *aurons* in v. 953, and *guibourc* in v. 961. . . . V. 962 is not lacking in B and reads: *Guiborc parole o le cors avenant*. . . . P^a has in v. 970 *Que*, and the first letter of line 979 in this MS. is *L* instead of *I* (a scribal error). . . . V. 990 of the text should read, according to the MS., *chagerons*. . . . The last word in the first line of the variants on p. 45 is *desramez*, and not as given.

It would not be difficult to criticise the way in which abbreviations have been resolved in many cases. There is lack of system in this regard. For example, we find in v. 38 *comença* and in v. 51 *commence*, yet the abbreviation is the same. The diversity in this case is aggravated by the fact that the word is written out in full: *commence*, in v. 93 and elsewhere. It should be said in the editor's excuse that diversity is more or less inevitable in a work of such vast dimensions.

A rapid examination has here been made of one thousand lines of *Foucon de Candie*. The number of suggested emendations may appear large. While there is perhaps no page on which errors have not been discovered, their number is certainly not greater than we have come to expect in German paleography.

RAYMOND WEEKS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

OBITUARY

JOSE ECHEGARAY

(1832—1916)

With the death of José Echegaray in the middle of September Spain suffered the loss of another member of that brilliant galaxy that composed her crown of glory in the nineteenth century: a man built on the generous lines of our own beloved F. Hopkinson Smith, and who attained a great reputation as a civil engineer, a mathematician, a revolutionary orator, a political economist, a statesman, and a man of letters.

José Echegaray y Eizaguirre was born in 1832, and after a thorough training in the Government Military School of Bridges and Roads, he soon attained to a professorship therein and became known as one of Spain's greatest civil engineers and her foremost mathematician. While still a young man, he was attracted into politics, was one of the most important factors in bringing about the Revolution of 1868, was deputy in the Constituent Cortes, became Director General of Public Works, made a brilliant discourse in favor of religious liberty, and was soon thereafter, 1869, made minister of Public Works of the short lived Republic. When Amadeo was elected king, Echegaray was one of the official commission to receive him in Cartagena, and in 1872 he was again appointed Minister of Public Works. In December the same year he was prevailed upon to accept the treasury portfolio. With the fall of Amadeo, Echegaray remained as a member of what was called the Permanent Commission. But the republicans dissolved the Commission and Echegaray, in order to save his life, had to go to Paris as an exile. The republicans held sway less than a year and in the Conciliation Ministry, formed in 1874, Echegaray was again Minister of the Treasury. In 1876 he was returned once more to the Chamber of Deputies. In 1904 and 1905 he was for a third time Minister of the Treasury, and became a Life Senator and President of the Council of Public Instruction.

In addition to the honors thus far mentioned Echegaray received many other tributes in recognition of his many and varied services, for he became President of the Royal Academy of the Exact, Physical and Natural Sciences (his discourse at his reception therein in 1864 had caused a literary and scientific war), President of the Ateneo Científico, Literario y Artístico of Madrid, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honor, Grand Cross of Alfonso XII and Grand Cross of San Mauricio and San Lazaro of Italy, and Member of Spain's oldest and proudest Academy: La Real Academia Española de la Lengua. In 1874, with his play *El Libro talonario* (The Stub Book), performed at the Apolo Theatre in Madrid, he entered the literary arena. It will

be easily understood that with his duties as statesman, professor of mathematics and inspector of bridges, roads, canals and harbors, his literary activities were his avocation. And yet he produced, in addition to a quantity of scientific works and much unpublished poetry, seventy dramas in prose or verse. It was in 1894 that this literary activity received recognition by his election to the aforesaid Royal Spanish Academy. With a generosity none too often seen, Echegaray has several times translated and presented to the Spanish public, and thereby to the world at large, works of the powerful Catalan dramatist Angel Guimerá. It was in this manner that the American public became acquainted with Guimerá, since Echegaray's Castilian version of his *Terra Baixa* was the basis of the English version presented by Mrs. Fiske in 1903 under the title *Marta of the Lowlands*.

Echegaray's vast dramatic production (some seventy plays in prose and verse) is almost always a presentation of a conflict between duties. Despite their general tone of sombre tragedy, they show their author as a persistent optimist and idealist.

Three of his plays are already easily accessible in English, two of them being *The Madman Divine* (*El Loco Dios*), by E. H. West, in *Poet Lore*, and *Madman or Saint* (*Ó locura o santidad*), by Ruth Lansing, in *Poet Lore*. The third is his greatest play: *El Gran Galeoto*, which was translated some years ago by Mr. Nirdlinger, and in 1912 by Miss Caroline Sheldon. More recently, Mr. William Faversham and his talented wife, Julie Opp, gave an exquisite interpretation of this version under the title *The World and his Wife*. This play has become a classic in its German garb and forms part of the regular dramatic repertoire. Some years ago, the German version was played to capacity houses in New York at Conried's Irving Place Theater, with that interesting German star, Christians, in the hero's rôle. The play was received with tumultuous applause when presented at Athens in 1895 in Modern Greek.

In an interview which he granted some two or three years ago, he was asked what norm or plan he followed in writing dramas. He replied with a sonnet which he had composed on that very subject, many years before, to the following effect:

"I choose a passion, take an idea, a problem, a character. And I bury it like solid dynamite in the very depths of a personage which my mind creates.—The plot surrounds the personage with a certain number of puppets who in the world either wallow in the mud and filth or warm themselves in the heat of the sun.—I light the fuse. The fire spreads, the cartridge explodes, naturally, and the principal star is the one that pays. Although sometimes also in this siege which I make on art and which flatters my instinct, the explosion catches me in the midst of things."

It has already been remarked that literature was Echegaray's avocation. In the aforesaid interview he expressed his own opinion of the relative interest to him of the three principal activities of his life: Mathematics, Literature and Politics:

"People are surprised at my affection for Mathematics and Literature. And I am surprised at their surprise. Mathematics forms an excellent sauce for all the various dishes in which the mind delights. Mathematics harmonizes with music and with art in general, since all of them are harmony, varieties in one or another form which intermingle in a lofty and beautiful unity. But of

all my affections the most intense was Mathematics. Literature, dramatics, as one may guess from the account of my life, never awakened in me so ardent an enthusiasm nor so grand a passion. My vocation for the theater became dimmed at certain times and then again resuscitated. Whereas my affection for Mathematics was constant and constantly increased. There were times when the necessity of earning money, of solving the problem of earning a living, encouraged me to cultivate dramatics. On the other hand, my affection for Mathematics was more disinterested, purer, deeper, grander, in a word. My political interests always held a lower place than these other two. I never found therein that intimate pleasure which Mathematics and Literature produced in me. I recognized always that politics were necessary in modern society, because with all its impurities it is an element of progress. But that's all."

Because his plays have always stood for the ideal (although he never descends to mere preaching), Echegaray was awarded in 1904 one half of the Nobel Prize for Literature, the other half going to the revered poet of Provence, Frédéric Mistral. Of all his plays, none has exerted at home or abroad (for it has been translated into four foreign languages besides those mentioned) a more powerful influence than *El Gran Galeoto*.

On the occasion of this award, Spain rendered public homage to her great son. On the eighteenth of March, 1904, representatives of all the literary, scientific and artistic associations of the country met in the Chamber of the Senate, and were presided over by His Majesty, King Alfonso, who personally presented the testimonials and the diploma, after receiving them from the Minister Plenipotentiary of Sweden. The speech of presentation was made by that minister and was answered by the Prime Minister of Spain.

Echegaray's colleagues at the School of Bridges and Roads celebrated by getting out a splendid edition of his scientific works, and his works of scientific vulgarization, or popularization (works in which abstruse scientific facts are presented accurately but in language intelligible to the average mind).

On the following day, which was the Festival of San José (the patron Saint of Echegaray), there was a public manifestation, shared in by all classes, on the steps of the National Library; and in the evening there was a special function in the Ateneo de Madrid, at which His Majesty again presided.

The third day there were gala performances in all the theatres, *El Gran Galeoto* being performed at the Teatro Real by the company of María Guerrero, Spain's greatest actress.

The English-speaking world associates itself with Spain in her loss and in her tribute to her great son, for another of Echegaray's plays has recently been issued in an English translation: *Always Ridiculous* (by T. Walter Gilcyson), and his greatest work, *El Gran Galeoto*, already available in Nirdlinger's adaptation and translation, and in the translations of Hannah Lynch and Caroline Sheldon, is presented in a third translation by J. S. Fassett, Jr.

JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

WILLIAM HENRY FRASER

William Henry Fraser, Professor of Italian and Spanish at the University of Toronto, who died on December 28th last, was best known as joint author with Professor John Squair of a successful French grammar, first published in 1891 as a text-book for the schools of the Province of Ontario. As a teacher Professor Fraser showed unusual ability. His untiring thoroughness, his methodical mind, his kindly humour and his exceptional gifts as a linguist qualified him pre-eminently for work in the class-room. But his services in the cause of education were not limited to the class-room. He gave freely of his time and wisdom to the consideration of departmental and general university problems. As one of the founders and for a long time secretary of the Modern Language Association of Ontario, he was actively interested in the secondary education of his Province. As author and teacher, he was an indefatigable advocate—and one of the earliest in English-speaking countries—of the use of practical and scientific methods in the teaching of languages.

M. A. B.

NOTES AND NEWS

Professor E. C. Hills has been appointed Librarian to the Hispanic Society.

Professor Edward C. Armstrong, professor of the French language at the Johns Hopkins University, has resigned his chair in order to accept a similar appointment at Princeton University.

Professor James E. Shaw, associate professor of Italian at the Johns Hopkins University, has resigned his position to become professor of Italian and Spanish at the University of Toronto.

Professor George T. Northup, assistant professor of Italian at the University of Toronto, has resigned his position to become associate professor of Spanish at the University of Chicago.

Professor Ralph E. House, assistant professor of Romance language at the University of Chicago, has resigned his position to become Curator of Printed Books at the Hispanic Society.

Mr. A. Lipari, lecturer in French at Trinity College, University of Toronto, has been appointed lecturer in Italian and Spanish at the University of Toronto.

Professor David S. Blondheim, assistant professor of Romance languages at the University of Illinois, has accepted an associate professorship at the Johns Hopkins University.

The "Centro de Estudios Históricos," of Madrid, directed by Professor Ramón Menéndez Pidal, has organized special courses for natives, to supply the growing demand outside of Spain for teachers of the Spanish Language and Literature.

Certain students will have completed these courses satisfactorily this spring and will therefore be fully prepared to carry out their work in English-speaking countries.

These students were particularly trained in the following: phonetics (applied to the teaching of Spanish to foreigners); philology (Spanish texts commented, elements of historical grammar); special study of the language in Spanish America; history of Spanish Literature, Art and Civilization.

The "Centro de Estudios Históricos" will offer, besides, its courses for foreigners in the same form as in previous years: Summer session from July 16th to August 25th, and three months' courses from October to June.

Professor Federico de Onís, of Columbia University and of the University of Salamanca, will give full information regarding this or any other matter connected with studies in Spain.

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THE FRIENDSHIP OF JOSEPH SCALIGER AND FRANÇOIS VERTUNIEN

I.—INTRODUCTORY

SINCE the opening years of the seventeenth century, when Carolus Scribanus and Gaspar Scioppius directed their calumnious broadsides against Joseph Scaliger, it has been the custom to regard somewhat contemptuously "the most extraordinary man who has ever devoted his life to letters."¹ Charles Nisard's essay on Scaliger,² which is based largely on Scioppius's unjust *Scaliger Hypobolimaëus* and on Jean and Nicolas de Vassan's indiscreet *Secunda Scaligerana*,³ has contributed to the discredit of Scaliger in contemporary opinion even more than have the writings of the savage critics mentioned above. The works of Scribanus and Scioppius are written in Latin, are very rare, and consequently are read but little to-day. Nisard's essay, on the other hand, is in French, is to be found in every library, and so exerts a wide influence on those persons who still derive pleasure and inspiration from the achievements of the "Gladiators of the Republic of Letters." Not that Nisard's excoriation of Joseph Scaliger is wholly unfair.

¹ Mark Pattison, *Quarterly Review*, vol. 108 (1860), p. 35. Concerning Joseph Scaliger, see, in addition to the article by Pattison, Jacob Bernays, *Joseph Justus Scaliger*, Berlin, 1855, and R. C. Christie, *The Scaligers*, in *Selected Essays and Papers*, London, 1902, pp. 209 ff. (reprinted from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition). On p. 222, Christie mentions other works dealing with Scaliger. —The information about Scaliger's life and works in the *Lettres françaises inédites*, published by Tamizey de Larroque, and in the unpublished documents of the present article would seem to make advisable an entirely new study to supersede the essays of Bernays, Pattison, and others.

² *Le Triumvirat littéraire au XVI^e siècle: Juste Lipse, Joseph Scaliger et Isaac Casaubon*, Paris, no date (about 1852).

³ Concerning the Vassans and the *Secunda Scaligerana*, see *infra*.

Scaliger had many faults: he was vainglorious, arrogant, dictatorial, lacking in judgment, impatient of contradiction, merciless toward his enemies and toward presumptuous scholars. That he was not, however, the reprehensible monster that Nisard pretends, the unprejudiced reader can readily divine by reading his letters⁴ and by sifting impartially the testimony of the small number of his contemporaries who were not entirely blinded by party spirit. Toward his enemies he was relentless, and his enemies more than repaid him in kind; toward his friends he was obliging, loyal, and devoted. However, in the face of all evidence, Nisard would have us believe that Scaliger's friendship was never disinterested.

"Quand Scaliger recherchait l'amitié des hommes doctes," he says, "ce n'est pas la conformité d'humeur ni d'études qui le déterminait, mais l'espoir de faire servir leurs lumières au perfectionnement de son instruction. Le fond de ses caresses était toujours l'égoïsme. . . . Par son testament, fait depuis huit ans, il légua à ses amis le peu de bien qu'il avait, soit à Agen, soit à Leyde; car il se vantait d'être de ceux qui font le plus grand cas de leurs amis, et il n'était pas content qu'il ne leur en eût donné des preuves et qu'il ne les eût forcés d'en convenir. Cependant, à l'exception de de Thou et de Casaubon, il n'en est aucun pour qui cette amitié ne fût un fardeau. Il fallait qu'ils s'y immolassent tout entiers, qu'ils lui sacrifiasent la vérité, leur indépendance, le respect de soi, et ne s'avisassent jamais de signaler ses fautes à celui qu'ils aimaient de cette façon-là. Rien donc ne ressemblait plus à des courtisans que les amis de Scaliger: ils n'aimaient du personnage que son autorité, sa réputation, la gloire qu'ils tiraient de sa familiarité, prêts à le haïr et à le décrier, du moment qu'il aurait perdu tout cela."⁵

Nisard goes even further. He is surprised that Scaliger wept at the death of his old friends, the Pithous, Florent Chrestien, and others:

"'Je les pleure, mon cher Casaubon, s'écrie-t-il, et ne puis sécher mes larmes.' Cet attendrissement, pour être inattendu, n'en est pas moins sincère."⁶

⁴ *Josephi Scaligeri . . . Epistolae . . .*, Leyden, 1627, Frankfort, 1628; *Lettres françaises inédites de Joseph Scaliger*, published and annotated by Philippe Tamizey de Larroque, Paris and Agen, 1879; Bernays, pp. 306 ff. Cf. also *Epistres françaises des personnages illustres et doctes à J. J. de la Scala, mises en lumière par Jacques de Reves*, Harderwyck, 1624.

⁵ *Le Triumvirat littéraire*, pp. 165 and 291.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

This, however, is the same Joseph Scaliger who for days wept "comme une vieille"⁷ at the premature death of the younger Janus Douza; of whom Jacques Cujas, heartbroken at the death of his only son, said: "J'ai céans M. de la Scala, de qui la douce compagnie m'a tiré du sépulchre où j'étois misérablement tombé, et m'a essuyé une partie de mes piteuses larmes;"⁸ to whom Louis de Chasteigner wrote: "The greatest happiness I can have in this world is, that we may pass our old age together;"⁹ of whose friendship, finally, Jacques-Auguste de Thou, the eminent jurist and historian, wrote in *De Vita Sua*:

"This friendship, begun in the daily intercourse of Valence, has been continued since, either by personal communication or by correspondence, for the space of thirty-eight years uninterrupted. This friendship is the pride and pleasure of my life. All the calumny and misrepresentation which it has occasioned me are, in my opinion, balanced by the satisfaction of an intercourse so honorable and so delightful to me. I know that I have been reproached with it by mischievous men; but I both glory in it publicly, and cherish it in my own breast."¹⁰

Despite the tendency of Eugène and Émile Haag to gloss over the faults and shortcomings of Protestants of every stripe, they have given the following sane judgment of Scaliger as a friend:

"On a accusé Scaliger de sécheresse de cœur. Cette accusation ne nous paraît pas fondée. Il est bien vrai que son amour-propre (qui était excessif chez lui comme chez la plupart des savants de ce siècle) lui fit rompre avec quelques-uns de ses amis. Mais il n'était rien moins qu'égoïste dans son commerce avec eux, il se mettait volontiers à leur service, il leur communiquait avec libéralité le fruit de ses travaux. Casaubon nous apprend que Scaliger était consulté comme un oracle, et que si l'on réunissait tout ce que ses amis lui doivent on en pourrait composer un gros volume . . . Il conserva jusqu'à la fin de sa vie tous ceux de ses amis qui étaient dignes de ce nom.¹¹ Pour faire naître une amitié telle que celle de

⁷ *Secunda Scaligerana*, article *Douza*.

⁸ Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 44, note 3.

⁹ Quoted by Mark Pattison, *Essays*, Oxford, 1889, I, 227.

¹⁰ Quoted by Mark Pattison, *Quarterly Review*, vol. 108 (1860), p. 50.

¹¹ Cf. Scaliger, in Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 269: "Dieu soit loué, ni lui ni homme du monde ne pourront jamais alleguer que je sois le premier à rompre le lien d'une longue amitié."

Casaubon il ne fallait pas certes avoir le cœur sec. Ces deux savants ne se virent jamais, et cependant jamais il n'y eut entre eux le plus léger refroidissement. Ils s'aimaient autant qu'ils s'estimaient."¹²

In order to show that Scaliger was not always so abnormally egoistic as Nisard maintained, and that friendship with him was not always a burden, I have chosen to describe the relations that existed for more than one third of a century between Scaliger and François Vertunien, Sieur de Lavau, a physician and a humanist of the select circle that adorned Poitiers during the late Renaissance.

II.—FRANÇOIS VERTUNIEN

Vertunien's father, whose name is found both as Saint-Vertunien and de Lavau, played a conspicuous part in the establishment of the Protestant faith in Poitou. In company with Philippe Véron and Albert Babinot, he visited Calvin at Geneva,¹³ and thus came directly under the influence of the great reformer. In 1534 or 1535 he participated in the Protestant meetings organized by Calvin at Poitiers. He was, however, none too docile a disciple, and in 1555 caused a schism in the Protestant flock of Poitiers. That he was opposed to some of Calvin's most cherished tenets is evident from the following paragraph by Auguste Lièvre:

"L'auteur de ce schisme était un nommé de Lavau, à qui ses idées avaient valu naguère à Genève une assez rude mercuriale de la part du consistoire. Disciple de Calvin d'abord, et ensuite de Sébastien Castalion, il pensait, comme celui-ci, que l'hérésie n'était pas un crime, et qu'on ne devait pas brûler ceux qui se trompaient. Il faisait ses réserves sur le canon et l'autorité des Écritures, et n'admettait pas du tout la prédestination; il semble avoir cru à un rétablissement final. Il s'attachait moins au dogme et plus à la vie chrétienne, et il trouvait que dans la réformation calviniste on méconnaissait un peu trop la nature morale de l'homme. Lavau mêlait à sa théologie un peu de philosophie, et sa véritable hérésie fut de ne pas vouloir se laisser imposer l'autorité du maître, dont il disait qu'à Genève chacun devait lui baiser la pantoufle. Calvin, d'autant plus impatient de la contradiction qu'elle portait sur ses opinions ou ses erreurs personnelles, déversa sur notre Poitevin les flots d'une bile peu charitable. Lavau n'en continua pas moins à

¹² Haag, *La France protestante*, article *L'Escale*.

¹³ Auguste Lièvre, *Histoire des Protestants et des églises réformées du Poitou*, Paris and Poitiers, 1856-60, I, 36.

répandre ses opinions de vive voix et par écrit. Quelques années plus tard le ministre de Poitiers en donna connaissance au premier synode national, qui engagea les fidèles à se tenir en garde contre elles, et ordonna qu'après un mûr examen de l'hérésie de Lavau, elle serait jugée au synode suivant."¹⁴

A letter addressed by Calvin to the church of Poitiers,¹⁵ in which he "defends himself against the calumnies of a certain de Lavau," is worthy of passing notice. After accusing Lavau of trying to "semer une zizanie mauvaise de discorde" and to undermine his influence at Poitiers, Calvin calls him "ignorant," "présomptueux," "pauvre glorieux," "menteur," "insensé," "impudent," "frénétique," "bête sauvage," and adds that Lavau was not brought before the consistory, but that, "pour l'espargner, nous voulusmes bien deviser en maison privée avec luy." As a whole, the letter is as bitter and unforgiving as it was possible for even Calvin to pen.¹⁶

François Vertunien,¹⁷ like his father a Protestant, was born at Poitiers. The exact date of his birth is not known, but that he was of about the same age as Joseph Scaliger¹⁸ is attested by the fact that in 1567 and 1568 he took degrees in medicine at the University of Montpellier.¹⁹ As an echo of his sojourn at Montpellier, we have the following letter written by him to Jacques-Auguste de Thou, in reply to De Thou's request for information concerning Guillaume Pellicier, Bishop of Montpellier. It will be observed that, in the course of his description of the sufferings of Pellicier, Vertunien, after a lapse of thirty years, does not forget to mention that the learned bishop's study was "full of excellent manuscript books":

¹⁴ Lièvre, I, 54.

¹⁵ *Ioannis Calvini Opera* . . ., in *Corpus Reformatorum*, Brunswick, 1863-1900, XV, 435-446. The letter is dated February 20, 1555.

¹⁶ In the *Secunda Scaligerana*, Scaliger says that Lavau carried on an extensive correspondence with Michael Servetus, who was burned, possibly at Calvin's instigation, in Geneva on October 27, 1553.

¹⁷ Also known as Saint-Vertunien and de Lavau.

¹⁸ Born at Agen on August 4, 1540.

¹⁹ Haag, *La France protestante*, article *Saint-Vertunien*. The School of Medicine of Montpellier, founded in the thirteenth century, was at the height of its fame in 1567. Among its celebrated professors at that time were Guillaume Rondelet and Laurent Joubert. Rabelais received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from this school on May 22, 1537.

Monsieur,

Celuy à qui vous écrivez²⁰ est maintenant à Lodun,²¹ là où je feray tenir voz lettres. A mon avis qu'il a fait l'eloge²² de feu Guillaulme Pellissier, evesque de Monpeslier,²³ et partant vous pourra il instruire de beaucoup de particularitez que j'ignore. Ce que j'en sçay, pour l'avoir veu à Maguelonne²⁴ dans son estude l'an 1567 et ouy parler de luy à Monsieur Joubert, mon maistre et docteur,²⁵ est qu'il estoit venu de pauvres parents autour Monpeslier, dont ne me souvient du village,²⁶ et qu'il estoit parvenu par sa vertu à la dignité qu'il avoit, apres avoir esté ambassadeur pour le roy François I à Venise.²⁷ Il mourut à mon avis audit lieu de Maguelonne non fort longtemps apres l'an susdit²⁸ d'une mort cruelle. Car c'est pour avoir pris des pillules ordonnées par

²⁰ That is, Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, poet and humanist, a close friend of Scaliger and Vertunien. In *Poemata et Elogia*, Limoges, 1606, p. 199, Sainte-Marthe dedicated a poem to Vertunien: *Hippocratis iusiurandum Latino cormine redditum, Ad Franciscum Vertunianum Vallam, medicum Pict.* In a letter to Scaliger (Reves, p. 179), Sainte-Marthe says: "Nostre commun amy, Monsieur de la Vau, m'a fait part des vostres du 22 de Mars dernier . . . M. de la Vau m'a aussi communiqué vostre portraict." In all of Vertunien's letters published by Jacques de Reves two names recur constantly: Scévole de Sainte-Marthe and Isaac Cassaubon.

²¹ Sainte-Marthe was born at Loudon in 1536.

²² The first edition of Sainte-Marthe's *Elogia*, eulogies of illustrious Frenchmen who died during his lifetime, was published in 1598, the date of the present letter.

²³ Guillaume Pellicier, humanist, prelate, and diplomat, was one of the most remarkable scholars of the sixteenth century. He was well versed in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, law, medicine, and natural history. In the *Prima Scalligerana* occur these lines: "Guillelmus Pelisserius Episcopus Magalonensis, vir totius Galliae linguae Latinae usque adeo peritus, ut veteres omnes Romanos facile superaverit in exacta illius cognitione. Fuit patri meo Iul. Scaligero amicissimus. . . ." Concerning Pellicier, see the Introduction to *Correspondance politique de Guillaume Pellicier, ambassadeur de France à Venise, 1540-1542*, by Alexandre Tausserat-Radel, Paris, 1899.

²⁴ The episcopal see was transferred from Maguelonne to Montpellier on March 27, 1536. Cf. Louis de la Roque, *Les Evêques de Maguelonne et de Montpellier*; Albert Germain, *Maguelonne sous ses évêques et ses chanoines*, Montpellier, 1869. Pellicier resided at times at Maguelonne, at Aigues-Mortes, and at Montferrand, as well as at Montpellier.

²⁵ In 1577 Vertunien dedicated to Joubert a translation, *Hippocratis Coi De Capitis Vulneribus Liber*. See below.

²⁶ Pellicier was born about 1490, at Mauguio, twelve kilometers from Montpellier. His father held the office of royal provost.

²⁷ Pellicier was ambassador at Venice from February, 1539, to December, 1542.

²⁸ Pellicier died on January 25, 1568.

feu Guillaulme Rondelet,²⁹ où il entroit de la colocynthe: laquelle aiant esté grossement pulverisée par le serviteur de l'apothicaire s'attacha à ses boyaulx, et les escorcha, y excitant un ulcere et des trenchées si extremes qu'il mouroit cent fois le jour: mesme comme nous estions avec luy en sadite estude de Maguelonne, plaine d'excellents livres manuscrits,³⁰ il nous dist par deux ou trois fois, sentant ses douleurs: "O mauldite colocynthe, que tu me bailles de quintes! Tu me feras mourir." Puis nous ouvrant son Pline:³¹ "J'ay fait, dit il, mille corrections sur ce bel autheur, que le monde est indigne de veoir." J'ay ouy un des trois ministres qui preschoient à Monpeslier en l'an susdit qu'on disoit estre son neveu. C'est tout ce que j'en sçay, estant marry ne vous en pouvoir rendre plus certain. . . .

Vostre treshumble serviteur
Vertunien.

A Poitiers, ce 1^{er} Fevrier 1598.³²

Upon receiving his degrees from the University of Montpellier, Vertunien began the practice of medicine at Poitiers. On April 2, 1587, the Faculty of Medicine of Poitiers decided that

"François de Saint-Vertunien et trois autres docteurs de la même faculté, ayant rempli depuis plusieurs années les fonctions de leur charge et ayant résidé continuellement à Poitiers, jouiront seuls des droits et émoluments attachés à ce titre, à l'exclusion de tous les autres docteurs même plus anciens qu'eux."³³

Jacques-Auguste de Thou, in the following passage of his *Mémoires*,³⁴ refers to Vertunien as a doctor of note:

"Sur le chemin de Chartres à Tours, il [De Thou] tomba grièvement malade; cependant il souffrit son mal le plus patiemment qu'il pût jusqu'à Tours; tantôt s'allant à cheval, tantôt en carrosse, quel-

²⁹ Naturalist and physician, the *Rondibilis* of *Pantagruel* (III, chapters 31-33). Rondelet died on July 30, 1566, eighteen months before the death of Pellicier.

³⁰ Pellicier's Greek manuscripts alone were 1104 in number. Cf. H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de G. Pellicier*, 1886.

³¹ "Toute sa vie l'évêque de Montpellier s'occupa de l'histoire naturelle de Pline l'Ancien, et ses commentaires manuscrits, impatientement attendus des contemporains, servirent après sa mort à enrichir les travaux de plusieurs savants" (Alexandre Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance . . .*, p. xxii). Compare also *Prima Scaligerana*, article *Plinius*: "Si aliquando in manus meas Plinius Guilelmi Pelisserii Episcopi Magdalonensis, cum aliis quos castigavit libris venerit, spero me brevi editurum cum nostris correctionibus quas non spernendas habemus; ostendamque quantus vir fuit Pelisserius, qui a patre meo plurimi fiebat."

³² Bibl. Nat., Collection Du Puy, 348, fol. 101, autograph letter.

³³ Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 65, note 1.

³⁴ Rotterdam, 1711, Book V, year 1592, p. 207.

quefois en litière, peu s'en fallut qu'il ne mourût en chemin la dernière journée. Sitôt qu'il fut arrivé, Charles Falaizeau et François Lavau,⁸⁵ médecins célèbres, et tous deux de ses amis, le vinrent voir."

Dreux du Radier cites the following verses by Paul Contant, poet and apothecary of Poitiers, in praise of Vertunien and other physicians:

Pidoux, La Vau, Milon, Le Coq, Citoys encore,
Et Rabaud, et Raffou, de Mayré que mes vers
Veulent faire voler par ce vaste univers.⁸⁶

In addition to the foregoing evidence of Vertunien's high standing as a doctor, it should be added that he was the physician of such aristocratic families as the Trémoilles and the Chasteigners de la Roche Posay.

III.—THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SCALIGER AND VERTUNIEN BEFORE SCALIGER'S DEPARTURE FOR LEYDEN

In 1563, after spending four years in the University of Paris,⁸⁷ Joseph Scaliger, upon the recommendation of Jean Dorat, entered the household of Louis de Chasteigner de la Roche Posay,⁸⁸ in what capacity has never been exactly determined. It is likely that Louis de Chasteigner, a man of culture, desired Scaliger as a companion for himself rather than as a teacher for his children, as has generally been thought. However that may be, Scaliger was intimately connected with the Chasteigner family from 1563 until his departure for Leyden in 1593. Of this period of thirty years, as Pattison remarks,

⁸⁵ Note in margin of page: "*Alias Vertunia*" [sic].

⁸⁶ *Bibl. hist. et crit. du Poitou*, III, 315. Dreux du Radier devotes notices to the physicians, all of Poitiers, mentioned above. François Le Coq was Vertunien's son-in-law.

⁸⁷ Before attending the University of Paris, Scaliger studied for three years in the Collège de Guienne, at Bordeaux, and for five years under his father, Jules-César Scaliger, at Agen.

⁸⁸ Louis, born on February 15, 1535, was five years older than Scaliger. He was at various times "gentilhomme ordinaire de la Chambre du roi," ambassador of France to Rome, "membre du Conseil privé," and "Conseiller d'État." Concerning the Chasteigner family, see André du Chesne, *Histoire généalogique de la maison des Chasteigners*, Paris, 1679; also Dreux du Radier, *Bibl. hist. et crit. du Poitou*, II, 278 ff.

"not more than half was actually spent by Scaliger under his patron's roof. But it was always open to him, and his books and papers—his only property—seem to have been deposited in one of the Poitevin châteaux of the Seigneur de La Roche Posay."³⁹

The first four years of Scaliger's association with Louis de Chasteigner were spent in travel. The two friends went first to Rome, and later to Naples, Venice, Verona, and other cities in Italy.⁴⁰ From Italy they proceeded to England and Scotland, where they visited especially Cambridge, Oxford, and Edinburgh. Displeased with the English, chiefly on account of their lack of hospitality and their barbarous manners, they returned to France,

"only to find it in a blaze with Civil War—that which is styled by historians the Second War of Religion (1567–8). In this, and in the third which grew out of it, Scaliger was involved through his connection with the La Roche Posay family. For three years he led an unsettled camp-life, moving from château to château in the train of his patron, if not actually fighting under his banner. He lost a great part of his early friends in the murderous fights; was cheated out of his patrimony during the period of lawlessness; and noted with despair the steady progress of religious faction and its concomitant barbarism among the noblesse, penury and misery among the peasantry. . . . France was no longer a place for letters or learning."⁴¹

Weary of the strife between Catholics and Protestants, Scaliger quitted Poitou in 1570, and went to Valence, in Dauphiné, a town which, on account of its remoteness from the seat of conflict, afforded a tranquil retreat for the studious.⁴² On August 22, 1572, he received an order to act as secretary to Jean de Monluc, Bishop of Valence, who was to be sent by Catharine de' Medici to Poland to negotiate for the crown of that country for her son, the Duke of Anjou, later Henry III, king of France. Scaliger, who was at Lyons, immediately set out for Strassburg to join Monluc. The

³⁹ *Quarterly Review*, vol. 108 (1860), p. 40.

⁴⁰ Scaliger had a rather low opinion of Italians; cf. *Secunda Scaligerana*, article *Italiens*. Concerning Frenchmen, Scaliger says (*ibid.*, article *Coignée*): "Il est fort impudent, c'est l'ordinaire des François; il n'y a nation si impudente ni si affronteuse que la françoise; je ne laisse pas d'estre François."

⁴¹ Mark Pattison, *Quarterly Review*, vol. 108, pp. 47–48.

⁴² During the two years Scaliger spent in Valence, he studied law under Jacques Cujas. Jacques-Auguste de Thou was one of his fellow students.

night of Saint Bartholomew's Day (August 24) he passed at Lausanne, and then continued to Strassburg, only to learn that Monluc was not coming. Scaliger made his way to Geneva, the refuge of the Protestants,⁴³ of which city he became a citizen on September 8. On October 31 he was appointed professor of philosophy in the Academy of Geneva, a kind of Calvinistic divinity school. He had, however, a strong disinclination to lecture,⁴⁴ and in the summer of 1574 returned to the home of Louis de Chasteigner in Poitou.

The earliest dated evidence of the friendship between Scaliger and Vertunien is five letters written in Latin by Scaliger to Vertunien in December, 1574, and in January, February, and March, 1575,⁴⁵ dealing with the names of plants corrupted by Dioscorides, Pliny, and other ancient naturalists, a subject of interest to Scaliger as a philologist, to Vertunien as a physician. From 1574 to 1593, on account of their connection with the Chasteigner family, they were more or less constantly in each other's company, and information concerning their relations is comparatively abundant.

The first inedited document that I shall present is a curious letter written in Latin by Scaliger to Vertunien.⁴⁶ After mentioning the dangers that beset wayfarers, Scaliger enumerates his bodily ills: he has had a fever, a cough, a cold, a catarrh; he came near breaking his sacrum, and his entire body is covered with itch. The letter closes with some interesting gossip and a request that Vertunien endeavor to put an end to Scaliger's affliction.

"Non potui statim tuis literis respondere, quas ad me nuper misisti tanquam . . . quoddam. Scis enim quanto periculo ad vos itur: nullus enim locus fere ab inessoribus viarum vacat."⁴⁷

⁴³ Scaliger turned Protestant about 1566.

⁴⁴ In the *Prima Scaligerana*, article *Auctores*, Vertunien says that Scaliger is not qualified "à caqueter en chaire et pedanter."

⁴⁵ *Josephi Scaligeri . . . Epistolae*, Frankfort, 1628, pp. 94-115. That Scaliger and Vertunien were acquainted before 1574 is shown by an undated letter written by Scaliger to Jacques Dalechamps between 1561 and 1571 (probably about 1565); cf. Bernays, *Joseph Justus Scaliger*, p. 309.

⁴⁶ Bibl. Nat., Collection Du Puy, 395, fol. 122-124, a poor copy. In the second line there is an indecipherable Greek word. Although undated, the letter was written in 1575. Cf. note 52, below.

⁴⁷ In a letter written on December 27, 1575, Scaliger says: "Noz messagiers de Poitiers sont détroussés le plus souvent par les chemins" (Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 37).

Nunc visum est mihi me ad te posse scribere. Nescio tamen an hae ad te perveniant. Nolui enim te mearum rerum ignarum esse, quo in statu sim, quomodo valuerim. Equidem, mi Vertuniane, vix possum me a pertinacissimo morbo recipere cum quo nuper mensem integrum misere conflictatus sum. Ac primo quidem iniit me febris cum qua rem habui continuis octo diebus; ea tantum me amavit, ut ne horam quidem intermittere voluerit, neque discedere a complexibus meis. Antequam ea me invaderet XX dies perfrixeram ac frequentissima tussi vexabar. Hoc nunquam accidere solet mihi (solet autem saepe) quin post longam perfrictionem statim febris consequatur. Quod sane ut dixi, mihi nuper usu venit. Postquam enim diu tussi vexatus essem neque ea defungi possem, tum incidi in febrem quam, ut dixi, 8 dies equidem tuli et pertuli. Cum putarem ea me defunctum esse, tanquam totum aliquod *κατάρροον* in dextrum latus incubuit. Quo tantum doloris sensi, ut clamore ac impotentia doloris pene totam viciniam concinuerim. Neque ulla requies fuit, donec Duretus,⁴⁸ cuius opera usus fueram, iussit mihi iterum sanguinem permitti, propter repentinum illud telum doloris, cum ante sex dies mihi vena quoque aperta fuisset. Denique eo res rediit ut ab eo tempore fluxum *κατάρροον* semper in dexteriores partem senserim cum maximo lateris dolore. Vix respirabam ex eo morbo, cum statim viae me commisi. Tantum taedii urbis mihi inceserat, ut non vererer etiam cum salutis meae periculo Lutetiam fugere.⁴⁹ In itinere Vindocini iterum repetivit me febris; incoenatus quieti me dedi. Postero die nondum resederat is status. Surrexi tamen et exhaustis viribus plus ab animo paratus quam a corpore volui a coenaculo, ubi quieveram, inferius descendere. Forte tunc pluerat, et humida tempestas erat. Ibi ego in scalis per quas mihi descendendum erat propter lubricum humorem tanto impetu decidi, ut pene os sacrum totum comminuerim. Scis, mi Vertun., quanto dolore surgunt qui in illud os ceciderint. Ab eo tempore tantos cruciatus in eo osse patior, ut cum in lectum me conicio, id non sine summo dolore faciam. Rem totam Turoni communicavi cum Falesaeo,⁵⁰ qui non solum consilio suo me iuvit, sed etiam ultro ut sibi ad coenam promitterem, oravit. Eius con-

⁴⁸ Louis Duret (1527–1586), physician of Charles IX and of Henry III, was appointed professor in the Collège Royal in 1568. He excelled in explaining the works of Hippocrates.

⁴⁹ In a letter to Pierre Pithou, dated February 8, 1576, Scaliger mentions his visit to Paris. Tamizey de Larroque says (*Lettres françaises*, p. 41, note 2): "Ce séjour de Scaliger à Paris ne me semble pas avoir été signalé jusqu'à présent."

⁵⁰ Charles Falaizeau, a physician of Tours. Cf. above.

silium ad te mitto. Tu et Ulmus⁵¹ noster videbitis quo remedio ossi sacro consulendum putetis.

Interea totus scabiosus evasi: nulla, ne minima quidem pars in corpore meo quae a scabie illa vacet.⁵² Videte, obsecro, quid mihi faciendum putetis. Ego totum me vobis do dedicoque. De consilio Falesaei confectio prunorum ad solvendam alvum praecipitur. Eam ego te rogo, ut statim pharmacopolae conficiendam tradas, mihique quam primum remittas. Eius enim usus mihi est cum astrictissima alvo sim. Vide quid de ea confectione sentiat Ulmus noster. Si tu hic esses tibi redderem rationem studiorum meorum dum Lutetiae fui. Sed cura ut venias. Volo etiam ad nos mittas declinationes Corderi⁵³ pro filiolo D. Abenni.⁵⁴ Praeterea ni grave est quaere diligenter ut possis requirere Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium⁵⁵ cum commentario. Eo libro non amplius octo dies utar, ac bona fide remittam. Idque ut facias etiam atque etiam rogo. Praeterea varias lectiones P. Victorii⁵⁶ eas ego simul cum Catullo remittam. Non timendum est quin ego eas tibi tuto referendas curem. Misisti ad me Lutetiam quaedam excerpta ex Aurel. Celso

⁵¹ François Umeau (1530-1594), a physician of Poitiers. Cf. Dreux du Radier, II, 521.

⁵² Scaliger also mentions his cutaneous trouble in letters dated December 13, 1575, and December 27, 1575 (Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, pp. 34-35 and 38). In a letter dated February 8, 1576 (*ibid.*, p. 43), he announces his recovery: "Car j'ay eu mes mains fort longtemps impotentes de tumeurs et de galle, chose que je n'avois jamais essayé, et du tout contraire à ma disposition, qui suis de nature seche et aride. Mais, graces à Dieu, j'en suis bien gueri."—Scaliger's description of his ailments seems to justify the following passage from Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (I, ii): "Hard students are commonly troubled with gouts, catarrhs, rheums, cachexia, bradypepsia, bad eyes, stone, and colick, crudities, oppilations, vertigo, winds, consumptions, and all such diseases as come by overmuch sitting."—In the *Prima Scaligerana*, article *Joseph Scaliger*, under the date 1576, Vertunien talks about Scaliger's illnesses and bodily constitution.

⁵³ Maturin Cordier (1479-1564), the educational reformer, author of the famous *Colloquies*.

⁵⁴ Louis de Chasteigner. Abain, near Poitiers, was an estate of the Chasteigner family.

⁵⁵ At this time Scaliger was working on his *Catulli, Tibulli, Properti Nova Editio*, which was published in 1577.

⁵⁶ Petrus Victorius (in Italian, Vettori) died in 1585. In the *Prima Scaligerana*, Scaliger says: "Victorius Italarum doctissimus, et vir optimus ac fidelissimus, cui multum debemus." In the *Secunda Scaligerana*, Scaliger is not so complimentary. Among other things he says: "Estant jeune je faisais estat des variae lectiones de Victorius, mais ce n'est pas grand cas: il escrit de miserables lettres, cum magnis ambagibus."

Empirico.⁵⁷ Ad ea ne responderem effecit morbus repentinus qui me nuper oppressit. Nunc vel eadem dubitata vel etiam librum ipsum mitte. Operam meam aut officium non desiderabis, certo scio. Vale. Abenni,⁵⁸ III Id. Nov. [1575]. Saluta Borderium,⁵⁹ Pelegerium,⁶⁰ Sammartanum, viduam Callierii,⁶¹ et alios quos scis nobis bene velle."

In 1576 the religious wars had been in progress in France for nearly fifteen years. Four of the eight wars had been fought, and the fifth was coming to a close with the convocation of the States-General at Blois. The domains of the Chasteigner family were situated in Poitou, Limousin, Touraine, and Marche, provinces in which the Huguenots were particularly strong, and which consequently were the scenes of the most bitter conflicts and the most unbridled lawlessness. Scaliger, through his connection with the Chasteigners, suffered many hardships at this time.

"Constantly moving from château to château through Poitou and the Limousin, as the exigencies of the civil war required, occasionally taking his turn as a guard when the château was attacked, at least on one occasion trailing a pike on an expedition against the Leaguers, with no access to libraries, and frequently separated even from his books, his life during this period seems in one aspect most unsuited to study."⁶²

As Christie remarks, however, it was during these troublous times that Scaliger composed and published several of his most important works; for instance, his editions of Festus (1576) and of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius (1577).

That Vertunien shared Scaliger's trials and collaborated with

⁵⁷ Scaliger is mentioned, among other annotators of Celsus, in the following title: *Aur. Corn. Celsi De Medicina Libri Octo. Cum Notis Integris Joannis Caesarii, Roberti Constantini, Josephi Scaligeri, Isaaci Casauboni, Joannis Baptistae Morgagni . . .*, Rotterdam, 1750.

⁵⁸ Abain.

⁵⁹ Jean Boiceau de La Borderie, of Poitiers, a lawyer, and a poet in his idle hours. He is often confused with Bertrand de La Borderie, author of *L'Amie de Court* and *Discours du voyage à Constantinople*. Concerning Jean Boiceau, see Dreux du Radier, II, 444 ff.; Haag, article *Boiceau*.

⁶⁰ In the *Prima Scaligerana*, article *Seneca*, mention is made of "D. Pelegerium utriusque nostrum amicissimum."

⁶¹ Probably Suzanne Cailler, author of an ode on the death of her uncle, Nicolas Rapin, a few stanzas of which are cited by Dreux du Radier, III, 248-249.

⁶² R. C. Christie, *Selected Essays and Papers*, p. 216.

him we learn from the correspondence of both men. In the following passage from an unpublished letter written on July 2, 1602, to Pierre du Puy,⁶³ Vertunien gives details of the life of himself and Scaliger during nine or ten months that they were confined in the château of La Roche Posay at Touffou. It is interesting to note that Scaliger, in his effort to increase Vertunien's knowledge of Greek, employed the method used by his own father in teaching him the fine points of Latin composition. Vertunien was a diligent pupil, judging from his statement that he recast his translations two or three times by candle light in order not to afford the hypercritical Scaliger too ample an opportunity to correct his mistakes. The passage in question runs:

"Or vous veulx je dire l'occasion de ladite version.⁶⁴ Nous estions tous deux retirez à Touffou, maison de feu Monsieur de la Rochepozay,⁶⁵ à quatre lieues de ceste ville,⁶⁶ pour la premiere guerre de la Ligue, 1577, durant les premiers Estats de Blois:⁶⁷ où couchant en sa chambre, pour m'exercer à la langue grecque, il me dist qu'il n'y avoit rien meilleur que de faire des versions de l'une langue en l'autre: et partant me fit il tourner le livre d'Hippocrate *Περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων*⁶⁸ (cuius libelli editio apud Mam. Patissonum tot turbas excitavit Lutetiae)⁶⁹ et tous les soirs s'allant coucher me tournoit verbo ad verbum un ou deux des Epigrammes du 7 de l'Anthologie, pour luy rendre le lendemain en vers latins. Quant à luy, à son premier reveil, il faisoit sa version in mente, ne faisant jamais autrement ses poemes: mais moy, qui suis fort mauvais poete, je travaillois prou de la faire et refaire deux et trois fois à la chandelle, pour la luy rendre au matin. Ce qu'ayant fait, et me l'ayant corrigée, il me faisoit escrire la sienne: tellement que durant neuf ou dix mois, que nous fusmes exilés audit lieu, nous achevasmes tout ledit livre:⁷⁰ dont j'avois deux copies, l'une où

⁶³ Son of the eminent magistrate Claude du Puy.

⁶⁴ That is, Scaliger's Latin translation of the epigrams of the seventh book of the *Anthology*.

⁶⁵ Louis de Chasteigner died on September 29, 1595.

⁶⁶ Poitiers.

⁶⁷ Henry III opened the first States-General at Blois on December 6, 1576.

⁶⁸ Hippocrates's treatise deals with lesions of the cranium (fractures, contusions, etc.) and their treatment.

⁶⁹ Concerning the quarrel between Scaliger and certain doctors of Paris on account of Scaliger's emendations of the text of Hippocrates, see Nisard, pp. 196-197, and Bernays, pp. 239 ff.

⁷⁰ *Selecta Epigrammata* from the *Anthology* were published in posthumous collections of Scaliger's poetry and minor prose works (1610 and 1615).

estoyent le grec et la version latine mot à mot e regione l'un de l'autre, et au dessous sa version en vers et la mienne: et mesme quelques epigrammes tourniez en poesie françoise par un bon homme d'avocat Jean Boiceau,⁷¹ oncle de Monsieur Constant, advocat en la court de Parlement à Paris. L'autre copie c'estoit celle où la version seule de Monsieur de Lescale estoit: que je prestay à Monsieur de Gourgues,⁷² qui me promettoit la faire imprimer à Leyden. Or la premiere copie m'a esté volée par la Ligue en ceste ville, pendant que nous estions à Tours, avec force lettres latines et autres œuvres et memoires de Monsieur de l'Escale que je tenois fort chers. Et vous veoiez la fortune qu'a eu l'autre par la negligence et desdain dudit Sieur de Gourgues, qui veult tant de mal à Monsieur de Lescale, à ce que j'entends, et desprise tant tout ce qui vient de sa main qu'il voudroit qu'aucun n'en veist jamais rien: tant il est ingrat à son bienfaiteur."⁷³

In a letter to Claude du Puy, written at Touffou on June 30, 1577, Scaliger refers to Vertunien, "un homme insatiable d'apprendre," and to Vertunien's translation of Hippocrates:

"Je ne suis pas tout seul en ce chasteau, je dis de compagnie qui peust contenter un homme de mon humeur, car, entr'autres, Monsieur de La Vau, medecin, est ici avecques moi, qui a tres bien besogné sur Hippocrates *Περὶ τρωμάτων κεφαλῆς*. Car ce livre estant nettoïé par moi de mille faultes et glossemes qu'on avoit fourré dans le texte de ce grand personnage, il l'a tourné en bon latin, illustré d'un fort beau commentaire et reprins beaucoup d'erreurs des modernes. Bref, c'est un labeur fort bien employé. Il fault savoir si Patisson aura loisir de l'imprimer avec mes castigations, et vous puis asseurer que depuis les lettres resuscitées on n'a veu livre si renouvelé qu'est ce livret d'Hippocrates."⁷⁴ Et sellon ce que

⁷¹ Concerning Jean Boiceau de La Borderie, see note 59, above. Compare *Secunda Scaligerana*, article *Anthologia*: "Ego cum Vertuniano et altero vertebam Anthologiam versibus, et fere totam verti."

⁷² The name of a prominent Gascon family, the most famous member of which was the soldier Dominique de Gourgues. Monsieur de Gourgues is mentioned twice in the *Secunda Scaligerana*, articles *Inscriptions* and *Tourbes*. His name also occurs several times in the collection of letters published by Jacques de Reves.

⁷³ Bibl. Nat., Collection Du Puy, 712, fol. 38-39, autograph letter. The hostility of the Sieur de Gourgues toward Scaliger is mentioned by none of the latter's biographers.

⁷⁴ Dreux du Radier (*Bibl. hist. et crit. du Poitou*, III, 154) says concerning the work of Scaliger and Vertunien: "Le livre . . . annonce partout un traducteur éclairé et maître de sa matière. Outre le mérite de la traduction d'un

vous m'en escrirez, s'il vous plaist, Monsieur de La Vau vous l'en-voiera; lequel desire fort d'estre receu en vostre amitié. Car il sait bien qui vous estes et lui c'est un homme insatiable d'apprendre et qui pourchasse l'amitié de telz hommes comme vous."⁷⁶

Vertunien's translation of Hippocrates's treatise was published in 1578,⁷⁶ after some delay caused by the slowness of the printer Mamert Patisson.⁷⁷ The preface, dated Touffou, December, 1577, and addressed by Vertunien "clarissimo doctissimoque D. M. Laur. Jouberto, consiliario et professori Regio in Schola Monspeliensi, patri praeceptorique suo charissimo," contains the following interesting lines:

"When, at the beginning of the year, at the summons of François de Chasteigner de la Roche Posay,⁷⁸ a knight most noble and wealthy, a veritable Maecenas to me, I had come here from his brother to assume the care of his nephew, as I am wont to do on other occasions, but more especially as a result of my long connection with the Chasteigners and my service to the family for many ouvrage fort défiguré dans l'original par les copistes, et l'édition du grec d'Hippocrate, les corrections de Scaliger font du livre un morceau achevé dans son genre." Compare Émile Littré (*Œuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, Paris, 1841, III, 184, note 20): "Je ne crains pas de dire que le travail de Scaliger se sent de la précipitation qu'il y apporta, et du peu d'habitude qu'il avait de traiter un sujet médical. Ce travail lui attira de vives critiques, parfois très bien fondées, de la part des médecins érudits de Paris." Elsewhere (III, 175) Littré characterizes Scaliger's corrections as "souvent trop hardies."

⁷⁶ Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, pp. 64-66. In another letter, written on July 9, 1591, Scaliger wrote Du Puy (*ibid.*, p. 287): "Il [Vertunien] est un tres bon homme, et digne de vostre amitié."

⁷⁶ *Hippocratis | Coi De Capitis | Vulneribus Liber, | Latinitate donatus | a Francisco Vertuniano Doctore | Medico Pictaviensi. | Eiusdem Fr. Vertuniani Commentarius in eundem. | Eiusdem Hippocratis textus Graecus a Iosepho | Scaligero Iul. Cae. F. castigatus, | cum ipsius Scaligeri Castigationum | suarum explicatione. | Lutetiae, | Apud Mamertum Patissonium Typographum | Regium, in officina Roberti Stephani. | M.D. LXXVIII. 8vo, 94 pp. numbered, 5 ff. unnumbered. Roman and Greek letters. Signatures, ā four, A-F eights. Bibl. Nat., Td ⁸⁷.*

⁷⁷ In the *Lettres françaises*, Scaliger complains often about Patisson's slowness in printing Vertunien's book. Cf. also the following extract (Tamizey de Larroque, p. 74): "Car Patisson n'a pas bien faict d'avoir monstré le livre de Monsieur de La Vau à mestre Louis Duret, car ceste pource beste se vante en pleine chaise que je lui ai dérobé ses corrections. Et Dieu sait, si je vouloie estre larron, si je ne mettroie pas la main en meilleure bourse qu'en celle-là." Concerning Duret, see note 48, above.

⁷⁸ Brother of Louis de Chasteigner.

years, I there met Joseph Scaliger, a most illustrious and learned man, son of that great Julius Caesar Scaliger, and himself, as it were, a foster-son of that household, the foster-mother of the learned. In these circumstances, as behooved one who understood that not only laws, but letters—yes, even letters, without which men of intellectual habits cannot exist—get no hearing in the midst of wars and civil outbreaks, I came to a decision not to quit his side until he should betake himself elsewhere, and I determined not to let slip the opportunity for learning, so fortunately offered me, even though it would be at some cost to myself. Thus, under his auspicious guidance, I began to read books in three languages, but especially those in Greek, as being particularly related to the medical science with which I am concerned, and by way of these books, began the study of my old friend Hippocrates; and when I had begun to turn into Latin his book dealing with wounds of the head, which it so happened was the first that came to hand, and which appealed to me especially—since it was solely for the training involved—by its brevity and conciseness, straightway at the very beginning of the task I hit upon so many rocks that I would have been close to shipwreck had it not been for my pilot, Joseph Scaliger, who snatched me from impending danger. He thereupon, and merely for the pleasure of the thing, while still engaged in some other labor (and I who saw him can affirm this with certainty), began to read that very book, hastily at first, I admit; but when he noticed that the text therein was interpolated with doubtful words and was entirely at variance with the style of Hippocrates himself, and when he had marked these passages in my copy, and had been led on to greater lengths by his first essay, he thought it worth while to re-read it, but this time more carefully. And in this process such a tiny field yielded such a harvest of emendations, that in a few hours, that is to say, in three at most, all that now appears was set forth with comment, and dictated to me. . . . One thing only I shall add, which I realize will be most pleasing to you as well as to all other followers of Asclepias—namely, that if Scaliger perceives that this his first attempt is going to meet with your approval and that of those most like you, he will undertake a similar work in the case of all the rest of Hippocrates; just as he has now done for a commentator on Hippocrates no less eloquent than trustworthy, one Celsus, by a cursory reading; a new edition of whose work, if he deems it worthy of a re-reading in leisure, he will adorn for the lovers of pure and faultless Latin. . . . I shall prepare . . . an entire edition of Hippocrates, emended by the same hand, and rendered into Latin, that is to say, the tongue of Celsus, as I hope, if Jupiter Optimus Maximus shall have looked favorably on these my

first endeavors.⁷⁹ For this study I have already at hand in my case several books, the *Aphorismi*, *Praesagia*, and *Coacae Praenotiones*. You have now an outline of the occupations of my leisure, and of my plans, Joubertus, my most illustrious friend."

There are a few scattered pieces of documentary evidence concerning the relations of Scaliger and Vertunien during the fifteen years that followed the publication of *Hippocratis Coi De Capitis Vulneribus Liber*. Nearly all this period was spent by Scaliger in the various châteaux of the Chasteigner family, Chantemille, Touffou, Preuilly,⁸⁰ and especially Abain, where he devoted himself to his *De Emendatione Temporum* and other chronological works. That Vertunien saw Scaliger and corresponded with him at this time is shown by Scaliger's letters to his friends,⁸¹ in which he mentions the reception of books and letters through the medium of Vertunien. In 1579 the following sixain from Vertunien's pen appeared among the liminary pieces of Scaliger's edition of Manilius's *Astronomica*:

Quid praestare queat ludendo maximus heros
Scaliger, ingratus vel tacet orbis adhuc:
Testes Virgilius, Festus, Varro, Ausoniusque,
Et tu cum sociis, docte Catulle, tuis.
Unius Manili, quid possit seria tractans,
Invidia possunt scripta fatente loqui.⁸²

From 1579 to 1586 Scaliger traveled a good deal in France. During that period several of his extant letters were written at Lyons, Nanteuil, Aix-en-Provence, Bourges, and his native Agen.⁸³ He also paid several visits to Poitiers, where he and Vertunien often saw each other.⁸⁴ That Scaliger, however, was none too well disposed towards Poitiers as a city of learning, despite the fact that it

⁷⁹ Neither Scaliger nor Vertunien carried out his intention with regard to the complete works of Hippocrates.

⁸⁰ Chantemille is in Marche, Preuilly in Touraine.

⁸¹ Cf. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, pp. 115, 122, 199, 287.

⁸² Poems in praise of Scaliger by Jean Dorat, Alexis Gaudin, and Jonathas Petit were also published in the *Astronomica*.

⁸³ Cf. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, pp. 94 ff.

⁸⁴ In a letter dated April 19, 1592 (Reves, p. 207), a certain De Boisfort says that he knew Scaliger when the latter was "hoste de M. de Lavau, l'un de nos meilleurs amis et voisins à Poitiers."

was the home of his friends Vertunien, Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, Jean Boiceau de La Borderie, Madame des Roches and her daughter,⁸⁶ is evident from a letter written to Claude du Puy on September 25, 1576, which begins:

"Je suis en ceste ville depuis quinze jours en ça, où je me suis rendu, non pour l'honnesteté des magistratz, qui sont de grands ennemis de toute vertu, mais pour l'amour d'une demi douzaine de mes amis, qui m'ont supplié d'y passer mon hiver. Je ne say si j'y demoureray tant, comme ils voudroyent. Certes je feray beaucoup si je me puis tant commander, que de faire tant pour eux, que de demeurer en une ville, où je n'y voy qu'une grande solitude de lettres, et une grande legereté et promptitude à faire sédition."⁸⁶

Before treating the relations of Scaliger and Vertunien after 1593—the date of Scaliger's departure for Leyden,—it is necessary to examine briefly the *Prima Scaligerana*, the small volume of table talk gleaned by Vertunien during his twenty years of association with the "Phoenix of scholars." Inasmuch as several critics have misrepresented the nature of the *Prima Scaligerana* by attributing to it the characteristics of the *Secunda Scaligerana*, the work of Jean and Nicolas de Vassan, we must consider the contents of both collections, in order to show that Vertunien did not, as has been alleged, betray Scaliger's confidence when he consigned to paper the latter's familiar conversations.⁸⁷

As usual, Charles Nisard is the chief offender in these misrepresentations. He comments on the *Scaligerana* as follows:

"Le *Scaligerana*, recueil des conversations de Scaliger avec ses amis, est assurément un des livres les plus singuliers qui aient paru

⁸⁶ Sung by Étienne Pasquier and other "poètes chante-puce." In the *Prima Scaligerana*, Scaliger says: "Madame des Roches la mère, qui en sçait plus que Madame sa fille, est plus docte et a plus leu et retenu d'histoires, à mon jugement, qu'aucun François, et parle autant proprement, facilement, et éloquentement qu'il est possible. Bref, c'est la plus docte personne, pour ne sçavoir qu'une langue, qui soit en l'Europe." Vertunien was a close friend of Madame des Roches and her daughter (cf. Reves, p. 354).

⁸⁶ Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 55.

⁸⁷ Even such a friendly critic as Tamizey de Larroque makes no distinction between the *Prima* and the *Secunda Scaligerana*. He says (*Lettres françaises*, p. 84, note 2): "C'est surtout quand on trouve dans le *Scaligerana* des appréciations aussi injustes [the criticism of Henry IV in the *Secunda Scal.*], que l'on voudrait être persuadé de la non-authenticité des propos recueillis par F. de Saint-Vertunien et par Jean et Nicolas de Vassan."

depuis le jour où la presse servit pour la première fois à la propagation des idées humaines. L'orgueil et la modestie, l'envie et la déférence, la haine et les sentiments affectueux, les jugements sains et la critique extravagante, les injures et les douceurs, le sérieux et le burlesque, la langue même qui est un amalgame de français et de latin, tout concourt à donner à ce livre un air qui ne ressemble à rien, qui éblouit les yeux, qui confond la raison et fait douter parfois que l'homme abandonné à des passions si contradictoires ait bien joui de la plénitude de ses facultés. L'insupportable arrogance et, comme dit Baillet, le venin d'un pédant outré, s'y développent à l'aise depuis la première page jusqu'à la dernière. C'est trop peu dire que l'esprit y abonde; il y pétillie, il y déborde, comme la mousse d'un verre de vin de Champagne, et, comme elle aussi, macule tous les objets sur lesquels il se répand. La malignité et la légèreté y rendent des arrêts avec un cynisme d'expressions près duquel le langage des commères les plus rompues au métier de la dispute est presque de l'atticisme."⁸⁸

Those who are acquainted with both the *Prima* and the *Secunda Scaligerana* will observe that Nisard's remarks fit perfectly the *Secunda*, but that they cannot be justly applied to the *Prima*. Furthermore, Nisard, in a patent effort to mislead, even gives the reader to understand that the *Scaligerana* of the Vassans is the only one:

"Disons aussi à son honneur qu'il se fût peut-être observé davantage, en conversant avec ses amis, s'il eût prévu quel usage les frères Vassan feraient un jour des paroles qui lui étaient échappées. Si ces jeunes gens, en publiant les conversations de leur maître, ont cru travailler pour sa gloire, l'événement n'a pas tout à fait répondu à leur intention."⁸⁹

Not once does Nisard mention or quote the *Prima Scaligerana*, and yet he must have known that it existed and that Vertunien was its author. In ignoring the *Prima Scaligerana*, so favorable to Scaliger, Nisard was merely carrying out his general plan of aspersing Scaliger by trying to show that even in private conversation with friends he was petulant, iconoclastic, vindictive, and vituperative.

Through a peculiar chain of circumstances the *Prima Scaligerana* was published a century after Vertunien began jotting down

⁸⁸ *Le Triumvirat littéraire*, p. 298.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

the observations that fell from Scaliger's lips.⁹⁰ Upon Vertunien's death in 1607 the manuscript passed into hands now unknown, where it remained until purchased by François de Sigogne, a lawyer of Poitiers, who sent it to Saumur to be printed after it had been revised by Tanneguy Le Fèvre.⁹¹ Le Fèvre purposed to add comments of his own to Scaliger's remarks, but for some reason stopped short when he had completed one third of his task.⁹² For the preface that he had intended to write, Le Fèvre substituted an epistle to a friend, *Ad Eliam Borellum*, to which he appended a score of lines explaining how the manuscript came into his possession. The volume was published at Saumur in 1669 with the following title: *Prima Scaligerana, nusquam antehac edita, cum Praefatione T. Fabri; Quibus adjuncta et altera Scaligerana quam antea emendatiora, cum Notis cujusdam V. D. anonymi.*⁹³ In his prefatory letter, Le Fèvre explains why he chose this title, and also praises Sigogne for his share in the publication of the manuscript:

"Cur autem *Prima* vocaverim (nam hunc eis titulum feci) ubi libellum legeris, facile intelliges; scilicet altera illa Scaligerana, quae abhinc duobus tribusve annis prodire,⁹⁴ recentiora sunt. Doctrina autem in his tanta est, interdum, tamque recondita, ut qui meliorum literarum studiosi sunt, nullam satis magnam CL. Sigonio gratiam referre possint, qui nec operae suae pepercit nec sumptibus, ut schedas et adversaria Vertuniani sibi compararet et describeret."

The *Prima Scaligerana*, which is written in Latin, with a sprinkling of French, deals wholly with matters of erudition. Of the 150 pages of the original edition about one third are devoted to a discussion of the meaning of Greek, Latin, and French words. Another large item is Scaliger's opinion of ancient and modern writers, among the latter especially humanists, theologians, and poets. The Bible and the study of languages afford the topic of several articles.

⁹⁰ See the history of the *Scaligerana* by Des Maizeaux, in *Scaligerana, Thuana* . . . , avec les notes de plusieurs savans, Amsterdam, 1740, pp. I-XXIII.

⁹¹ Le Fèvre (1615-1672) was the father of the celebrated Mme Dacier.

⁹² The *Prima Scaligerana* also contains twenty-three notes to Scaliger's observations by Vertunien.

⁹³ Instead of Saumur, the title page bears: *Groningae, Apud Petrum Smithaeum.*

⁹⁴ The first two editions of the *Secunda Scaligerana* appeared in 1666 and 1667.

A few paragraphs relating to Jules-César Scaliger, to Joseph Scaliger, and to geographical questions complete the list of principal subjects. The articles, which are arranged alphabetically, are very brief, the greater part varying from one to seven or eight lines in length. They contain virtually no gossip, scandal, or vituperation; they are, with a few exceptions, couched in decent, dignified language.⁹⁵

Since it is in his consideration of individuals that Scaliger's acerbity especially manifests itself in the *Secunda Scaligerana*, let us see how individuals, both ancient and modern, are treated in the *Prima*.

Favorable opinions are given of the following ancients:⁹⁶

Areteus: medicus Graecus excellentissimus, Ionicus auctor, qui exacte singulos morbos describit, ideoque ad Hippocratem intelligendum inprimis necessarius; Aristophanes: bonus auctor Atticus et primus legendus . . .; Boethius: totus legendus est, magnus quippe philosophus et poeta eximius, phrasin Neroniani temporis imitans; Cassiodorus: bonus auctor et minime spernendus; Cato: optimus auctor cum Varrone . . .; Catullus: observantissimus vel morosissimus observator puritatis Latinae linguae; Tibullus: tersissimus ac nitidissimus poeta fuit; Propertius: castigatissimus auctor, et facundissimus. . . . Hi tres dicti sunt triumviri amoris; Ennius: poeta antiquus, magnifico ingenio; Horatius: emendatissimus auctor, ut dicebat Augustus; Juvenalis: excellens, et où il y a de belles choses . . .; Lucretius: bonus liber est, nec melior alius auctor linguae Latinae. Virgilius ab eo multa desumpsit; Philo Judaeus: mirabilis auctor est, et lectione dignissimus; Plautus et Terentius: optimi auctores linguae Latinae, quorum phrasi loquendum est; Plinius: optimus auctor est, minimeque vulgaris . . .; Plutarchus: totius sapientiae ocellus; Prudentius: bonus poeta; Seneca: bonus auctor est . . .; Tertullianus: semper in manibus habendus, accurateque legendus est. . . . Fuit enim doctor omniscius et argutus . . . Tertullianus certe excellentissimus auctor est in omnibus; Varro: . . . O excellens opus . . .!; Virgilius: de Virgilio nunquam loquendum, nam omnes omnium laudes superat.

Unfavorable opinions are given of the following ancients:

⁹⁵ I shall cite the exceptions.

⁹⁶ It is hardly necessary to say that these opinions were more original in the sixteenth century than they are now.

Cicero: Libros omnes philosophicos Ciceronis nihili facio, nihil enim in iis est quod demonstret et doceat ac cogat, nihil Aristotelicum; ut nec apud Plutarchum, qui aulicis tantum scripsit, non doctis; Lucanus: violentissimum et terribilissimum ingenium. Il en avoit trop, et ne se pouvant retenir, il n'a sceu que c'estoit que faire un poëme; Persius: affectavit obscuritatem, et caecus dicitur a poetis. Luciliano more scribit. C'est un pauvre poète, lequel pourtant nous entendons tout; Silius Italicus and Statius: utinam hunc [Ennius] haberemus integrum, et amissemus Lucanum, Statium, Silium Italicum, et tous ces garçons-là.⁹⁷

Although Scaliger's appreciation of ancient writers is interesting, it is his judgment of his contemporaries and immediate predecessors in the fields of erudition and literature that shows whether he was always as jealous and vindictive as he has been painted. In the *Prima Scaligerana*, he expresses an opinion of 120 modern scholars and authors, and in only a relatively small number of cases is his opinion derogatory. He praises, generally with a lavish use of superlatives:⁹⁸

Georg Agricola (s. v. *Erasmus*); Cornelius Agrippa; Jean Dorat: Auratus Graecae linguae peritissimus, qui cum ad omne argumenti genus carmina accomodet, bonus poeta dici omnino mereatur; Joannes Bainlius; Bembo and Sadoletto: Bembus et Sadoletus boni poetae; Théodore de Bèze: Beza magnus vir procul dubio, olim poeta, nunc concionator extemporaneus; Jean Brodeau: Brodaeus, Turonensis canonicus, vir maximus ac doctissimus fuit; George Buchanan: Buchananus unus est in tota Europa omnes post se relinquens in Latina poesi; Guillaume Budé: Nunquam erit in Gallia alter Budaeus; Calvin: Calvinus solidus theologus et doctus, styli sat purgati et elegantioris quam theologum deceat. Excellentissimi theologi duo nostris temporibus, Joannes Calvinus et Petrus Martyr . . .; Joachim Camerarius; Angelo Caninio (Caninius); Jacques Charpentier: Carpentarius optimus juventutis doctor, et Ramo praeferendus; Florent Chrestien; Clenardus; Cujas: Cujacius est margarita jurisconsultorum . . .; Albrecht Dürer: Durerus, excellens pictor, patris praeceptor in hac arte . . .; Hugues Sureau du Rosier; Erasmus; Paolo Beni (Eugubinus); Ferrerius; Marcantonio Flaminio (Flaminus); François de Foix (Franciscus Foxius); Fracastoro: Fracastorius excellens poeta in siphylis; Luca Gaurico (s. v. *Mathematici*); Conrad Gesner (s. v.

⁹⁷ Except in the case of Cicero's and Plutarch's philosophic writings, I doubt whether any one will question the soundness of these adverse criticisms.

⁹⁸ I shall quote only the most interesting judgments.

Erasmus); Antoine de Gouvéa (*Goveanus*); Hermolaus Barbarus, Politianus, Picus Mirandula, Leonicens, Gaza, lumina et flores Italiae fuerunt; Isidore of Seville; Giovanni del Giocondo (s. v. *Mathematici*); Laurent Joubert: Joubertum vidi Monspeli, qui mihi satis doctus videtur; Dominus de Saint-Jousy; Denis Lambin: Lambinus erat vir bonus et doctus, qui Latine et Romane loquebatur, optimeque scribebat; Luther; Paulus Manutius; Marcellus Empiricus; Marullus; Mathiolus; Melancthon (s. v. *Erasmus*); Mercerus; Jean de Monluc (s. v. *Episcopus*); Marc-Antoine de Muret: Pauci sunt in mundo Mureti . . .; Palingenius; Guillaume Pellicier; Guy du Faur de Pibrac: Pibraccius vir honestissimus, bonus jurisconsultus, et pour un Gascon, parle bien français; Pietro Pomponazzi; Pontanus; Simon Portus (s. v. *Pomponatius*); Beatus Rhenanus; Aymar de Ranconet (*Ranconetus*); François Roaldès (*Roaldus*); Mme des Roches; Ronsard and Du Bellay: Ronsardus magnus poeta Gallicus; ut Bellaius utriusque linguae Latinae et Gallicae, qui (quod hactenus pauci) facilitatem et dulcedinem Catulli assequutus est; Barthélemy de Salignac (*Salignatius*); Salmonius Macrinus; Scévole de Sainte-Marthe: Scaevolae Sammarthani suavissima Musa; Sannazaro: Sannazarius tersus poeta, et optimae inventionis, lectione dignissimus; Sarracenus; Jules-César Scaliger; Jacques Schegkii (s. v. *Simon Simonius*); François Vatable: Vatablus magnus in Hebraeis, nec alius Christianus in iis eo doctior; Vesalius; Piero Vettori (*Victorius*); Hieronymus Vida excellentissimus poeta, recentior cum sequentibus, quorum nomina sunt, Pontanus, Politianus, Sannazarius, Flaminius, Molsa, Baltazar Castilioneus, Naugerius, Bembus, Sadoletus, inter quos Marullum, locum habere patiar. Ex Hollandia, Joannes Secundus Hagiensis. Goveanus, Beza in suis antiquis, nam nunc nihil praestat ejusmodi. Sammarthanus, Christianus [Florent Chrestien], Salmonius Macrinus; Élie Vinet (*Vinetus*).

On the other hand, Scaliger criticizes adversely the following men:

Antonio Brassavola: Brassavolus . . . cymbalum ineptae medicorum plebis; Josephus Castalio vulgaris, tum in theologia, tum in linguis, un pédant, et qui quicquid in buccam veniebat, effutiebatur; Pietro Crinito or Riccio: Petrus Crinitus est un fat et un babouin; Étienne Dolet and Nicolas Bourbon: Doletus et Borbonius, poetae nullius nominis; Nicolas Durand, Bartolus, and Oronce Finé: Durandus in theologia, Bartolus in jure, Orontius in mathematicis, sont faiseurs de quolibets; Louis Duret: Duretus jejunos in docendo, nam Graecam linguam exacte non novit; Jean Fernel: Fernelius bon gaigne-denier, qui entra en crédit pour avoir facilité l'ac-

couchement de la Reine Mère . . . ; Leonhard Fuchs: nihil aliud quam farrago variorum locorum hinc inde transcriptorum. Infans plane deprehenditur in suis stirpium commentariis; Michel de L'Hospital: poeta fuit humilis; Paulus Jovius mendacissimus, et Guiccardino inferior, nimis affectato et luxuriante stylo, potius quam castigato, utens; Longolius non suo sensu, sed Ciceronis loquutus est, dum non stylum Ciceronis, sed ipsissimas phrases, adeoque sententias transcribit; Munsterus . . . indoctus et infans fuit; Theophrastus Paracelsus; Joachim Périon: Scaliger says that Périon's Ciceronianism causes him to pervert Aristotle; he also criticizes Périon for wrongly deriving French words from Greek—for instance, *maison* from *δῶκος*; Jean Prothaise: Scaliger questions Prothaise's knowledge of Hebrew; Scirrhoneus, ignarissimus vir, pharmacotriba, id est, pileur de drogues, verius, quam medicus; Simon Simonius Skekio longe inferior; Henri Estienne: Scaliger censures Estienne for corrupting texts printed by him and for wrongly deriving French words from Greek.

In the following cases, Scaliger mingles praise and censure:

Du Bartas: Bartassius in sua Juditha Lucanicum stylum sequitur, felicitur assurgit, sed saepe duriusculus; Jean Bodin: Bodinus . . . indoctissimus valdeque jejunus, . . . fur impudentissimus (Scaliger accuses Bodin of stealing entire pages from Scaliger's *Coniectanea in M. Terentium Varronem de Lingua Latina* (1565). In the margin of the manuscript: Dignus est tamen ob elegantem stylum historias scribere); Barnabé Brisson: Doctus sane vir est Brisso, regius patronus et eloquens. Pietatem in illo requiro. Scaliger then criticizes Brisson's *De Regno Persarum* and *De Actionibus et Formulis*; Florent Chrestien: Christianus nostras excellentissimus poeta Graecus, Latinus, Gallicus . . . , sed vitae parum probatae est, et c'est un folastre; Jacques Dalechamps: Dalechampius vir alioqui bene doctus, Plinium emendandum et excudendum suscepit: sed qua est audacia, omnia invertet et corrumpet . . . ; Julius de Guersens: un bel esprit, qui a la langue latine et françoise à commandement, but he is superficial, his French and Latin verses "sont de moyenne étoffe," his fame will not live beyond the present generation; Leon Hebreo: Leonis Hebraei pulcherrimae sunt metaphorae, et valde plausibiles: sed has non moror, nec soleo libenter legere, quod verae non sint . . . ; François Hotman: Hotomannum sola dictio Latina commendat ac eloquentia,—caetera, pauvre homme; Gabriel Minutius omnino Guersensio similis, sive stultitiam consideres, sive acumen ingenii, ac portentosae memoriae rationem habeas; Jacques Peletier: Peletarius, a learned mathematician and physician, but varius et inconstans in religione; Guil-

laume Postel: Postellus, excellens philosophus, cosmographus, mathematicus, historicus stultus, linguarum non ignarus, sed nullius ad unguem peritus. Invideo illi Arabicam linguam; Regius feliciter versatus in lingua Graeca. Ebriosus. Historiam scribere posset; Jean du Tillet erat vir doctus, et qui omnes bibliothecas languedoüy expilavit, ut Pelisserius bibliothecas languedoc; Adrien Turnèbe: Turnebus vir maximus erat, doctissimusque, cujus *Adversaria abortivum foetum soleo nuncupare*, potuit enim melius scribere. Agnoscas tamen genuinum partum Turnebi.

Granting that Scaliger is wrong in some of his adverse judgments,⁹⁹ need it occasion surprise that a man of his remarkable attainments should find fault with a few of his contemporaries in expressing an opinion of six score? Because his estimate of a handful of men does not always coincide with our estimate, and because in a half-dozen cases he lets slip expressions which our modern sense of decorum may not approve, must he be accused of wilful injustice, and must Vertunien's *Scaligerana*, a work dealing entirely with serious matters, be placed on a level with the *Scaligerana* of the Vassans, which, as I have said already, is quite deserving of the abuse that Nisard and others have heaped upon it?

In every respect, the difference between the *Prima* and the *Secunda Scaligerana* is most marked. The *Secunda* is twice as long as the *Prima*, and the individual articles of the *Secunda* are usually much longer than those of the *Prima*. The *Prima* is written almost entirely in Latin; the greater part of the *Secunda* is in French, the remainder in Latin. The *Prima* is devoted wholly to questions of erudition, especially to the discussion of Greek, Latin, and French words and literatures; the *Secunda* is devoted chiefly to lighter considerations—remarks on places, persons, and customs of contemporary England, France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and other countries. The tone of the *Prima* is scholarly and dignified, with scarcely any vituperation; the *Secunda* is full of gossip, scandal, and vituperation, and, to be frank, is far more interesting and spicy than the *Prima*.

That virulent condemnation is the keynote of a large portion of the *Secunda Scaligerana* may be seen by consulting the following

⁹⁹ If space permitted, it would be easy to show that specialists of the present day sanction most of Scaliger's adverse judgments. In many cases, other writers of the sixteenth century concur with Scaliger in opinion.

articles:¹⁰⁰ Clavius, Coccius Sabellicus, Codomanus, Coignée, Cotton, Drusius, Epiphanius, Gomarus, Gruter, Henry IV, Hieronymus, Junius, Lipsius, La Croix du Maine, Martinistes, Martinus, Medicis, Merula, Meursius, Ministres, Miron, Moncaud, Montpesat, Navarre, Passerat, Popma, Ramus, Rosny, Scioppius, Serarius, Servin, Stapleton, Taubman.

The following articles contain attacks on Jesuits or on Catholics in general, attacks from which the *Prima Scaligerana* is free: Cire, Cotton, Heraetici, Jesuitae, Natalis Christi, Papauté, Pasquier, Pères, De Sodomitis.

The *Secunda Scaligerana*, as Nisard observes, contains a remarkable collection of pejoratives; for example: rustique, bougre, pauvre esprit et jugement, arrogant, superbe, glorieux vilain, grand ratisseur, larron, fanatique, grand larron de livres, pourceau, débauché, sot, pesant, âne, fantasque, acariâtre, fou, méchant, pédant, fat, bavard, ignorant, vrai Jésuite, bête, esprit lourd, orgueilleux, idiot, daemoniacus, diligens fur librorum et chartum, bestia, porcus, ignarus, stultus, sordidus, plagiarius, asinus, simia, superbissimus, etc.¹⁰¹

The great dissimilarity between the contents of the two *Scaligerana* is easily explained. In the first place, the compilers of the works must be considered. François Vertunien was a man of about Scaliger's own age, that is, from thirty-five to fifty-five years old during the period in which he committed to writing the *Prima Scaligerana* (1574-1593). Furthermore, he was a staid humanist. These facts explain why Scaliger and Vertunien conversed on questions of erudition, and why for his *Scaligerana* Vertunien jotted down matters that appealed to him as a scholar.¹⁰² On the other

¹⁰⁰ On account of their length, these articles cannot be reproduced here.

¹⁰¹ Concerning Scaliger and the *Secunda Scaligerana*, Guy Patin wrote: "Il y a bien là-dedans des mouvements d'esprit d'un Gascon échauffé et évaporé, dont vous ne ferez que rire. Il y en a d'autres qui sont fort hardis et qui donneront de l'étonnement. Il y a aussi quelques articles et quelques points d'érudition qui ne sont point connus; car ce démon d'homme-là savoit tout . . . Scaliger a été par ses bonnes parties un des plus grands hommes qui aient vécu depuis les apôtres; mais de même que les autres hommes, il a eu ses défauts qu'on ne peut haïr sans haïr les hommes qui en sont composés" (*Lettres de Guy Patin*, Reveillé-Parise edition, III, 626, 629-630).

¹⁰² It is unlikely that Vertunien thought his notes would ever be published.

hand, Jean and Nicolas de Vassan, during their association with Scaliger at Leyden,¹⁰⁸ were barely twenty years of age, and because of their youth were inexperienced and were anything but deep scholars. Instead of discussing with these novices humanistic and philological subjects, as he had done with Vertunien, Scaliger chose to entertain them with accounts of his travels in many lands and with gossip of various kinds. As the Vassans were young, and so eager for the racy and the exciting rather than for the profound, they wrote down conversations that the mature Vertunien would have disregarded. In short, in his table talk Scaliger catered to his hearers, and his hearers recorded the sort of talk that appealed most strongly to their years and to their natures.

It is also easy to explain the great amount of invective in the *Secunda Scaligerana*. The Joseph Scaliger who lived in France before 1593 was a wholly different man from the Joseph Scaliger who lived in Leyden from 1593 until his death in 1609. It was after 1593 that his real tribulations began. Before that date he had lived with the Chasteigners, had devoted himself to study, and had had only petty quarrels with fellow scholars and the inconveniences of civil war to disturb his tranquillity. Scarcely had he arrived in Leyden when his enemies banded together and waged upon him a war so relentless that it undoubtedly shortened his life by many years. Inasmuch as Scaliger was a Protestant, and nearly all his adversaries were Jesuits or partisans of the Jesuits, it was only natural that he, never a patient sufferer, should vent his wrath upon the Jesuits and upon Catholics in general. Hence, in order to understand the presence of so much personal abuse in the *Secunda Scaligerana*, one need only recall that Scaliger was of an impatient, querulous nature, and that advancing years and the cruel attacks of unscrupulous enemies increased his impatience and his querulousness to such a degree that his conversation acquired the tinge found in the *Scaligerana Vassanorum*.

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¹⁰⁸ The Vassans, sons of Christophe de Vassan and Perrette Pithou, were disciples of Scaliger in Leyden from 1603 to 1606.

(To be continued)

GONTIER COL AND THE FRENCH PRE-RENAISSANCE.
PART SECOND:—LITERARY ANTIPATHIES AND
PERSONAL SYMPATHIES

I.—GONTIER COL AND THE QUARREL OF THE *Roman de la Rose*

Like the political situation, the literary conditions were in a good deal of confusion at the end of the fourteenth century. The chief literary characteristic of that period was the gradual decay and disappearance of literary *genres* much in vogue in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to wit, the *chansons de gestes*, the romances, the animal stories. The aspect of the century is set forth by Paulin Paris in this way: "Le XIV^e Siècle réclame le principal honneur dans les grandes compositions historiques, dans les premières traductions en prose des auteurs grecs et latins, dans les premières études de philosophie morale, et économie politique."¹ The deduction is that this is an epoch of "idéologues," more interesting for an intellectual history than for a purely literary one. The ideas stirring men's minds were more absorbing to them than questions of form and *genre*.

It is not my intention to discuss the subject of France's indebtedness to Petrarch nor the rôle he played in bringing in the beginnings of the Renaissance.² Petrarch's stay in Vacluse, the efforts of Jean le Bon to draw him to court, his mission to Paris, his friendship with Philippe de Vitry, whom he considered the only poet France had at that time, are sufficiently known.³ A single point may be noted here. It was Petrarch's friend Berçuire⁴ whose translations from the Latin are the first productions to show some glimmerings of the Humanistic spirit in France.⁵ In spite of Berçuire's medieval cast of mind, there is in his works an attempt to keep within sight of the text he is translating, rather than to use it wholly as a

¹ *Cabinet Historique*, vol. 8 (1862), p. 102 seq.

² Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

³ P. Paris, *Manuscripts français de la Bibliothèque du roi*, vol. iii, pp. 180-181.

⁴ A. Thomas, *Les Lettres à la Cour de Rome*, 1884; L. Pannier, *Notice biographique sur le bénédictin Pierre Berçuire; Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, No. 33 (1872), p. 337.

⁵ Petit de Julleville, *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 27 février, 1896, p. 682.

means of edification, exemplified, for instance, by the interpretation the Middle Ages gave to Virgil's Fourth Eclogue.

The output of the group of translators of Charles V to which Berçuire belonged, is large, and in many cases smacks of the classroom exercise. Yet their work is more than this; its originality consists in the interest these translators took in the Latin texts in their entirety. They must of necessity have acquired a point of view different from that held by those clerics who contented themselves with a knowledge of antiquity drawn from collections of moral sayings and *exempla*. Moreover, it is the first time in centuries that the human mind is taking on an edge from trituration with a purely lay subject, without any relation to theology. This is also true, for example, of Nicolas Oresme's⁶ *Traité des Monnaies*, the first scientific treatise based on pure reason. It is the beginning of the laïcisation of learning and the intellectual life, and it may be questioned whether the Schism did not play a part in this, turning men's minds aside from a subject so painful as the dissensions of Christendom to seek for solace in matters purely secular. These conditions go to show that men were busied pulling down preconceived ideas and ideals by which they had been living for generations; and this explains the polemics and the satirical nature of a great deal of the literary activity of the day; an excellent example of which is the "Quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose*," which took place in 1401. The basic considerations underlying the quarrel were not new. The *fabliaux*, those "revues" of the day, are full of satire against women;⁷ but the chivalric convention in literature was at that time too strong to allow anything so foreign to it to find expression in the more dignified literary *genres*. In the fourteenth century, with the rise of the *bourgeoisie*, that chivalric convention began to show signs of strain. It is Lanson who says:⁸ "Une des plus authentiques marques de bourgeoisie dans une œuvre littéraire, c'est l'effacement ou l'abaissement de la femme." That the bourgeois undercurrent of scorn for women should come to the surface in an epoch dominated by their spirit, is to have been expected. That there should be so much of it, however, is due pos-

⁶ *Traité de la Première Invention des Monnaies*, ed. Wolowski, Paris, 1864.

⁷ For literature against women previous to the *Roman de la Rose*, see Piaget, *Martin Le Franc*, pp. 28-31; also Meyer, *Rom.* vi, p. 499.

⁸ *Histoire de la littérature française*, p. 128.

sibly to a reason of a political (or sociological) nature. The *bourgeois* thinker saw in courtly love an aspect of the feudal system that could not but antagonize him. The *courtois* attitude towards women was so thoroughly enmeshed in chivalry that terms of fief-holding were used in the contemporary love-poetry. Thus the uprising of literature against women may well be an attack on an important phase of chivalry, i. e., on the relations of the knight to his lady-love. Accordingly, it should not cause surprise to see Jehan de Monstereul and Gontier Col, with the latter's brother Pierre, take the stand they did in favor of the work of a man whom they admired, namely, Jehan de Meung. Nor should it occasion surprise to find Christine de Pisan opposing a work that combined the satirical *fabliau* attitude towards women with the critical one of the mediaeval monks—Christine, author of a formal protest against the rising tide of literature against women, viz., the *Epître au dieu d'amour*,⁹ a work which, as has been pointed out, led indirectly to the famous quarrel.¹⁰

The outlines of the quarrel are fairly well known. The immediate cause is said to have been a conversation between Jehan de Monstereul, Christine de Pisan, and an unknown (Gerson?), on the merits of the *Roman de la Rose*.¹¹ Jehan de Monstereul, Col's friend, was evidently not satisfied with the outcome of the discussion, for he did not let the matter rest, but wrote to his interlocutors to emphasize his points.¹² His letter, the first epistle in the quarrel,¹³ is lost, and we do not know what were his original arguments in favor of the *Rose*. In Christine's answer to it,¹⁴ the objections

⁹ Roy, *Œuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, vol. ii, p. 29.

¹⁰ Roy, vol. ii, p. iv.

¹¹ Roy, vol. ii, pp. iv-v; Piaget, *Chronologie*, p. 117 (1400-1401).

¹² Piaget, *Chronologie*, pp. 116-117.

¹³ A. Piaget, *Chronologie des Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose*, in *Études Romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris*, p. 116, says: "Je ne m'occupe pas ici des lettres latines de Jean de Monstereul publiées dans le tome II de l'Amplissima Collectio de don Martene, ou encore inédites." Petit de Julleville (*Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 4 juin, 1896) places three undated Latin letters of Jehan de Monstereul (A. C., vol. ii, Col, 1419, 1421, 1422) at this stage of the discussion, in which the Prévôt de Lille expresses his admiration for Jehan de Meung and his works. C. F. Ward, *The Epistles on the Romance of the Rose and Other Documents in the Debate*, Chicago, 1911, reprints the letters without dating them.

¹⁴ Roy, vol. ii, p. v, n. 1; Piaget, p. 117 (1401).

formulated are as follows: (1) Coarseness of vocabulary;¹⁵ (2) Slurs cast on the married state;¹⁶ (3) Incitation to loose living;¹⁷ (4) Satire on women.¹⁸ She sums up her opinion of the evil effects of the *Roman* as follows (*ibid.*, p. 27, ll. 313-327) :

Mais je treuve, comme il me semble, ces dictes choses et assez d'autres considerees, que mieulx lui affiert, enseuelissement de feu que couronne de lorier, nononbstant que le clamez miroir de bien viure, exemple de tous estaz de soy politiquement gouuerne et viure religieusement et sagement. Mais au contraire (sauue vostre grace) je dis que c'est exortacion de vice, confortant vie dissolue, doctrine pleine de deceuance, voye de dampnacion, diffameur publique, cause de souspeçon et mescreandise, honte de pluseurs personnes, et puet estre d'erreur.

At this point Col steps in.¹⁹ He writes to the *prudent honnouree et sauent damoiselle Christine*, asking for a copy of the letter "que tu as nouvellement escript par maniere de invection aucunement contre ce que mon maistre enseigneur et familier feu maistre Jean de Meung . . . fist et compila ou livre de la Rose."²⁰ At the same time he sends her another of Jehan de Meung's works, *Le Trésor*, and in this connection it is interesting to quote what Col had to say on the subject of the manuscript of the work that he sent her, for his criticism casts an interesting light on the inaccuracy of contemporary texts (*ibid.*, p. 30) :

lequel est incorrect par faulte d'escripuain, qui pas ne l'entendi comme il y pert, et n'ay eu espace ne loisir de le veoir ne corrugier au long pour la haste et ardeur que j'ay de veoir ton dessusdit œuure, et mesmement qu'il est a supposer que bien sçaras les fautes de l'escripuain en ceste compilacion corrugier et entendre.

On receiving a copy of Christine's letter, he writes again,²¹ taking her to task for her presumption towards that "tresexcellent et irreprehensible docteur en sainte divine escripture . . . que si horriblement oses et presumes corrugier et reprehendre."²²

¹⁵ Ward, pp. 18-21.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20, ll. 26-29.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21, lines 143-159; p. 27, lines 316-322.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-25.

¹⁹ Roy, vol. ii, p. vi, September 13, 1401; Piaget, p. 118.

²⁰ Ward, p. 29.

²¹ Roy, vol. ii, p. vi; Piaget, p. 118. September 15, 1401.

²² Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

In Col's two letters,²³ he endeavors to make Christine see what he considers the errors of her ways. Christine's reply,²⁴ far from seizing the opportunity offered her by Col for confession and avoidance, reiterates emphatically what she has before said on the point:²⁵

je dis derechief et replique et triplique tant de fois comme tu voudras que le dit intitulé Romant de la Rose, nonobstant y ait de bonnes choses, . . . mais pour ce que nature humaine est plus descendent au mal, je dis qu'il puet estre cause de mauvaie et perverse exortacion en tresabominables meurs, confortant vie dissolue, doctrine pleine de decevance, voie de dampnacion, diffameur publique cause de souspeçon et mescreandise et honte de plusieurs personnes et puet estre d'erreur; et tres deshonneste lecture en plusieurs pars. (In part identical with extract on page 148.)

Nor does she stop there, but sends all the documents in the case, with an appeal, to Isabeau de Bavière, Queen of France, and Guillaume de Tignonville, *prévôt* de Paris.²⁶ There is no record of any answer made by those dignitaries to Christine's appeal, but at any rate there was a lull in the quarrel until May, 1402,²⁷ when there appeared Gerson's *Tractatus contra Romantium de Rosa*, which is cast in the allegorical form, popular at that time. He assails the *Roman* under eight headings, among which are three of Christine's points of arraignment.²⁸ To these the most important counts that he adds are Jehan de Meung's scant respect for sacred things,²⁹ his theory concernig Paradise, and his attitude towards young men who enter the Church.³⁰ Gerson's position is of course easily explained in view of Jean de Meung's abundant satire on the Church.

This time Col did not take up the cudgels for the *Roman de la Rose*, but apparently yielded his place in the quarrel to his brother, the Canon Pierre Col,³¹ who wrote a fiery defense of Jehan de

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

²⁴ Ward, pp. 32-33; Piaget, p. 118.

²⁵ Ward, p. 33.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-37; Roy, vol. ii, p. vii, gives date as the day before Chandeleur, 1401 (1 February, 1402, new style); Piaget, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

²⁷ Roy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. iii; Piaget, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

²⁸ Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³⁰ Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

³¹ Ward, pp. 56-76; A. Piaget, *Martin Le Franc*, p. 70; A. Piaget, *Chronologie des Epistres*, p. 119.

His two letters to Christine, the second only a fragment, are in Paris

Meung, and sent copies of it to Christine and Gerson. In this epistle the Canon tries to make Christine de Pisan appear a prude in her objections to the use of certain concrete physiological terms, which attitude on her part, in view of the contemporary state of refinement on such questions, makes of her a "Précieuse d'avant la lettre."⁸² *Fol amoureux's* stories in questionable taste he explains by saying that Jehan de Meung's great art was to make his characters speak in accordance with their rôle, and that what a *Fol amoureux* said must not be charged to the author's account.⁸³

Pierre Col is careful not to attack Gerson quite so openly, but in much more measured tones⁸⁴ he answers some of that worthy Churchman's strictures. Both of his correspondents make rejoinder: Gerson⁸⁵ sets forth the point of view of the Church as stated by St. Augustine,⁸⁶ and discusses the somewhat lax sex-morality tolerated by the Canon.⁸⁷ He showed his distaste in the whole matter so clearly that it is not to be wondered at that Pierre Col made no attempt to answer him. Christine's reply⁸⁸ is long and prolix, a fact of which she is evidently quite aware; and she makes it clear that the controversy is now closed as far as she is concerned.⁸⁹ One might think that Canon Col would have had enough. Not so. That doughty champion began a counter-rejoinder to Christine⁴⁰—at least began, for whether he finished it we do not know, since only a fragment of it still survives.

in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Fr. 1563, fol. 185 (b) (for XI) and fol. 199 (Piaget) in Ward, p. 10.

Fragments of Pierre Col's first letter may be found in the Tours library, to judge by the following entry in the *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, tome xxxvii, Tours, p. 207, No. 28. Jacques Publicius, *Traité de l'art épistolaire*, iii, au folio 230v° et 231, on lit plusieurs lettres ou fragments de lettres qui ont été recueillis pour servir de modèles. 8° Formule épistolaire empruntée à la correspondance de Christine de Pisan et Pierre Col, fol. 231v° . . . "Et de ton éloquence mélodieuse je désire," etc.

⁸² Petit de Julleville, *La Querelle à propos du Roman de la Rose au XV^e Siècle* in *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 4 juin, 1896, p. 544.

⁸³ Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁸⁴ Ward, p. 69.

⁸⁵ Ward, pp. 77-82, a reprint from the Antwerp edition of Gerson's works (1706), vol. iii, col. 293.

⁸⁶ Ward, p. 78.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-111. (October 2, 1402.)

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁴⁰ Piaget, p. 120, note 1, p. 82.

In treating the subject-matter of Christine de Pisan's most important epistle, stress is generally laid on her championship of her sex, so vigorously attacked by Jehan de Meung. The point must not be missed that she also objects to his coarseness of speech, and to his advocacy of an unrestricted "moral code." Petit de Julleville sums up the matter thus:⁴¹

Mais il reste à Christine le mérite d'avoir discerné le caractère intime du roman de Jean de Meung, qui est dans la tendance de l'auteur à réhabiliter la nature humaine, libre et affranchie de toutes les lois et de toutes les conventions sociales. Le roman de la Rose renferme les premiers germes d'une renaissance naturaliste dirigée contre la discipline austère et stricte du Christianisme. C'est ce que les savants adversaires de Christine ne voyaient pas ou peut-être feignaient de ne pas voir.

The last phrase is a telling one. Freedom from moral restraint in matters of sex is one of the dominant traits of the Renaissance, and this point of view permeates the second part of the *Roman*. It is at least worth while to note that the two men who were most ardent in the defense of the *Roman de la Rose* were: the best known Humanist in France, Jehan de Monstereul, and the man whom he called his "praeceptor," Gontier Col. It also deserves to be noted that Col waxes eloquent against Christine not only for defending woman, but for talking about things of which he says that she knows nothing and for having the temerity to raise her voice when the great Jehan de Meung had already spoken.⁴² All

⁴¹ Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la littérature et de la langue française*, ii, p. 361-362.

⁴² Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 29, "Et comme dient les relateurs ou refferendaires de ceste chose, t'efforces et estudies de le reprende et chargier de faultes en ta dicte oeuvre nouvelle, laquelle chose me vient a grant admiracion et merueille inextimable, et ad ce non croire me meut l'experience et exercite de toy d'auoir sceu, leu et entendu lui ou dit liure, et en ses autres fais en françois, et autres plusieurs et divers docteurs, aucteurs, et poetes . . . pour toy donner matiere de plus escrire contre lui, se bon te semble, ou a tes (fol. 88 verso a) satalices [i. e., satellites], qui en ce fait t'ont boutee, pour ce que touchier n'y osoient ou ne sauoient, mais de toy veulent faire chappe a pluye (indeficient entre les mortelz), pour dire que plus y sauroient que une femme et plus reprimer la renommee d'un tel homme . . ."; p. 31: "... t'ay premierement par une mienne lettre, que auant yer t'enuoyay, exortee, auisee, et prie, de toy corrigier et amender de l'erreur manifeste, folie ou demenance trop grant a toy venue par presompcion ou outrecuidance et comme femme passionnee en ceste matiere—ne te desplaie se ie dy voir."

See also Pierre Col's letter, Ward, p. 65.

this would tend to show that Gontier Col and Monstereul took exception to her attitude on the question of "les mœurs" as well as on that of "la solidarité féminine." They saw the power of the Church loosening on certain matters of conduct, only to have substituted for ecclesiastical strictures social regulations that imposed the same restraints; it was the "Chambre Bleue" casting its shadow before. These are not the motives that explain the Humanists' defense of the works of Jehan de Meung, whom Col admires so highly, and calls, as we have seen above, "mon maistre, enseigneur & familier feu Maistre Jehan de Meun."⁴³ Their interest in his independence of outlook and lack of subservience to the established order of things is well known.⁴⁴ They were intellectual pioneers on certain lines, just as he was, and that undoubtedly was for them the important point in common.

Another aspect of the Quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose* that ought not to be lost sight of, is that it is the first French literary quarrel—a departure from the theological quarrels indulged in by the men in orders, who were of course the learned class of the Middle Ages. The presence of a woman in such a quarrel is also a distinct innovation. The subject-matter itself was not entirely new. Reference has already been made to the "*fabliau* attitude" towards women all thru the Middle Ages, and there were undeniably a certain number of literary *lieux-communs* in the quarrel. Canon Pierre Col's position, for instance, seems to me little else than a variant of that of the mediaeval monk of a Rabelaisian cast of mind who believed in calling a spade a spade and was quite oblivious to aesthetic preoccupations as well as to those ethical considerations that stirred Christine.

Petit de Julleville⁴⁵ does not consider the quarrel a purely literary one, but states that it was "aussi et surtout une querelle morale et religieuse." This is due to the rôle played in it by Gerson, whose attitude in the matter is wholly clerical, and whose main interest was not in the phase that is significant for us, viz., the fact that it is a link in the series of works for and against women in France, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Gerson's intervention on

⁴³ Ward, p. 29.

⁴⁴ Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, vol. iv, p. 405.

⁴⁵ *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, June 4, 1896, p. 540.

Christine de Pisan's side ended the quarrel for the time being, but the fifteenth century is full of works written from the point of view championed by Gontier Col, and some of the most trenchant tirades against women date from this period.⁴⁶ The quarrel reached its full development in the sixteenth century with François Rabelais,⁴⁷ the most ardent and skilful writer against women of them all. Col gives but a faint foretaste of the doughty author of the "Tiers livre de *Pantagruel*," albeit an ardent partisan of the ideas on women that they both shared in common.

So this oldest of literary quarrels in France not only has a certain religious tinge derived from Gerson's rôle in it, but it is somewhat prophetic in its defence, by men of standing and reputation and who were deeply interested in Humanism, of the extreme individualistic moral code of the Renaissance. Nor is this all, for it also is a forerunner (less far-reaching in scope, it is true, although similar as to subject-matter) of the "querelle des femmes" which belongs to the history of the literary development of the Greater Renaissance.

II.—GONTIER COL A MEMBER OF THE "COUR AMOUREUSE"

In the light of the foregoing, it is rather astonishing to find Col's name on the roster of the famous "Cour Amoureuse,"¹ founded in 1401 (14 février, 1400 v. s.), that much discussed organization which at one time was thought to be an "association voluptueuse"² reflecting Isabeau de Bavière's loose moral code. Jehan de Monstereul and Gontier Col both belonged to it, although one section of the charter expressly covers Col's attitude in the "Querelle." I refer to the following "item," which I will quote in full.³

Item, pour ce que la hautesse d'amourz est inconprenable et que tous nobles et autres, dignes d'estre amoureux, doivent parer

⁴⁶ A. Lefranc, *Le Tiers livre du Pantagruel et la querelle des femmes* in *Revue des Études Rabelaisiennes*, 1904 (1^e Fasc.), p. 5 seq.

⁴⁷ Lefranc, *op. cit.*, 1904 (3^e Fasc.), pp. 102-109.

¹ A. Piaget, *La Cour Amoureuse de Charles VI, Romania*, xx, p. 429.

² Piaget, *op. cit.*, *Romania*, xx, p. 419.

³ *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, 1886 (No. 12), *La charte de la Cour d'Amour de l'année 1401*, par Ch. Potvin, p. 213.

leurs cueurs de vertus et gracieusetez chascun à son pooir pour parvenir à bonne renommée; d'autrepart, comme dit est que nostre amoureuse court et seignourie est principalement fondée sur les deux vertus d'umilité et léauté, à l'onneur, loenge et recommandacion de toutes dames et damoiselles; Nous, par meure et très grande délibération, avons ordonné et par ces présentes ordonnons à tous noz amoureux subgès, de quelconques puissance, seignourie, auctorité ou estat qu'ilz soient, sans aucun excepter, qu'ilz ne facent ou par autre facent faire dittierz, complaints, rondeaux, virelays, balades, lays ou autres quelconques façon et taille de réthorique, rimée ou en proze, au deshonneur, reproche, amenrissement ou blame de dame ou dames, damoiselle ou damoiselles, ensemble quelconques femmes, religieuses ou autres, trespasées ou vivans, pour quelconques cause que ce soit, tant soit griève dolereuse ou desplaisant.

This also holds good for "Prince, seigneur, prélat, baron, chevalier, escuier, autre notable homme, quelqu'il soit, puis qu'il sera subget de la retenue de nostre amoureuse court," etc.⁴

The penalty of such infractions is as follows:

Tout ce que dit est sur peine de effacier les armes de tel malheureux délinquant qui telz libelles diffamatoires aroit fait en sa personne ou fait faire par autres, 1 ou plusieurs. Et après icelles ses armes ainsy effaciées, on feroit peindre son escu de couleur de cendre, comme homme infâme, ennemy d'onneur et mort au monde, pour sa mauvaistié et venimeux corage estre apparant aux véans, tant en son vivant comme après ses jours. Et nientmoins, son nom et seurnom demorroient escripz sur icelluy son escu, paint de couleur de cendres, affin que la gloire de sa renommée apparust aux regardans estre estainte et mauditte généralement par toutes terres.

Alain Chartier⁵ was expelled from the "Cour Amoureuse" for writing the *Belle Dame sans Merci*, which was distinctly not in accordance with the spirit of the above-mentioned "item." Why Col and Monstereul did not suffer a similar fate is hard to divine. One explanation might be that they were not affiliated with the *Cour Amoureuse* at the time of the Quarrel, a not impossible theory, for Col and Monstereul were not members of the *Cour* when it was founded, their names appearing on a separate (undated) list of seven members who, as A. Piaget thinks, probably took the place of deceased *ministres*. In reprinting the list of members of the *Cour*

⁴ Potvin, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

⁵ A. Piaget, *Un manuscrit de la Cour Amoureuse de Charles VI, Romania*, xxxi, p. 601.

Amoureuse from the manuscript B. N. No. 5233 (*Romania*, xx, pp. 424-445; xxi, pp. 597-598), M. Piaget draws attention to the fact that all the names of those who were connected with the organization appear here, altho the chronology is somewhat haphazard. For instance, original members are given titles that they did not bear until many years after (viz., 1401), and no note was made of the death of members, save in two cases; internal evidence leads Piaget to determine the date as "1416 vraisemblablement."

Moreover, it seems highly probable that if Col and Monstereul had been members of the *Cour* at the time of their Quarrel with Christine, she would have remarked upon this fact. It may even be possible that their adhesion to the *Cour* was a result of the Quarrel. Christine's appeal to the Queen and to Tignonville may have caused a certain tension between them and some of their friends (Gerson, for instance), and they may have desired to give an earnest of their present indifference to the woman question by becoming members of such an association as the *Cour Amoureuse*. This is pure hypothesis, and one really does not have to go so far partly to explain the presence of these two Humanists and littérateurs in the *Cour*, altho the question has been raised concerning their presence in that *Cour*,⁶ for it must not be forgotten that it was not merely an organization complimentary to women. It had a literary side, as the charter shows. It was founded through the initiative of the Duke of Burgundy and Louis of Bourbonnois,⁷ and under the auspices of the King, to help pass the time more quickly during an epidemic.⁸ The literary side of the *Cour* was worked out with a good deal of care. The twenty-four *ministres* of the *Cour d'amour* must have "experte congnoissance en la science de rhetorique,"⁹ and they

⁶ Doutrepont, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 520; Piaget, *Rom.*, xx, p. 447.

⁷ Potvin, *op. cit.*, p. 202:

"Se soient volontairement disposez de cordialement requerir au roy nostre souverain Seigneur Charles, filz de Charles roy de France, sixieme de ce nom, en ceste desplaisant et contraire pestilence de épidimie présentement courant en ce très chrestien royaume, que pour passer partie du tempz plus gracieusement et affin de trouver esviel de nouvelle joye il ly pleust ordonner & créer en son royal hostel I prince de la cour d'amours, seigneurissant sur les subgès de retenue d'icelle amoureuse cour. . . ."

⁸ Imitation of the Decameron?

⁹ Potvin, p. 203.

"seront tenus de faire balade a chascun puy & de l'apporter en personne eulx estans en santé & en la ville,"¹⁰ etc. A refrain is given out for each *puy* as a theme for the *balades*,¹¹ and the huissier who is on duty that day is given "4 sous parisis avec ce pour enregistrer les balades de son puy & les noms et seurmons des factistes d'icelles." The paper on which the *balades* were written was furnished by the *Cour*. The day they planned to celebrate regularly was that of "Monseigneur Saint Valentin, XIII^e de février prochain venant, que les petis oiseles recommencent leurs très dous chans, sentans la nouvelleté du gracieux printempz."¹² From the charter may be deduced that this was done for the first 14th of February at any rate. They were to begin the day with a mass¹³ at eight o'clock, at the Church of Saint Katherine "du val des escolierz,"¹⁴ which was to be attended by the twenty-four ministers, and all those who had written *balades* for that day. Later, the charter of the *Cour Amoureuse* was to be read in public "au lieu et à l'eure que on ordonnera," in the presence of "tous noz amoureux subgès de retenue, & ainsy à tel jour, d'an en an." It was their "founder's day," and the members of the *Cour* were expected to attend, under pain of certain penalties,¹⁵ "pour venir diner en joieuse récréacion et amoureuse conversation, au lieu où ordonné sera par noz commis à ce faire." On that day, all the "amoureux subgès de retenue, factistes et réthoriciens" were held to write a *balade amoureuse* on a refrain of their own choosing, and to read it in the assembly; after which the *balades* were to be sealed by the "contreseel de notre amoureuse court." They were then taken to the "dames telles que on avizera pour les jugier à leur noble avis et bonne discrécion, lesquelles dames, de leur grace et hautesse, donront deux vergettes d'or, pour couronne et chapel, aux mieus faisans de ce jour, et puis les nous renvoieront." If any of these *balades* chosen by the ladies had "vice

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205. Arrangements are made for copying "refrain" and money for it is allowed the minister at whose house the *puy* is to meet (p. 204).

¹² Potvin draws attention to the fact that this was Valentine Visconti's fête day, which she observed with certain ceremonies (*op. cit.*, p. 199).

¹³ "à notte, à son dorgues à chant et deschant" (Potvin, p. 209).

¹⁴ E. Raunié, *Épitaphier du Vieux Paris*, vol. ii, pp. 261-273.

¹⁵ "sur la paine de privacion de nom et d'armes cy dessus déclairé, ou caz toutes voies qu'ilz seroient en santé sans fiction aucune," Potvin, p. 209.

de fausse rime, reditte trop longue ou trop courte ligne en la balade couronnée ou chapelée," they were to be sent back at once to the ladies, for them to judge anew, for, as the charter says :

Prenroient des autres balades les deux meilleures, pour ce que toutes icelles balades seront enregistrées en noz amoureux registres, chascun an, et ne seroit pas bien séant que la couronnée ou chapelée fussent vicieuses, puisque le vice apparoit clerement en ce meismes jour.¹⁶

The *Cour* also had a great celebration in the month of May, "à tel jour que ordonné sera," consisting of a "feste" and

diner de puy royal d'amoureuses chancons de cinq couples dont la forme et taille est assez notoire; auquel puy, on donra au deux mieux faisans couronne d'argent pesans quatre unces, et chapel d'argent pesant trois unces.¹⁷

There was still another regularly recurring celebration of the *Cour d'Amour*, to be held on one of the five feast days of the Virgin, and consisting of a "puy royal et diner," for which *puy*s were to be written "serventois de cinq couples à la loenge et selon la feste d'icelle tres glorieuse vierge." The awards were a "couronne de 1 marc d'argent pesant, et chapel de cinq unces d'argent pesant, aux deux mieux faisans ce jour."¹⁸

Before leaving the literary side of the *Cour*, it is to be noted that not only *balades* and *serventois* were written, but also discussions, "se aucunes questions, pour plaisant passetempz sourdoient entre noz subgès en fourme d'amoureux procès pour differentes oppinions soustenu."

The regular meetings of the *Cour* were held monthly at the house of the twenty-four ministers in turn, and if the appointed host was out of town or ill, he must find a substitute under pain of expulsion, and of having his arms blotted out of the "amoureux registre," in which were kept the names and the coats-of-arms of the members,¹⁹ and which was apparently a sort of *Tout Paris* of the times.²⁰ The registre was to be carefully kept as well as "les papiers

¹⁶ Potvin, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

²⁰ For list of members see Piaget, *Rom.*, xx, pp. 424-444, and xxxi, p. 598.

des balades et autres fais de rethorique,"²¹ so that they might be shown to those who wished to see them.

The literary side of the *Cour Amoureuse* has been described here in such detail because it probably accounts for some of the names on the membership list, notably those of Monstereul and Col, which seem so out of place in an association bearing such a title. This is not, however, the only association of its kind in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, altho set off from the others by its distinctly literary flavor. Passing reference must be made here to the fact that in those centuries were founded several orders of chivalry, such as that of Boucicault,²² whose chief aim was the defense of women, and that of the Duke of Bourbon,²³ animated by somewhat the same idea. These were all attempts at a revival of the *courtois* attitude towards women, and it seems probable that they were a phase of the contemporary woman question. The general attitude of criticism of women at that time has already been dwelt upon; these organizations were simply signs of reaction against it.

III. COL'S RÔLE IN THE QUARREL BETWEEN JEHAN DE MONSTEREUL AND AMBROSIUS DE MILIIS

We have found the quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose* to be interesting as showing the attitude of the times towards women, and also because of the light it throws on a little nucleus of Humanists. Another quarrel, or rather series of quarrels, also illuminating in that regard was that between Jehan de Monstereul and an Italian Humanist, Ambrosius de Miliis,¹ with whom he indulged in

²¹ Potvin, p. 207.

²² In *Livre des faits du Marechal de Boucicault*, ed. by Michaud & Pouguilet, Paris, 1854, ch. 28 and 29, pp. 254-257.

²³ Douet d'Arcq, *Pièces inédites*, vol. i, p. 370 seq.

¹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54, 64, 68, note 1, 83; *Romania*, vol. 33, p. 393, n. 2; vol. ii, col. 1456 seq. Heuckenkamp, *Le Curial*, pp. xii, xxx-xxxv, xlv. Groeber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II Band, p. 1093 seq.

Through the kindness of M. Antoine Thomas, who has communicated to me a certain amount of unedited data about Ambrosius de Miliis found by him, it is possible to trace some of the movements of the "personnage énigmatique" (*Romania*, xxxiii, p. 394, note).

Ambrosius de Miliis was probably in the service of the Duke of Orleans as early as 1398, for there is a letter dated the 22d of September of that year from the Duke of Orleans to the King of Castille, Henry III, signed *Des Milles*,

polemics over the relative merits of Vergil, Cicero and Ovid.² This obscure Italian Humanist had come to Paris, and through the kindness of Jehan de Monstereul, who admired him greatly because of his interest in Humanism, became the secretary of Louis of Orleans, and subsequently of Charles, his son. Monstereul and Ambrosius quarrelled, however, and the Italian wrote to Col³ complaining bitterly of the Prévôt.

In this letter, which is rather long, Ambrosius excuses himself for not having written before, because of his manifold duties, and assures Col of his firm friendship. He alludes in uncomplimentary

whom M. Thomas is inclined to identify with *Ambrosius*. (G. Daumet, *Études sur l'alliance de la France et de la Castille*, pp. 206-207; *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 118, 1898.) After the assassination of Louis of Orleans, the King gave him the post of notary, so he claimed in his law-suit tried before the Parliament of Paris, September 9, 1415, against Jean le Boursier, concerning a post of notaire du roy à bourses et à gages, in which he said Charles V "volt par avant ccccix et ce dit an, qu'il fust son notaire, et lui bailla gages extraordinaires de 111° frans. Puiz fu absens." (*Arch. Nat.*, X'A 4790, fol. 327 v°.) From another source (M. Faucon, *Rapport de deux missions en Italie*, in *Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 3° série, vol. viii, Paris, 1882, p. 94) it appears that in 1412 he was in Asti, in the service of Charles of Orleans, and had been in the service of that prince the previous year as well. All of 1411 was not spent in Italy, for in the spring of that year a certain *Johannes Dyonisii, épicier et bourgeois de Paris* had seized a horse and two coffres belonging to Maistre Ambrosius, to liquidate a debt of 18 livres tournois hotel charges, incurred by Ambrosius and his family (*Arch. Nat.*, X'A 58, fol. 134). In 1413 Ambrosius is back in Paris (we are following the Manuscript Archives Nat. X'A 4790, fol. 327 v°, concerning the law-suit) and claims that "et l'an CCCXIII, le Roy memoratif de ce qu'avoit voeu et des lettres qu'avoit baillié à Ambroise, lui donna l'office de maistre Lorent Larin qui restoit forfait oudit office. Et encores, le vi° jour de May, CCCXIII, lui donna le Roy, vacant par mort, et eut ses lettres. . . . The law-suit dragged on. Maistre Jaques de Claye succeeded in having adjudged to him the rights of Jean le Boursier, and continued the case. The last mention of the matter is dated March 17, 1417/8 (*Arch. Nat.*, X'A 4792, fol. 32 v°), and M. Thomas is inclined to accept the theory that Ambrosius met his death at the time of the Burgundian uprising in Paris (1418). There is still one later reference to Ambrosius, May, 1417, in the catalogue of the library at Blois (published by L. Delisle in the *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, I, 105-108, art. 47, p. 107), where a reference is made to the "Lettres closes de Maistre Ambroise," etc. Pierre Champion, in *La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans* (1910), p. 5, note 2, raises the question as to whether this is not Ambrosius de Milliis, a query in the affirmative answer to which M. Thomas concurs.

² Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54, 64, 83. *Ampl. Col.*, vol. ii, cols. 1423 and 1426.

³ *Ampl. Col.*, vol. ii, col. 1456.

terms to Monstereul, and expresses fear lest the latter succeed in turning Col against the writer by impugning his sincerity, and he attributes Monstereul's enmity to what he calls a puerile cause, viz., to the fact that the writer, carrying on his own business with a certain personage, humbly but firmly refused to yield to Jehan when the latter was bent on some trifle of no importance. Ambrosius accuses Monstereul of selfishness, self-interest and greed, and of acquiring much wealth by means best known to himself. He indulges in speculations as to the Prévôt's reasons for amassing so much money tho he has no family ties, and again refers to Monstereul's reputation for avarice. Ambrosius next gibes at Jehan's belletristic pretensions, at his reading to no good purpose, and at his desire to collect his letters for posterity (it is indeed rather interesting to note that Jehan was consciously collecting and preparing them with that aim in view). The Prévôt's claims as a philosopher and as an orator are next commented upon by the Italian Humanist, who notes the fact that Jehan acknowledges a certain difficulty in understanding some of Seneca's maxims. The writer goes on to suggest to Col that he attempt to make Monstereul mend his ways; that he argue secretly with him at first, and that if this is not successful he try publicity.

The Italian then writes concerning his own present way of life, what he calls "*meam in praesens campestram vitam & ejus quod a negotiis superest otii dispensationem tuae deduci notitiae cupio.*" He refers here to his life as secretary of the Duke of Orleans, and alludes to Col as experienced in that career in which the writer is a beginner. He considers his profession one that offers wonderful opportunities for usefulness to the State, and rejoices that he has this position as secretary of the Duke of Orleans, although the responsibility is great.

Col apparently communicated this letter to Monstereul, and to Clamanges as well, for in the Lydius edition (p. 31) of the latter's works there is a letter written by him to Jehan, in which he speaks of seeing "*non epistolam sed hostilem potius accusationem quam Ambrosius ad optimum Guntherum nostrum de te scripsit.*" Nicolas expresses his amazement that any one should think such things of the Prévôt, much more of some one befriended by him. Clamanges is also astonished that such accusations should be sent to Col, the Prévôt's most faithful friend:

. . . illa scripta . . . suis author ad Guntherum tuum inter omnes mortales . . . fidelissimum, sincerissimum, integerrimumq: amicum mittere ausus est.

If the Italian did not refrain from such conduct from ethical motives, it seemed strange that he did not do so from reasons of policy, for his conduct was not of a nature to inspire confidence in the breast of any other would-be benefactor. Clamanges considers Ambrosius a case for pity rather than for resentment, and that unconsciously he had done the Prévôt a favour by openly showing himself the false friend that he was. From this point to the end of the letter, the writer generalizes on friendship in true Clamangese style.

This letter is not the only one, on the subject of Ambrosius' epistle to Gontier, with which the name of this Churchman has been connected.

In the *Opera Omnia* of Nicolas de Clamenges, Lydius edition, p. 33, Epistle VII bears the following heading:

Sub nomine Guntheri Colli regij Secretarij, ad eundem Ambrosium scripta, suae ingratitude in Iohannem Praepositum Insulensem increptoria. "Justum erat, Ambrosi, si saperes aut boni in te viri imaginem, etc."⁵

These opening words coincide with those found in an entry concerning the manuscript of a letter (attributed to Col), in the Tours library,⁴ which runs as follows:

. 3 Fol. 60. Lettre de Gonthier à Ambroise de Miliis, pour le blâmer de sa conduite à l'égard de Jean, prévôt de Lille. "Justum erat, Ambrosi, si saperis aut boni in te viri" . . . "in quam partem tue habene laxabuntur." Suit la rubrique de cette lettre, "Responsio Gontherii ad sequentem epistolam."

The following number, on fol. 61, is the letter of Ambroise de Miliis that caused all the trouble. It is reprinted in the *Am. Col.*, vol. II, col. 1456.

The two letters are practically the same as far as subject-matter is concerned. Both of them bitterly upbraid Ambrosius de Miliis for attacking Jehan de Monstereul, and object to the attempt to bring the writer into the quarrel, on Ambrosius' side, against his

⁵ Manuscript of letter listed in Rheims library, number 628, fol. 20.

⁴ MS. No. 978, Part II, fol. 60.

close friend the Prévôt Jehan. The writers enumerate all the favors that Jehan had done for Ambrosius; how he had hospitably welcomed Ambrosius to his house, and obtained a good position for him, and incidentally touch on the Italian's pertinacity when seeking a post. Both of the letters dwell on the fact that Jehan had praised Ambrosius very highly and did all that he could to help him. Both letters also speak of Ambrosius' former professions of gratitude, and how, far from expecting to be attacked by him, Jehan would have expected of him succor and defense, in case of need. Nor had Ambrosius hurt himself alone; he had aroused the suspicions of the French, who would no longer be so hospitable to foreigners. Another regrettable aspect of the matter was Ambrosius' duplicity, as he had never shown any signs that his friendship was waning, and his letter had been a great surprise. Both letters dwell on the fact that the Prévôt ought to feel indebted to Ambrosius for at last putting aside his hypocrisy, and taking openly a hostile stand. The letter of the Lydius edition contains two short passages here not found in the Tours MS. Both letters refer to Ambrosius' acknowledgment that the cause of his resentment was a trifling incident, and follow this reference by an exhortation to Ambrosius to return to his better self. The Italian Humanist is told that he ought to accept in good part what a friend says frankly and openly, and that otherwise he is in danger of having no friends, only flatterers. The privilege of frankness of speech between friends is next touched upon, and the fact that a more or less violent discussion ought not to break up friendship, but on the contrary renew it, quoting Terence to the effect that the quarrel of lovers is the renewal of love, and concluding by accusing Ambrosius of being oversensitive. Both letters also accuse him of wishing, in his attacks upon the Prévôt's ignorance, to display his knowledge; all that he had displayed however was his bad faith. At this point there is in the Lydius letter a digression on the dangers of allowing oneself to be carried away by eloquence without wisdom, since there is no true eloquence without wisdom, and since wisdom does not abide in a heart full of gall. Wisdom is then defined, and the suggestion is made that if Ambrosius had more of that quality, he might the better see some of his own mistakes. Both letters conclude by saying that

the writer does not wish to enumerate the insults that Ambrosius has hurled at Monstereul, for that would take too much time, and that Ambrosius' attacks need no answer, as the Prévôt's integrity is his own best defense, but that if any were necessary the Italian must remember that such accusations may well be two-edged.

The endings of the two letters differ somewhat. The Lydius letter suggests to Ambrosius that Monstereul has other friends, whose answers would have been very different in tone from the above if they had received such a letter from the Italian; and concludes with a quotation from Virgil anent the native guile of the Ligurian, and warns Ambrosius against making it applicable in his case. The Tours letter ends with the warning that if he does not know how to curb his tongue and pen, he had best be more circumspect in the future in giving them free rein. A perusal of the two letters reveals so much similarity between them, that the first impression is that it must be the same text. A closer inspection, however, brings out the following facts:

For the first eighteen lines the Tours MS. and the Lydius edition letter coincide. This is also true of some twenty additional lines of the Tours MS. There are a few passages where the order of the words is different, and where some omissions and intercalations occur. Passages also occur in which the Tours letter and the one in the Lydius edition use an entirely different arrangement of material, and as we have already seen, the Lydius letter has elaborations not in the Tours MS.⁶ These elaborations are obviously in the Clamangese style, and it may well be that the Tours epistle was attributed to Gontier through some misunderstanding due to the fact that Nicolas de Clamanges had written it *sub nomine Guntheri Colli*, as the Latin rubric has it. The question is an intricate one, but it is interesting to note that in Jehan de Monstereul's letter to Col⁷ in answer to the epistles under discussion, he quotes the two lines of Virgil that end the Clamanges letter, and that do not appear in the Tours MS. That is our chief interest in this letter of Monstereul, which for the most part is composed of a mass of invective against

⁶ The foregoing remarks are illustrated by the two letters; for complete text of which, see App. D.

⁷ Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds Latin. 13062, fol. 72v^o, App. E.

Ambrosius, of rebuttal of the various charges made against him by the Italian, and of protestation of friendship for Col.

While none of the epistles in the quarrel are formally dated, the epistle VI of Nicolas de Clémanges to Jehan de Monstereul bears at the end, *Datum Parisiis*. It was after 1394-1395 (A. Muntz, *Nicolas de Clémanges, sa vie et ses écrits*, Strasbourg, 1846, p. 11) that Nicolas was called to Avignon to take the post of secretary to Benedict XIII, so that the quarrel apparently took place before Nicolas left for Avignon. Moreover, in his letter to Col, Ambrosius de Milliis speaks of himself as a *raw recruit* in comparison with Col, who is a *veteran*, and makes plain by references to his position in the household of the Duke of Orleans that he is speaking of his career as secretary of the prince.⁸ Ambrosius was probably secretary to the Duke circa 1398, as has been said above, so that in all likelihood the quarrel took place between 1395 and 1398. According to this hypothesis, it precedes chronologically the quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose*; but here it has been treated afterwards because of its closer connection with Col's literary group, whose activities will presently be discussed.

In spite of the hopeless outlook, the quarrel blew over, as is seen in a letter of Jehan de Monstereul's to Col on the conversion of Ambrosius de Milliis.⁹ The rôle of Col in this quarrel shows the esteem in which he was held by the group, and that is what is valuable for us in it. Ambrosius' letter suggests that Col has more real understanding of Humanism than Monstereul, at least in the eyes of the writer, a point of view that might be substantiated by the very attitude of admiration for Col's learning seen in several letters of Monstereul himself. In view of the lack of more solid evidence this is as far as the point can be considered here. Before leaving this subject, it may be noted that this quarrel is another point of resemblance between the French group and the Italian Humanists, who were in practice such individualists that they could get along with nobody. A good example of their combative attitude

⁸ *Ampl. Col*, vol. ii, ép. lxxv: *Supervacuum tamen fuerit, & prope temerarium hujus ipsius vitæ, modum ne dicam motum tibi eruditissime vir, explicare quam tu jam veteranus miles doceas. Ego tyro rudis ad istam tibi quies & agitatio, illius tibi commoda & incommoda omnia sunt experta.*

⁹ *Ampl. Col*, vol. ii, col. 1415. Epistola XII.

is found in the Italian Humanist, Niccolo Niccoli, who eventually quarreled even with his friend Leonardo Bruni.¹⁰ The difficulties of the later Italian Humanists, the Gargantuan quarrels of Poggio and Filelfo, are too well known to need more than a passing reference.

ALMA DE L. LE DUC

BARNARD COLLEGE

(*To be continued*)

¹⁰ E. Müntz, *Les précurseurs de la Renaissance*, p. 109.

ADJECTIVAL NOUNS IN VULGAR LATIN AND EARLY ROMANCE

AMONG the various means of extending the vocabulary of languages, composition is the most important. The compounds, of course, assume multifarious forms. In Indo-European, notably in Greek and in Sanskrit, the prevalent type is constituted by a verbal radical and a complement (Skr. *āyushpratarāṇa* 'life-increasing,' *hastagrābha* 'hand-grasping,' Gr. *ψυχοπομπός* 'leader of the souls,' *ἡνιοχός* 'holding the reins'). The genitival type of compounds is less frequent but by no means unknown (Skr. *amitrāsena* 'army of the enemy,' *pādodaka* 'feet-water,' i. e., 'water for the feet,' Gr. *ἵππιατρός* 'horse-doctor,' *διονυσιοκόλακες* 'flatterers of Denys the Tyrant'). In Teutonic, the latter type is prevalent and is largely represented: Eng. *man's heart*, *God's penny*; *housewife*, *policeman*, *railroad*.

Another form of association of ideas which is very apt to become stereotyped and develop into compounds is the union of a noun with some qualificative, either an adjective or an appositive noun (cf. Gr. *λύκανθρωπος*, *ἵπποκένταυρος*, Eng. *werewolf*, *tiger-cat*), or with adjectives (Skr. *maharshi* 'great wise man,' *priya-sakhi* 'dear friend,' Gr. *μεγάθυμος* 'high-minded' (exocentric), Eng. *highland*, *bluebird*, etc.).

All these types are represented in Latin: verbal—*lucifer*, *agricola*; genitival—*agrimensor*, *vitisator*; appositional—*Jupiter*, *mus-aranea*; adjectival—*nudipes*, *perenniservus*, etc.

In Vulgar Latin, we witness a tendency to give a decided prevalence to the two latter types.

The old Indo-European system of compounds ceases to be popular. In some cases, however, a genitive has become associated with another noun:

AQUAE MANALIS, Sp. *aguamanil* 'pitcher for washing hands';
AQUA MANUS, Sp. *aguamanos* 'water for washing hands';
AQUA VITAE, It. *acquavite* 'brandy';

ARCAE MENSA, O. Mil. *archemensa* 'coffer for corn';
 AURIS MARIS, Fr. *ormier* 'shell' (sea-ear);
 *ARCI VOLUTUS, It. *archivolto*, O. Fr. *arvout* 'archway';
 AURI FABER, Fr. *orfèvre* 'goldsmith';
 CAPUT MANSI, Poit. *chemer* 'elder brother';
 DIES MARTIS, Sp. *martes* 'Tuesday';
 FUMUS TERRAE, Fr. *fumeterre* 'fumitory';
 JOVIS BARBA, Fr. *joubarbe* 'sempervive';
 LUNAE DIES, Fr. *lundi* 'Monday';
 PULLI PEDEM, Fr. *pourpier* 'purslane';
 TERRAE MOTUS, It. *terremuoto* 'earthquake';
 TERRAE TUFER (= TUBER), It. *tartufo* 'truffle';
 VINUM MELAE, It. *vinomele* 'cider.'

There are a few others, but it is quite evident that we have here to do with the exceptional survival of certain expressions that had become crystallized. It is not surprising that they are mostly found in place-names, since these expressions most quickly lose their individuality:

CABALLI CAMPUS, *Quevaucamps* (Hainault);
 CAPRAE MONTEM, *Chèvremont* (Liège);
 JOVIS MONTEM, *Jeumont* (Nord);
 PETRI FUNDUS, *Pierrefonds* (Oise);
 SCALDIS PONTEM, *Escaupont* (Nord);
 STAGNI PUTEUS, *Estaimpuis* (Hainault);
 STRATAE DUNUM, *Etroeungt* (Nord).

Or, with the genitive as second term:

DOMUS CYRICI, *Donceel* (Liège);
 FANUM MARTIS, *Famars* (Nord);
 FORUM JULII, *Fréjus* (Var.);
 PORTUS VENERIS, *Port-Vendres* (Pyr. Orient.);
 TEMPLUM MARTIS, *Templemars* (Nord);
 VILLA FABRORUM, *Villefarveux* (Aisne).

The coalescence of noun with adjective is naturally much more frequent. We must confine ourselves to a few instances;

With the adjective first:

ARANEA TELA, It. *ragnatela* 'cobweb';
 BONĀ HORĀ, O. Fr. *buer* (used in emotional formulas);
 BONUM ANNUM, Engad. *bümm* 'new year';
 MALUM ANNUM, It. *malanno* 'misery';
 MALUM ASTRUM, Prov. *malastre* 'bad luck';

MALUM AUGURIUM, Fr. *malheur* 'misfortune';
 NIGRUM PRUNUM, Fr. *nerprun* 'buck-thorn';
 PRIMUM SOMNUM, O. Fr. *prinsome* 'first sleep';
 PRIMUM TEMPUS, Fr. *printemps* 'spring';
 PRIMUM VER, Prov. *primver* 'spring';
 VIRIDE JUS, Fr. *verjus* 'verjuice.'

More numerous are those with the noun first:

MELA ARDA, Sard. *melarda* 'dried apple';
 PIRA ARDA, Campid. *pilara* 'dried pear';
 PRUNA ARDA, Camp. *prunalda* 'dried plum';
 VINEA AGRESTIS, It. *gnaresta* 'wild grape';
 VINUM ACRE, Fr. *vinaigre* 'vinegar';
 VINUM ARSUM, Rum. *vinars* 'gin';
 UVA PASSA, Sard. *pabassa* 'dried grape.'

The disappearance of the genitive during the imperial period put an end to this formation. Later, in France, the genitive was expressed by the mere apposition of an accusative: *Fête-Dieu*, *bain-Marie*, etc. This process however can hardly be considered as belonging to Vulgar Latin. The construction which replaced the genitive is, of course, the prepositional one with *DE* + ablative. Originally, it was an emphatic substitute for the case use and in Vulgar Latin had not lost enough of its force to develop easily into a mere compound. The adjectival turn was thus the only construction that could be conveniently used for durable associations of ideas. No wonder, then, if many set expressions of the kind were preserved from this period. Most of them preserve noun + adjective, but noun + appositive noun is not uncommon:

(ACER ARBOR) *acerabulus*, Fr. *érable* 'maple';
 ANNUM NOVUM, Cat. *ninau* 'New Year';
 AQUA COCTA, Sard. *abbagotta* 'gelatine';
 AQUAM ARDENTEM, Sp. *aguardiente* 'brandy';
 AVIS STRUTHIO, Fr. *autruche* 'ostrich';
 AVIS TARDA, Fr. *outarde* 'bustard';
 CULUM ARSUM, Lomb. *cùlars*;
 CULUM RUSSUM, Prov. *cüros*;
 MALVA HIBISCUS, Sp. *malvavisco* 'marsh mallow';
 MUS ARANEA, Fr. *musaraigne* 'shrew-mouse';
 PORCUM APRUM, Sard. *porcabru* 'boar';
 PORCUM PISCEM, *porpois* 'porpoise';
 RHEUM BARBARUM, Fr. *rhubarbe* 'rhabarber,' 'rhubarb';

VISCUM MALVA, Fr. *guimauve* (id.);
VITRUM GLACIES, Fr. *verglas* 'glazed frost.'

The Romance toponymy is full of such compounds:

COLLUM FUSCUM, *Colfosco* (Tyrol);
FORUM VETERE, *Fourvière-lez-Lyon* (Rhône);
PARVUM VILLARE, *Parvillier* (Somme);
PETRA FICTA, *Pierrefitte* (Oise);
PETRA LATA, *Pierrelaye* (S. O.);
PODIUM CELSUM, *Puycelse* (Tarn);
SUMMAM VALLEM, *Somval* (Aube);
VETUS VILLA, *Viéville* (Sarthe); etc.

In all these instances we have to do with the union of a noun with a real adjective denoting some quality, some property. These adjectives refer to the various modes in which objects affect the speaker and impress more especially his senses, as being, e. g., big or small, sweet or bitter, white or black, fine or ugly, etc. With such adjectives of very general meaning it is conceivable that the suppression of the noun is not especially frequent. It sometimes occurs, however, as shown by forms like Fr. *aube* 'dawn,' *brune* 'evening,' *courbet* 'sickle,' etc.; but it is very much more frequent with the other category of adjectives—the adjectives of relation: SORORIUS (VIR), O. Fr. *serourge* 'sister's husband'; COLLACTEUS (FRATER), Sp. *collazo* 'frère de lait'; ACIARIUM (FERRUM), Fr. *acier* 'steel'; CALCEATA (VIA), Fr. *chaussée* 'paved road'; etc. The suppression of the determined element is even so frequent that many of these suffixes become in time really nominal, since they are used for derivatives which directly become nouns, as is the case more especially with -ATICUM, which in Fr. *voyage*, *ménage* properly forms adjectives on *VIATA, *MANSIONATA, while in Fr. *nettoyage*, *déballage*, it has been applied to verbal radicals. Fr. -ier also is now quite as nominal as -ATOR was in Latin.

For all those formations which originally were adjectival, Vulgar Latin represents the intermediate stage. The suffixes -ARIUS, -ATICUS, -ALIS, -ANUS, etc., though still used for adjectives, form nouns which are created on the pattern of the nominalized adjectives and in connection with which no distinctively conceived noun ever was understood. Since, for instance, ARMENTARIA (CASA)

meant a stable for cattle, the analogous noun TAXONARIA was forged, to mean the dwelling, i. e., the hole, of the TAXO 'badger,' whence Fr. *tanière*, though it certainly never was either considered or called a CASA. There is nothing extraordinary in all this; but the important point to bear in mind is that even in TAXONARIA, the words *casa*, *mansio*, etc., were not completely absent. Their influence continued to be felt because it was still present in various derivatives of the group. It determined the gender of the new word, the choice of the suffix, etc., and in many cases it was apt even to be expressed in emphatic or dignified speech, or for the purpose of clearness. Often also the disappearance of the noun was gradual. Gregory of Tours speaks of TEMPUS HIBERNUM, TEMPUS AESTIVUM, the *Vulgata* uses TEMPUS VERNUM, TEMPUS MATUTINUM; but, apart from PRIMUM TEMPUS, the Romance languages have suppressed TEMPUS in all these expressions and now say simply Fr. *hiver*, Sp. *estio*, Fr. *matin*, etc.; UVA PASSA 'dried grapes' is Sp. *pasa*, Port. *passa*, Prov. *passo*, but the It. has *uva passa*, the Sard. has *pabassa* (= UVA PASSA, with dissimilation). Cf. Sp. *lienzo*, O. It. *lenza* with *penno lentho* in Sardinian, *vestis lentea* in CIL. XIV. 2215. There is approximately the same difference between *aestivum* and *aestivum tempus* as between Germ. *Sommer* and *Sommerzeit*, where *zeit* is emphatic and superfluous. In Germ. *Mahlzeit*, on the contrary, *zeit* has become more or less agglutinated and its meaning has faded off so much that *Mahlzeit* nowadays in some of its uses is practically the equivalent of the former *Mahl*. In many of these Teutonic compounds, in fact, the second element has ceased to be suggestive to our mind or our imagination, and is hardly more than a mere suffix.

The element *-herd* in *shepherd*, e. g., is certainly no more of a noun for an Englishman than *-ARIUS* was for a Roman peasant in *VERVICARIUS*, *PECORARIUS* and other words meaning 'shepherd.' This case, it is true, is an extreme one, since the composition is now hardly felt in *shepherd*, but in reality even compounds like *policeman*, *cabman*, *fireman*, etc., are very much the equivalents of the French derivatives in *-IER*: *policier*, *pompier*, *cocher*, etc. In *apple-tree*, *plum-tree*, *cherry-tree*, *-tree* plays the part performed by *-ier* in French *pommier*, *prunier*, *cerisier*. Rozwadowski (*Wort-*

bildung und Wortbedeutung, p. 8) is quite right when he says that for a Pole the derivatives *now-ina*, *ziel-ina*, *wiatr-ak*, *straz-ak*, *drwal*, *pogorzel-isko* are practically the equivalents of the German compounds *Neuland*, *Grünkraut*, *Windmühle*, *Schutzmann*, *Brandstätte*.

All compounds ending in *-tree*, *-berry*, *-man*, *-maker*, *-house*, *-land*, etc., in English, form categories which are extended by analogy to new ideas: *coachman* has produced *cabman*, *carman* in the same way as Fr. *chemisier*, *chocolatier* have been modelled after *greffier*, *barbier*, etc. The endings *-man*, *-land*, it is true, in some cases are understood with their full value, but they are the cases in which, in Vulgar Latin, *VIR*, *ARBOR*, *TEMPUS* were expressed or, at least, consciously understood before the adjectives *PECORARIUS*, *PISCARIUS*, *VITRARIUS*,—*QUERCEA*, *BETULLEA*, *PRUNEA*—*AESTIVUM*, *HIBERNUM*, *MATUTINUM*, etc. Thus, if one may say so, the suffix was in many of these words the potential equivalent of the noun, determining to what category it was to belong. There were accordingly in Vulgar Latin half-conscious categories of meaning, the starting point of which was the association of a series of adjectives with some noun that later in most cases remained understood or only vaguely present, though the new derivatives were copied after the previous ones and became members of the pre-existing series. An aspect of this feeling for category was the tendency to extend the category at the expense of pre-existing words. Many terms referred to persons or objects that were apt to be conceived as species in the genus represented by the category. *HIEMS*, *AESTAS*, *VER*, for instance, referred to seasons, and were associated as such in the mind of the speaker, though formally the words themselves had nothing in common. On the other hand, they were also associated with other expressions of season or time, as *TEMPUS EXTREMUM*, *TEMPUS MATUTINUM* (from *MATUTA*, the goddess of dawn) or even *TEMPUS OPPORTUNUM*, *TEMPUS FAUSTUM*, *TEMPUS PRAESENS*. In many cases, *AESTAS* was the *TEMPUS OPPORTUNUM*, and no wonder if after that pattern *TEMPUS AESTIVUM* came to replace the special noun. Accordingly, as we have seen already, *VER* and *HIEMS* were replaced by *TEMPUS VERNUM*, *PRIMUM TEMPUS*, *TEMPUS HIBERNUM*, and even *DIES* by *TEMPUS DIURNUM*. A similar

series existed with *HORA*: It. *sera* (*HORA SERA* 'the late hour'), Sp. *mañana* (*HORA *MANEANA*), Fr. *la brune* 'twilight' (cf. It. *notte bruna*). In this way, the unity of the category was more and more emphasized. One has to do here, after all, with what might be termed a "semantic analogy," working in the same way as the well-known morphologic analogy. The connecting element here is the similarity of meaning, and the result is a similarity of expression at the expense of certain words. This tendency to create lexicological categories derives from the well-known fact that our ideas and words are grouped in our minds in series. The existence of these associations is, of course, also revealed by the contaminations taking place between words belonging to the same combinations, such as:

LEVIS: GRAVIS > LEVIS: GREVIS.

PRE(HE)NDERE: REDDERE > PRENDERE: RENDERE.

*BETTA: BLITUM > Fr. *bette*: *blette*.

SPURCUS: *pōrcus* > It. *spōrcare*.

Thus also, *brother* occasioned *mother*, *father*, instead of *moder*, *fader*; *I would* and *I should* introduced an *l* into *I could*; and Fr. *savoir*, *devoir*, by similarity of function, and *mouvoir* by similarity of form, introduced a *v* into *pouvoir*, etc., etc. More similar to the case in question, however, is the replacement of all the specific words for 'being situated' in French by the generic word *être* + an adverb or an adjective: *être debout*, *être assis*, *être couché* for O. Fr. *ester*, *seoir*, *gésir*. It is this same tendency to classification which produced the Chinese concrete plural—by which all persons and objects receive in the plural some generic designation, as: *three piece men* = three men; *three piece mace* = three mace (coin); while one says: *three root book* = three books, *three tail fish* = three fish, *three branch thread* = three threads, etc. Thus, in reference to its plural, every word belongs to a kind of semantic category in the same way as we have different measures for different sorts of things, and this again because we do not think our words in complete isolation but in association with some group of ideas, some concept of greater extension. The Bantu-prefixes also, to a certain extent, answer to this tendency; those *genera*, however, are mostly of an emotional character and resemble our diminutive,

augmentative and depreciative suffixes, but of course the categories of the vegetable world, of animals, of time, etc., as they are found for instance in Herrero, are not so very different from the phenomenon with which we are concerned.

Though the groups of adjectival derivatives in Vulgar Latin are far from having developed into such a linguistic essential element, and exhibit hardly more than a tendency, they are a very important feature of both Vulgar Latin and Romance, and there is much that cannot be satisfactorily explained without taking this fact into account. The processes observed in connection with *TEMPUS* and *HORA* repeat themselves in many other cases, and have brought about a rejuvenation of the vocabulary which has resulted in many old concepts receiving new names. This is, for instance, why *PASTOR* was gradually pushed into the background. Since this word was applied to any one who keeps animals, there were *PASTORES COLUMBARI*, *BOVARI*, *PORCARI*, **MAJALARI* (*majalis* 'pig'); and when *VERVEX* in Gaul, *PECORA* in Italy became the regular expression for sheep, the shepherd became respectively a *VERVICARIUS* or a *PECORARIUS* (Fr. *berger*, It. *pecoraio*), and the word *PASTOR* ceased to be an element of the current speech in many portions of the Romance domain. On the other hand a sheep, or more properly a ram, was called *BELARIUS* 'the bleating one,' because many varieties of cattle had been provided with names in *-ARIUS*: *TENERARIUS* 'young, tender calf' (Sp. *ternero*), *ADMISSARIUS* 'stallion,' i. e., the one 'admitted' at times to the mares (Sard. *am-messardzu*, Rum. *armessariu*), *SAGMARIUS* 'beast of burden' (Fr. *sommier*). On the pattern of *POMARIUS*, *PRUNARIUS*, *PIRARIUS*, the word *QUERCUS* in some regions was replaced by *GLANDARIUS* 'bearer of acorns' (Rum. *ghindar*, Cat. *glaner*). After the numerous participial adjectives in *-ATUS* of Vulgar Latin: *TIMORATUS*, **FATATUS*, *EXAUGURATUS* (*VIR*), the father became the *BARBATUS* (*VIR*), the priest, a *CAPILLATUS* (CIL. VI. 2262; Olcott, *Studies in Word-formation*, p. 246), and even *BIMUS* was replaced at times by *BIMATUS*, *RUSSUS* by *RUSSATUS* (Olcott, *ib.*), *BELLUS* by **BELLATUS* (cf. *bel-lator* = Fr. *bellezor*).

Another consequence was that many nouns were replaced by adjectives derived from them:

JUGUM, JUGALE 'yoke' (Sard. *yuale*);
 LOCUS, LOCALE 'spot' (Sp. *lugar*);
 NERVUS > NERVIUS 'nerve' (Sp. *nervio*);
 PAVOR, *PAVOREA 'fear' (Tess. *puria*);
 SEDES, SEDILE 'seat' (Prov. *sezilh*).

Some of these may of course be late or merely local, but the tendency is old, as shown by instances in the inscriptions, as VERNACIO SUO for VERNAE SUO in CIL. IX. 475, NEPOTICIA for NEPTIS (Olcott, op. cit., p. 218).

In the late Latin texts, words are frequently replaced also by adjectives of relation: e. g., in the *Vulgata*, the PALLACE is a FORNICARIA, the PISCINA, a NATATORIA, while Christian writers like Cyprian say ADVERSARIUS for DIABOLUS, INCENSUM for THUS, SANCTUM DOMINI for EUCHARISTIA, etc. (Bayard, *Latin de S. Cyprien*, p. 273). This process of course is the regular one for giving names to new things in Vulgar Latin, instead of the genitival compounds. It however only imperfectly makes up for them. In many cases it is only through the context that it is possible to discover what noun is understood and consequently what is the meaning of the derivative. An AQUARIUM, for instance, or "thing related to water" may be either a 'sink-stone' (Fr. *évier*, It. *acquaio*, Port. *agueiro*), or a 'furrow' (Sard. *abbarzu*, Sp. *aguera*), or a 'bucket' (O. Rum. *apari*, Prov. *aiguiera*). Moreover, only practical familiarity with the language could teach one that other derivatives of *aqua* mean either 'channel' (AQUALE), or 'water-nymph' (AQUANA; cf. It. *gana*, Ven. *longana*). What AQUARIUM was for water, CIBARIUM, CIBARIA was for solid food, and assumed the most diverse meanings in the various dialects: It. *civaia* is 'vegetable,' Low. Engad. *čvera* is 'food for the huts,' Sp. *cibera* is 'cereal,' Fr. *civière* is a 'stretcher,' etc. According to the gender, the same adjective assumes different meanings: PISCARIUS (VIR) is a 'fisher' (Rum. *pascar*), while PISCARIA (AQUA) is a 'fish-pond' (It. *pescaia*), PETRARIUS is a 'maw' (Prov. *perié*), while PETRARIA (FOSSA) is a 'quarry' (Sard. *pedraja*, Fr. *perrière*). Often enough, the things are named after the material they are made of: CARPINEA 'of hornbeam,' SCIRPEA 'of club-rush,' are 'baskets' (Wall. *charpeigne* [*šarpeñ*], Astur. *escripia*); CEREUM 'waxen' is a 'candle'

(Fr. *cierge*), *LANEA* 'woolen' is said of swaddling clothes (Fr. *lange*), **staminea* 'threaden' is a 'sieve' (It. *stamigna*). But more often the renewal of the expression is due to the tendency always active in languages to replace a symbol that has become merely conventional and intellectual by a new one appealing to our imagination. Generally, in this case, the adjective renders the impression made by the object on our senses. Acidity, for instance, is expressed, in the case of sorrel, by *ACETOSA* (It. *acetosa*) or **ACETARIA* (Sp. *acedera*), both from *ACETUM* 'vinegar,' or directly from *ACIDUS*, by *ACIDULA* (Piem. *zivola*, Friul. *azecul*, Fr. *oseille*). In the case of the grape, it is rendered by *ACINA* (Sard. *agina*) or by **ACRESTIS* in It. *agreste* 'unripe grape,' which shows a curious contamination of *ACER* and *AGRESTIS*. In the case of the cranberry, the same sharp savor is expressed by *ACRELLA* (Fr. *airelle*), while for cherries, *ACRIOTTA* is found in Fr. *griotte* 'sour cherry.' Bitterness is the typical feature of other cherries, cf. It. *marasca* (= **AMARASCA*) and the preserved *maraschino* cherries of the dinner table. In all these words, the diminutive suffixes show that we are dealing with familiar formations.

The color of course is still more suggestive of the object or the person. Family names like Gray, Brown, White, etc., are an illustration of this well-known fact. It is not strange that a red cap is **BIRITTA* (It. *baretta*). A red, sour cherry is a *BYSSINA* (Fr. *guigne*) or a *BYSSIOLA* (It. *visciola*), from *BYSSUS* 'red.' An *AUREOLUS* is an 'oriole,' while *RUBEOLUS* was a name for an ox (O. Fr. *roujuel*), and *ALBANUS* meant a 'kite.' So also plants were called by such names as *ALBUCIUM* 'asphodel' (ALLG. XII, 89), **ALBARUS* or *ALBANUS* 'alburn.' A green twig was a *VIRASCA* (It., Sp. *frasca*), a **VIRIDIANS* (Prov. *verjans* or a **VIRIDUCUS* (It. *verduco*, Sp. *verdugo*), while *VIRIDIARIUM* was an 'orchard.' Here again the suffixes are popular and familiar. The external appearance has also served to designate the tortoise (*TORTUCA* 'tortuous'), the caterpillar (*PILOSA* 'hairy'), the tarin (*TENERINUS* 'tenderling'), various jagged plants (*SERRATA*, *SERRATELLA*), the down of the thistle-flowers (*villana*), the brooch (*BROCCUS*, It. *brocco*), the goad (*ACULEATUS* 'pointed,' Friul. *guyade*), ice (**ASTRATUM* 'stellated,' Sard. *astrau*), etc.

The picturesque character of all these expressions, as well as the familiarity of the suffixes with which they are provided, clearly shows that we have to do with a really popular tendency. A consideration of the categories of meanings where these formations are most abundant shows moreover that they are a feature more especially of the language of the country (as opposed to the town). The adjectival formations nowhere thrive and developed as in the vocabulary of the farm and of the fields. This is especially apparent in the topographic nomenclature. It can also be shown by a consideration of the various categories in which this lexicological process is most frequent. These categories are:

I.—TIME: Though determinations of time, season, weather, etc., are usual enough in everybody's speech, they are nowhere so abundant or so important as in the language of the country people.

In the following list are given most of the compounds with TEM-PUS (some of them have already been mentioned in one connection or another in this article):

- TEMPUS *AESTATIALE, Sard. *istadiale*.
 " AESTIVUM (Gregory of Tours), Sp. *estio*.
 " AURATICUM, Fr. *orage* (*aura* 'wind').
 " DIURNUM, It. *giorno*, Fr. *jour*, Eng. 'day-time, day.'
 " HIBERNUM (Gregory of Tours), It. *inverno*, Fr. *hiver*.
 " HODIERNUM 'to-day' (Cyprian. Bayard, op. cit., p. 273).
 " MATUTINUM 'time of *Matuta*,' Fr. *matin*.
 " SEROTINUM, Sill. *serodden* 'autumn.'
 " TONSORIUM, Sard. *tosorgiu* 'tempo della tosatura.'
 " TOSTUM 'boiled, precipitated time,' Fr. *tôt* 'soon.'
 " VERNUM (*Vulgata*), etc.

DIES gives:

- MEDIUM DIEM, Fr. *midi*.
 DIEM AEGYPTIACUM, Sp. *aziago* 'ominous.'
 " ANNUALEM, O. Prov. *anoal* 'mass for the dead.'
 " DOMINICAM, Fr. *dimanche* 'Sunday,' It. *domenica*.
 " FESTA, Sard. *festa*, Fr. *fête*.
 " JOVIA, Ven. *dzioba* 'Thursday.'
 " NATALEM, It. *natale*, O. Fr. *nael* 'Christmas,' etc.

- HORA *ALBA, Fr. *aube* 'dawn.'
 " *BRŪNA, Fr. *la brune* 'twilight.'

- HORA *MANEANA, Sp. *mañana*.
 " PRANDIARIA, O. Fr., Lorr. *prangière* 'afternoon.'
 " SEXTA, Port. *sesta* 'midday.'
- AURA: 'wind' (cf. Maced. *avra* 'chilly breeze').
 " *BONACIA 'calm weather,' Maced. *bunađa*, It. *bonaccia*.
 " *BOREANA, Sard. *boriana*, Gen. *buriana* 'sharp wind.'
 " *BOREASCA 'Northern wind,' It. *burasca* 'storm.'
 " *MALACIA 'bad weather,' Maced. *malađa*, It. *malaccia*.
 " NIVARIA 'blizzard,' Sp. *nevera*, Wall. *ivière*.
 " *VAPOREA 'damp weather,' Rum. *boara*.
- VENTUS AFRICUS 'W., S.-W. wind,' It. *africo*.
 " ALTANUS 'S.-W. wind,' Prov. *autan*, Sp. *altano*.
 " CIRCIUS, CERCIUS 'W. wind,' Prov. *cers*, Sp. *cierzo*.

II.—OCCUPATIONS: Though on the way to become nominal, the derivation in -ARIUS is still decidedly adjectival in Vulgar Latin. The words are in -ARIUS, -ARIA, -ARIUM according to the gender of the noun understood. Before -ARIUS and -ARIA, the substantives VIR, FABER MULIER or similar expressions are still often expressed:

FABER LECTARIUS, CIL. VI. 7882.
 FABRORUM TIGNARIORUM ET BISELLIARIORUM, CIL. XIV. 4136.
 MAGISTER BALLISTARIUS, CIL. V. 6632.
 NEGOTIATORES VESTIARIAE ET LINTIARIAE, CIL. III. 5800.
 NEGOTIATOR EBORARIUS AUT CITRARIUS, Mitth. v. p. 288.
 SUTOR CALIGARIUS, CIL. IX. 3027, etc. (Olcott, op. cit., pp. 140 sqq.).

Olcott in his collection (loc. cit.) enumerates 450 derivatives of this kind referring most of them to the most various, probable and improbable, kinds of professions. The occupations referring to country life are not the least numerous in the group:

CASARIUS 'farmer,' Sp. *casero* 'δεσπότης.'
 *MANSUARIUS, Piem. *mazuwé*, Wall. *mazowié*.
 *MEDIATATARIUS 'metayer,' N. It. *mezzaro*, Prov. *meyer*, Fr. *métayer*.
 TERRARIUS 'landlord,' Prov. *terrier*.
 VEREDARIUS 'horseman' (Ducange 773).

To be added are the varieties of herdsmen mentioned above: GREGARIUS, PECORARIUS, BOVARIUS, VERVICARIUS, PORCARIUS, etc.

III.—TREES: From practically all names of trees, adjectives in -EUS, -INUS have been formed, which in many cases have come to replace the nouns. The beginnings of that evolution are traceable in Vulgar Latin. The custom had been introduced to substitute for the names of trees, expressions referring to their industrial use: MATERIA, LIGNUM, ARBOR, etc., accompanied by an adjective specifying the kind of wood:

CAMERAE ERANT FACTAE DE LIGNIS CIPRESEIS (=DE CUPRESSO) (*Alexanderroman*, ed. Pfister, p. 23).

MATERIAE ROBOREAE, PINEAE (*Edict. Dioclet.*, 12. 9, 10; Olcott, op. cit., p. 243).

ARBORE ILICINA (=ILEX), CIL. VI. 2065; Olcott, op. cit., p. 202).

We can witness here the same process as with TEMPUS, HORA, VIR, etc. The trees generally mentioned on account of their wood gradually came to be designated by such adjectives in all circumstances and subsequently other trees or bushes, that had not the same industrial value, entered the series and received similar denominations. Hence the forms:

ABIETEUM, Tyrol. *avets* 'fir.'

ABIETINUM, Venet. *avedin* 'white fir.'

ACEREUM (LIGNUM), Engad. *ažer*, Obwald. *ažier* 'maple.'

ALNEUM, Engad. *aña*, Trent. *on* 'alder.'

BETULLEA, It. dial. *bedoya*, Engad. *vduoñ* 'birch.'

PINEUM, Prov. *pinhe* 'pine.'

QUERCEA (MATERIA), It. *quercia* 'oak.'

*SALICEUM, Prov. *saletz* 'willow.'

On this pattern were formed:

*COLUREUM (=CORYLEUM), Tess. *kulör*, Bologn. *klur* 'hazel.'

*RUSTEUM, Prov. *rois* 'blackberry bush.'

*SA(M)BUCEUM, Wall. *seüs*, Aost. *sambüs* 'elder.'

*TAMARICEUM (=tamarix), Sard. *tamarittu* 'tamarisk.'

*VITICEUM (=vitis), Prov. *bedis* 'wicker.'

We also have: VITICEA (Prov. *bedisso*), RUSTEA (Prov. *roiso*), etc., and besides:

*CARICEA (=CAREX), Veron. *carezza*, Port. *cariço* 'sedge';
and

*CANNABIA (=CANNABIS), Istr. *ganiepa* 'hemp';

with which latter may be compared *restem sparteam* (CIL. VI. 20905; Olcott, op. cit., p. 244). We even have *ARBOREA (LIGNA?) in the North Italian word *bora* 'piece of wood'; Lomb., Venet. *bora* 'fallen tree,' Bergam. *boreta* 'small beam' (Schneller, *Rom. Volksm.* 119). In this way SCORTUM 'hide,' developed SCORTEA 'bark' (It. *scorza*, Fr. *écorce*).

Names of fruits also sometimes receive this ending. *baca* or *poma* may be understood:

*BULLUCEA 'small apple,' O. Fr. *beloce*: *BULLUCA, Wall. *bilok*.

CASTANEA 'chestnut': Gr. *κάστανον*.

CERASEA, *ceresea* 'cherry,' It. *ciliègia*, Sard. *cariaza*, etc., instead of Lat. CERASUM = Gr. *κεράσος*.

*CUCURBITEA 'gourd,' O. It. *corbezza*: Lat. CUCURBITA.

*PRUNEA 'plum,' It. *prugna*, Lomb. *brugna*, Port. *abrunho*, instead of Lat. *prunum* (Gr. *προύμνον*).

Exceptionally, names from the vegetable kingdom with these endings are derived not from the noun of a given root but from some physical peculiarity, as:

PICEA, PICARIUM 'spruce,' Lomb. *pescia*, Friul. *pets*, Besc. *pager*,

from the PIX 'pitch' contained in these trees, or:

SABINA 'savin,' It. *savina*, O. Fr. *savine*,

*SABUCUS, SAMBUCUS 'elder,' O. Fr. *seü*, Rum. *soc*, Sard. *saucu*,

coming from SAPA 'sap.'—SAPPINUS 'fir' has perhaps the same origin, but it is influenced by Gal. SAPOS, SAPAUDIOS 'fir,' which has a similar etymology (Walde, s.v.).

IV.—ANIMALS: Names of animals also are occasionally replaced by their corresponding adjectives, as e. g., PULLUS 'young animal' by *PULLIUS, Rum. *puiiu*, Wall. *poj*, etc. This, however, is exceptional, and forms like *CAMOCIA, *LYNCEA, *SORICIUS, *BOMBYCEUS, *LIMACEUS are rather to be explained as resulting from the substitution of the frequent ending -IUS for the x of CAMOX, LYNX, SOREX, BOMBYX, LIMAX. The new terms for cattle, however, are generally adjectives, determinative or descriptive.

Already in CIL. x. 6012 (Olcott, op. cit., p. 198) HERBANA is said for herbivorous cattle. A boar-pig was a *MAJALIS (It. *maiale*) or simply a MASCULUS (Rum. *mascur*, Vicent. *mascio*), term that was also used for a ram (Sard. *masciu*). A lamb was notably called a CHORDUS, *CHORDARIUS or *CHORDISCUS, i. e., 'born late in the year' (Port. *cordeiro*, Calabr. *curdesca*), a BIMUS 'of two years or two months' (Cors. *vimma*, Friul. *bime*) or an ANNOTICUS 'one year old' (Prov. *anoge*). A young pig was a MANUALE 'of a size to be taken in the hand' (Sard. *mannale*). The suppression of AGNUS, VITULUS in these words may, it is true, be comparatively recent. More certainly old are: *BURRICUS 'little red,' for a mule (It. *bricco*, Sp. *borrico*) and RUNCINUS 'strong horse' (O. Fr. *roncin*, Prov. *rosi*). The latter word apparently meant "snouted" (*RUNCUS 'snout,' Sard. *runcu*). Old also are the above mentioned: SAGMARIUS 'pack-horse,' ADMISSARIUS 'stallion,' TENERARIUS 'calf,' BLARIUS 'ram.' The dog of the house was the *MAN-SUETINUS, Fr. *mâtin*, from *mansus* 'tame' (Sp. *manso* 'bell-wether').

There were many more such words, and the word 'cattle,' itself was CAPITALE (Prov. *cabdal*, O. Fr. *cheptel*, Piem. *cavial*), either as the main possession of the farmer, or as what is counted "per capita." The herd, in some parts of Italy, is quaintly called *ROTEUM 'wheel-like,' while elsewhere it was *PASTORICIUM (Tyrol. *pastreč*) or ANIMALIA (Rum. dial. *nămațe*, Fr. *aumaille*), in opposition to the other collective: VOLATILIA (Fr. *volaille*), used for the winged domestic animals.

The various kinds of manure were also expressed by adjectives:

- *BOVACEA, Lomb. *boazza*, Obwald. *boača*.
- BOVINA, Prov. *bovina*.
- CAPRINA, It. *caprina*.
- PULLINA, It. *pollina*, Friul. *puline*.
- *PULLINACEA, Prov. *pulinaso*.

The word understood here was probably *FEMITA for FIMUS (Fr. *fiente*, Sp. *hienda*). The inscriptions display a similar series with PELLIS: PELLIS LEPORINA, URSINA, CASTORINA in the Edict. Dioclet. i. 6. 24; 8. 33; 8. 23 and PELLIS LEONINA in CIL. x. 1598, PELLIS CAPRINA VIII. 4508 (Olcott, op. cit., pp. 200 sqq.), of which there

are some remnants in Romance, as e. g., Maced. *caprina* 'goat's hair.'

V.—FARM AND FARMING: The peasants (PAGANI, *PAGINI, *PAGENSANI, TERRANI, FORENSES, CASARII (VIRI) used various instruments, many of which had received descriptive epithets, as:

- *ACULEATUS 'goad,' Friul. *guyade*.
- ACUTUS 'nail,' O. It. *aguto*, Prov. *agut*.
- *BISACUTA 'axe, hammer,' Fr. *besaigüe*, It. *bicciacuto*.
- *BISECA 'spade,' Fr. *bêche*.
- BROCCA 'fork, spit,' Sic., Nap. *brocca*, *vrocca*, Fr. *broche*.
- BROCCUS 'peg,' It. *brocco* (Lat. *broccus* 'pointed').
- *CURVILLUS 'pruning-knife,' Sp. *corvillo*.
- *CURVITTUS 'pruning-hook,' Fr. *courbet*.

Utensils of the house were preferably named after the things they were related with:

- *CRATALE for Gr. *κράτης* 'cup' has been assimilated to this series: Prov. *graal*.
- MANUALE 'of the hand,' Gen. *manva*, Port. *mangoal* 'flail.'
(In CIL. VIII. 6892, it simply means 'towel'; Olcott, op. cit., p. 228 sqq.)
- MENSALE 'of the table,' Nap. *mesale*, Rum. *masarita* 'tablecloth.'
- PUTEALE 'of the well,' Cat. *pohal* 'bucket.'
- *STATUALE 'of the icon,' O. Fr. *estavel*, Prov. *estadal* 'candle.'

The results of household activities are generally expressed by past participles. The dirt that has been cleaned off, for instance, is called:

- *ABLUTA 'washed away,' O. It. *biuta*, Parm. *bida* 'cow-dung,' Alb. *blute* 'mold.'

This formation is surprisingly frequent for products of the cuisine:

- ALLISUS (PANIS) 'unleavened bread,' O. Fr., Prov. *alis*.
- BISCOCTUM 'biscuit,' It. *biscotto*, Sp. *biscocho*. Cf. Germ. *Zwieback*.
- EXCOCTA 'dairy,' It. *scotta*, Friul. *scuotte*.
- FARSA 'stuffing,' Fr. *farce*.
- FRICTA 'pan-cake,' Vegl. *freta*, Lomb. *fritola*.
- FRİXA 'fried pork,' Viver. *frasa* (CARO is understood; cf. OVINA 'mutton,' Rum. *oină*).

IMPENSA 'ingredients,' Prov. *empeza*, Fr. *empois* 'starch.'
 MISSUM 'served dish,' Fr. *mets*.
 PASTA 'dough,' Sard., It. *pasta*, Fr. *pâte*, O. Fr. *paster*, hence
 Mod. Fr. *pâté*, showing the same process at a later date.
 RECOCTA 'buttermilk,' It. *ricotta*, Sard. *regotta*.
 TORTA 'twisted pastry,' It. *torta*, Fr. *tourte*.
 VENATUM 'game,' Sp. *venado*, Rum. *venat*, etc., etc.

Hardly less numerous were adjectival terms for the various parts of the house:

ADJECTUM 'console, balcony,' It. *aggetto*, Wall. *ažé*.
 AERALE 'cellar window,' Prov. *airial*.
 ALTANA 'upper floor,' It. *altana*, Ven. *antana*.
 ANGULARE 'corner,' Rum. *unghier*, O. Fr. *angler*.
 CAMINATA 'room with chimney,' It. *caminata*.
 CELLARIUM, Fr. *cellier* (CELLA = 'supplies room').
 *CRATICEUM 'grating,' It. *graticcio* (CRATIS = 'trellis').
 DEPOSITUM 'shed,' Rum. *adapost*.
 EXTERAS 'outside porch,' O. Fr. *estres*.
 FOCALE, FOCARE 'hearth,' Catal. *fogar*, Sp. *hogar*.
 *IMBRICEUM 'in bricks, rubble-stone,' It. *breccia*.
 LOCALE, LOCARE 'room, place,' Sp. *lugar*.
 *MAENIANUM 'terrace,' O. It. *mignana*.
 PARIETANA 'paneling,' Friul. *paradane*.
 *PATIDUM 'open space,' Sp. *patio*(?).
 PILARE 'pillar' (PILA = 'column'), Fr. *pilier*.
 POSTICUM 'back-door,' Sp. *postigo*.
 RECESSUM 'privy,' It. *cesso*.
 STRATA 'porch, outside bench,' Sard. *istrada*.
 STRATUM 'bed,' Rum. *strat*, O. It. *strato*.
 *SUBTANUS, Sp. *sotano*.
 SUBTULUS 'cellar,' Prov. *sotol*.
 TABULATUM 'wooden wall,' It. *tavolato*, Sp. *tablado*.
 VOLUTA 'vault,' It. *volta*, Fr. *voûte*.

Outside the house were the stables and barns. The Latin suffix -ILE was preserved for the stables in PORCILE, OVILE, CANILE, etc., but there was a tendency to replace it by -ICIA (STABULA understood), which is a kind of collective. We have it in Rum. *porcareata*, It. *porcareccia* from *PORCARICIA. In France, similar formations were once in use, as shown by names of villages, such as Bovesse, Cornesse, Porqueresse, Vaqueresse, Vresse (from VERRES

> VERRICIA), found in Northern France and in Belgium. Countless as these adjectival derivatives are for the house, the cattle, the stables, etc., they are nothing to the terms of the same kind used for the grounds, the fields and all the surroundings of the farms and the villages. This vocabulary is not yet known as it ought to be. The fullest material for this study is to come from toponymy, a domain which has long enough been abandoned to the provincial "amateurs" and is just now beginning to attract the attention of Romance specialists. I trust that the frequent examples drawn from the toponymic vocabulary in the present section of this article will serve to give an intimation of what may be expected when this field has been more adequately exploited.

An enclosure was:

*BARRICUM (retro-derivative from BARRICARE 'to enclose'), Fr. *parc*, Bresc. *barec*.

CAUTUM 'protected,' Sp. *coto*, Port. *couto* 'park.'

CLAUSUM 'closed,' Milan. *cios*, Fr. *clos* 'closed vineyard.' Cf. *Le Clos-Vouget*, *Le Clos-le-Roy*, etc., in toponymy.

DEFENSUM 'reserved,' O. Fr. *defois* 'meadow,' Prov. *devens*.

*PLAXUM, PLAXATUM (= PLEXUM 'twisted'), 'hedge, enclosure,' Prov. *plasis*(a), Fr. *plessis*, *plessié*, cf. *Plessis-lez-Tours*, *Le Plessier* (Oise).

*SAEPTUM 'with a hedge,' Sp. *seto*.

The word understood may have been *fundus*, *locus*, etc.

A *hedge* (SAEPES) was:

CAESA, *CISA, Venet. *sieza*, Savoy. *siza*.

FRACTA, It. *fratta*, O. Fr. *frette*, cf. *La Fraite* (Seine-et-Oise), *La Frette* (Isère), etc. (Buckeley, *Beitr. Franz. Ortsnamenforschung*, p. 114.)

The various kinds of properties were distinguished by qualificatives, of which there is a very great number. Most of them refer to the type of ownership or to the owner. Of the former class are:

CASALE 'depending on a CASA,' 'house,' cf. *chezal* (Cher), Montbél. *chezal* 'building ground,' Swiss *chesal* 'property of a peasant.' (Buckeley, op. cit., p. 83.)

COHORTILE 'depending on a yard,' 'a farm' (COHORS 'yard'), Fr. *courtil* 'garden.'

DOMESTICUM 'depending on a DOMUS,' O. Sard. *domestia* 'field with house of the slaves.'

- *DOMINIARIUM 'of a lord,' O. Fr. *dangier, dongier*; "*se mettre en dangier*" was said of cows that went on a private property.
- *MANSIONILE 'depending on a MANSIO,' 'house,' Fr. *ménil*, cf. *Mesnil-Pipard* (Eure).
- *MANSULINUM 'depending on a *mansulus*,' 'small farm,' *Mélin* in French and Belgian place-names.
- PECULIARE 'private,' O. Sard. *pecuiare*, Sp. *pegujal* 'small country estate.'
- VILLARE 'depending on a *villa* (farm),' *Villars, Villers*, frequent place-names in France, *Weiler* in the Rhineland.
- *VILLATICUM, id., Fr. *village*.

Much more numerous are the formations giving the name of the owner of the estate. They, also, are originally adjectives of relation before which terms like *fundus, ager, locus*, etc., once were understood.

The Latin suffix used with the proper names is -ANUM or -INUM. It is especially prevalent in Italy, where we find countless names, like *Miano* (AEMILIANUM), *Cavriano* (CAPRIANUM), *Cirigliano* (CAERELLIANUM), *Fibbiano* (FLAVIANUM), *Ficano* (TUFICANUM), etc. (Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.* p. 234).

Even in the Northern part of the empire, this suffix was occasionally used for properties of Romans:

- FARCIANA (VILLA), *Farcienne* (Hainault).
- MARCIANA id., *Marchienne* (Hainault).
- VALENTIANA id., *Valencienne* (Nord).

-INUM is also found in that same region:

- ALBLINUM, *Aublin* (Namur) from ALBULUS.
- BALBINUM, *Bauvin* (Nord) from BALBIUS.
- CAPRINUM, *Quièvrain* (Hain.) 'villa of the goats, or Caper's villa.'
- CUBINUM, *Couvin* (Namur) from CUBIUS.
- RIVINUM, *Revin* (Ardennes) 'villa on a *rivus*' ('brook') (?).
- SCALDINUM, *Escaudin* (Nord) 'villa of the SCALDIS (Scheldt).'

In the North, however, by far the most common suffix was -ACUM. It is of Keltic origin, but was adopted by the Romans of the Gallic regions at an early date and continued to be the regular

ending for names of farms and settlements for two or three centuries after the Teutonic invasion, so that in Northern France and Belgium names of Frankish landlords are often found in the -ACUM place-names. The most ancient of these formations are of course found in Gallic names:

ARTIACUM, *Arcy* (Yonne) from ARTOS 'bear.'
CAMERACUM, *Cambray* (Nord) from KAMMAROS 'crooked.'
CAMULIACUM, *Chambly* (Oise) from KAMALOS 'servant.'
VIROVIACUM, *Wervick* (W. Fland.), *Verviers* (Liège), from
VEROVOS 'best,' etc.

Those with Roman names are naturally the most numerous. Such are:

AURELIACUM, *Aurillac*;
JULIACUM, *Juilly*;
SABINIACUM, *Savigny, Sévigné*, etc.,

found all over France and Belgium.

As samples of similar formations from Teutonic names, may be given:

GILBERTIACUM, *Gelbressée* (Namur),
GUNTHERIACUM, *Gonrioux* (Namur),
LANDERICIACUM, *Landrecies* (Nord.).
LANDWOLDIACUM, *Landouzy* (Aisne),
ODBERTIACUM, *Obrechies* (Nord),
RODBERTIACUM, *Robechies* (Hain.), etc.

The question has been raised whether -ACUM was exclusively used for names of persons. Gröhler, in *Französische Ortsnamen*, p. 305, is inclined to believe that it was so restricted. He is probably wrong, however, since, in Belgium, for instance, -ACUM is used for settlements named after rivers: It can be no mere coincidence that *Ligny* (LINIACUM) is on the *Ligne*, *Tilly* (TILIACUM) on the *Tyl*, *Soignies* (SONNIACUM) on the *Senne* (*Somnia*). Moreover, it is far-fetched to see names of persons in:

CHAMPAGNAC (Dordogne), cf. *CAMPANEA 'field.'
HERBIGNAC (Loire inf.), cf. HERBA.
MONTIGNY (Hain.), cf. *MONTANEA 'mountain,'
RIBERAC (Dordogne)=RIPARIACUM FUNDUS (RIPARIA
'shore'),

or (from Keltic) in:

GABRIAC (Aveyron)=GABRIACUM (Kelt. GABROS 'goat').

IVRY (Seine)=EBURIACUM (Kelt. EBUROS 'ewe').

In Northern Gaul another suffix, much less known, took a fairly great extension, viz., -AVUS, -OVUS. Its origin is also Keltic; -vo is an unmistakably Indo-European ending. One finds it either with common nouns or with proper nouns.

With common nouns:

STABULAVUS (LOCUS), *Stavelot* (Liège) (STABULUM),
TEMPLOVA (VILLA), *Templeuve* (Hain.) (TEMPLUM),
TEMPLOVUM (FUNDUS), *Temploux* (Nord) (id.),
VICINAVUS, VICINAVULUS (LOCUS), Wall. *vinâve* 'suburb, hamlet.'

With proper names:

HAGINAVUS (PAGUS), *Hainault*, Belgian province, properly the 'land of the *Hagina* (Haine).'

LEDERNAVUS (LOCUS), *Lierneux* (Liège), 'place on the *Lederna* river (La Lienne).'

If one penetrates into the woods, heaths, forests, marshes, etc., that as a rule separated the settlements from one another at that time (Teut. *marka*), one again finds adjectives used to distinguish the various kinds of ground. *terra* is probably originally understood, so that most of these terms are feminine. A plain was a *CAMPANEA, a word preserved in Fr. *campagne*, *champagne*. The latter term is often found in toponymy: *Champagne* (Pas de Calais), *Champagne* (Ain), etc. Moreover Fr. *plaine* comes from *plana*, for which one also had PLANIA (O. Sp. *llaña*) or *planaria* (*Flanders?*).—Valleys were CUMBAE (Kelt. *kombos* 'curved'), Fr. *combe*; *VALLATAE, Fr. *vallée*.—A hilly district was a *montanea* (Fr. *montagne*), a top was a *summa* or a *summaria* (*Sommières*, Nam.) or a CULMINEUS (LOCUS), *summus* (LOCUS), O. Fr. *som* 'top.'—A cave was a *cava* or *cõva* (Sp. *Cuevas*).—A shore was a RIPARIA, Fr. *rivière*; a spring, a FONTANA, Fr. *fontaine*; a meadow, a VERONEA.—A marsh was a *MARISCUS, Fr. *marais*, or a PALUDARIA, Du. *Polders*; etc.

There was also a series with *VIA*:

- VIA BIFURCA* 'junction,' Tess. *borca*, Friul. *beorkya*,
- " *CALCEATA* 'with lime-stones,' Fr. *chaussée*,
- " *CARRARIA* 'for carts,' Rum. *carare*, It. *carraia*,
- " **PETRICA* 'stoneway,' O. Fr. *pierge*.
- " *RUPTA* 'broken through,' Fr. *route* 'road,'
- " *STRATA* 'paved,' Fr. *estrée* 'causeway.'

For the waste grounds, glades, etc., adjectives were also used. *LOCUS* and *LOCA* are mostly understood, as shown, e. g., by phrases such as: *VASTAE SOLITUDINES ET DESERTA LOCA*; *DESERTUM ET VASTUM* (Wiener, *Merov. Doc.*, p. 102). Among these words we may cite:

- *ABSUM* 'uncultivated,' O. Prov. *abs*, *aus*, *absina*,
- DESERTUM*, Fr. *désert*.
- EXSARTUM*, *SARTUM* 'cleared off,' Fr. *essart*, *sart*, frequent in toponymy,
- *EXSTIRPUM*, **EXSTIRPINUM* 'not fertile.'
- NOVALE* 'freshly cleared off,' O. Fr. *novel*, *Noailles*, Sard. *noale*,
- SQUALIDUM* 'rough,' Sp. *escalio* 'waste field,'
- *VACANTIVUM*, Sard. *bigantiu*,
- VASTUM*, *VASTA* 'broad waste land,' cf. *Vasta Ardena* (Dipl. Kar. I, p. 71), *Vasta Bochonii* (Wiener. *op. cit.*, p. 148), Wall. *wastène*, Du. *wastjyn*, cf. *infra*.

The woods and groves generally are named after the prevailing kind of trees. Hence the formation of a great number of adjectives that have a decided tendency to develop into regular collectives. The older formations are neuter. The Latin suffix for assemblages of trees was *-ETUM*. It was very productive in Vulgar Latin and in the Middle Ages. Hence:

- ROBORETUM* 'oak wood,' It. *rovereto*, Sp. *robleto*;
- RUBETUM* 'blackberry thicket,' It. *roveto*;
- SALICETUM* 'willow grove,' It. *salceto*, Rum. *salcet*;
- SPINETUM* 'thorn bush,' Rum. *spinet*, It. *spinetto*;
- ULMETUM* 'elm wood,' It. *olmeto*, Rum. *ulmet*;

and many others, while the toponymy is full of names like: *Aulnay*, *Boussoit* (*BUXUS*), *Charmoy* or *Carnoy*, *Espinoy*, *Fayt* (*FAGE-TUM*), *Fresnay*, *Quesnoy* (Gal. *KASSANOS* 'oak'), *Vernay* (Kelt.

VERNOS 'alder'), *Rouveroy* (ROBORETUM), etc. Exceptionally, -ETUM is found for other collectives:

FONTANETUM, *Fontenoy* (Hain.) 'place with many springs.'
VICINETUM 'surroundings' (cf. Walde s.v. VICUS).

The ending -ARIUM also is often applied to these collectives: *Les Herbiers* (Vendée), *Spy* (Liège), SPICARIUM, *Clavier* (Luxemb.), CLAVARIUM, etc.; likewise: Port. *salgueiro*, SALICARIUM; It. *orticajo*, URTICARIUM; Fr. *hâlier* (HASALARIUM, from Frank. *hasal* 'hazel'), etc. In the south of the empire, -ALE was the favorite ending:

BACCALE, BACCALARE (cf. Ducange s.v.) 'orchard';
JUNIPERALE, Sp. *enebral* 'juniper heath';
LAURALE, Sp. *laural* 'laurel grove';
*SALICARI-ALE (-ARIUM + -ALE), Port. *salgueiral* 'willow grove';
*SALICET-ALE (-ETUM + -ALE), Sp. *saucedal*.

These formations are found also with other words:

ARENALE, It. *arenale* 'sandy field';
BOVALE, BOVALARE 'field for cows' (Wiener, op. cit., p. 118);
*SAPPALE (**sappus*), Port. *sappale* 'toad marsh,' etc.

The tendency, however, was to replace these neuters by feminines in A (i. e., TERRA, SILVA, etc.), many of which apparently had been neuter plurals (with LOCA, etc.). -ETA for -etum is the basis of Sp. -eda in *olmeda*, *fresneda* and of Fr. -aie in *chênaie*, *ormaie*, *frênaie*, etc. -aria is the most productive suffix of this series. It is still quite alive, and is constantly forming new derivatives. Among the older ones are:

ARMENTARIA 'cattle farm,' *Armentières* (Nord);
BRŪCARIA 'heath' (Irl. *froeck*), Fr. *bruyère*;
*BRUNEARIA 'plum-tree orchard,' *La Brugnères* (Tarn.);
FILICARIA 'fern hurst,' Fr. *fougère*, *Fougières*, *Follières*, etc.;
HASTARIA 'place where lances are found,' *Hastièrre* (Namur);
*RAUS-ARIA 'reed marsh' (Frank. RAUS 'reed'), *Rosièrre* (Brab.).
*SABULONARIA 'sandy field,' Wall. *sauvenière*.

To these Romance collectives corresponded in the Teutonic nomen-

clature of the border lands Frankish collectives in -UTH. The Flemish place-names: *Aalst* (Alost), *Ast*, *Bist*, *Bost*, *Bucht*, *Hasselt*, *Roost*, *Stokt*, *Werft*, etc., were the translations of *Aulnoy*, *Fresnoy*, *Jonquière*, *Boussoit*, *Fayt*, *Corroy*, *Rosière*, *Hastière*, *Sossoye*, etc.

This is not the only case where Frankish and French place-names cover one another perfectly. During the centuries when Frankish landlords in great numbers had secured estates in the Gallo-Roman region, there developed two parallel vocabularies to denote the same local peculiarities: -IACUM, -INIUM, -INIACUM were looked upon as the equivalents of -INGEN, the patronymic; -court translated -HOF; -VILLE or -VILLERS replaced -HEIM, etc., and there were numerous mutual borrowings. No wonder, then, if many a Teutonic suffix was accepted in the language of the Gallo-Roman peasants. Beside the collectives in -ETUM, -ETA, -ARIUM, -ARIA, there were formations of the same general meaning in -INA, -ANA, -ANIA, -ONA, -ONIA, both for Teutonic and Romance radicals. It is evident that a contamination took place between Frankish suffixes with nasals, or Frankish plurals, and the Latin adjectival endings -ĪNA, -ĀNA, etc. The Gothic ending -EIN (= ĪN) forming, in particular, abstracts and collectives, united with -ĪNA of It. *salina*, O. Prov. *absina* 'fallow,' Poitev. *navin* 'turnip field,' etc., in the semi-Teutonic formation WASTINA 'fallow,' and many other words were formed on the same pattern.

From Romance stems:

BOVINA 'cow stable,' *Bouvine* (Nam.).

CALIDINA 'warm place,' *Schaltin* (Nam.).—The opposite to this name is found in *Freyr* (Nam.) (= FRIGIDARIUM).

TRUNCINA 'thickish of stems,' *Tronchiennes* (Drongen) (E. Fl.).

From Teutonic radicals:

ARKAN-ĪNA (Frank. *arkan* 'silver-white'), *Archennes*, *Argennes*, *Argenteau* in Belgium.

DORR-INA (Du. *dor* 'dry'), *Dorinne* (Lux.).

FLÖDHR-INA (Frank. *flōdhra* 'channel'), *Florenne* (Nam.).

GOLD-ĪNA (Eng. *gold*), *Godinne* (Nam.).

HAIM-UTH-INA (Germ. *heim*, Eng. *home*), *Hemptinne* (Nam.).

HAW-ĪNA (Eng. to *hew*), *Havinne* (Hain.).

HOL-ĪNA (Eng. *hole*), *Holenne* (Liège).

HRANS-INA (Frank. *hrasn* 'source'), *Rancenne* (Ard.).
 LAIM-INA (Du. *leem* 'clay'), *Laminne* (Liège).
 LISC-INA (Du. *lisch* 'reed'), *Lessines* (Hain.).
 SCALC-INA (Frank. *skalk* 'servant'), *Ecaussines* (Hain.).
 THORN-INA (Engl. *thorn*, Du. *doorn*), *Tourinnes* (Du. *Deurne*), etc.

The endings -ANA and -ONA, -ANIA and -ONIA are less common. With Romance radical we may mention:

BASTONIA (Vulg. Lat. *bastum* 'stick'), *Bastogne* (Lux.).
 LUPONIA (*lupus*) (?), *Loupoigne* (Lux.).
 MATTANIA (Lat. *matta* 'mat'), *Matagne* (Nam.).
 VITULANA (Lat. *VITULUS* 'calf'), *Velaine* (Hain.).

There are more of these derivatives formed from Teutonic words. Among the most reliably interpreted are:

-ANA, -ANIA:
 TERW-ANIA (Eng. *tree*), *Terwagne* (Liège).
 MAD-ANIA (Eng. *mead*, O. Du. *mad*), *Mehaigne* (Nam.).
 FROG-ANA (Eng. *frog*), *Froyenne* (Hain.).
 HAW-ANAS (Eng. to *hew*.—Cf. *Havinne*), *Awans* (Liège).

-ONA, -ONIA:
 HOL-ONIA (Eng. *hole*), *Hollogne* (Liège).
 ALS-ONIA (Du. *els* 'alder'), *Ossogne* (Nam.).
 SOL-ONIA (O. Du. *sol* 'mud'), *Seloigne* (Hain.).

For most of these names, the ancient forms are known through early mediaeval documents. The references cannot be given here on account of difficulties created by the present war. These interpretations of place-names are new and will form a section in a study on Belgian toponymy to appear after it has again become possible to consult archives in Belgium.

An observation that applies to all these new collectives is that they are feminine. This may be due in some cases to a Latinization of -AS, the Teutonic plural ending, but it is clear that the numerous collectives in -ALIA, -ARIA, -ETA, -INA, etc., had more and more associated the feminine gender with collectivity, independently of the latent presence of *TERRA*, *VILLA*, *SILVA*, etc., which may have been understood at first before some of the earliest Latin collectives.

This association of the feminine with generality and impersonal-

ity is still more manifest in the Romance participial abstract nouns in -TA, -SA. This formation is, moreover, a striking illustration of the vitality in Vulgar Latin of the tendency to adjectival derivation considered in this article, and may serve as a concluding topic. It is well known that, though the -TIO, -SIO, -TAS formations are not dead in Romance, the greatest number of *abstracta* of really popular origin assume the form of feminine participles. We have, for instance, in Italian: *andata, entrata, sortita, vestita*; in French: *allée, entrée, sortie*, for a 'going,' an 'entrance,' an 'exit,' a 'sight,' etc.

The process dates back to Vulgar Latin as shown by forms in inscriptions like COLLECTA (G. III), EXTENSA (R. 83), (Grandgent, op. cit., p. 21). In some cases -TA has even replaced -TAS, as shown by the Romance substrata: POTESTA, O. F. *poeste*; TEMPESTA, Fr. *tempête*; PAUPERITA, O. F. *poverite*; SICCITA 'drought,' Ital. dial. *seccea* (cf. Sp. *sequedad*); AETTA (= AETAS) 'age,' Engad. *etta*.

To my mind the history of these feminine derivatives cannot be considered apart from that of the neuter and masculine formations in -TUS, -TUM, -SUS, -SUM.

Latin had inherited from Indo-European the verbal abstract derivation in -TU- represented also by the Sanskrit *gerundia* in -TWĀ, the Greek verbal adjective in *τέος*, etc. Hence the supines in -TUM and -TU and nouns like: PERCUSSUS, ACCITUS, ADAUCTUS, AMBITUS, RECESSUS, STRATUS.

One of the first symptoms of the disintegration of the Latin declensions was the assimilation of the U- declension to the O words: FRUCTI (Ter. Adolph. v. 2, 16); SPINTO, INTELLECTO, MAGISTRATI, GRESSO, etc., in the Vulgata; PORTICOS, ARCOS, JUSSO in inscriptions, etc. The immediate consequence was that the -TU, -SU abstract nouns had exactly the same form as masculine or neuter participles.

The *sermo plebeius*, like all popular forms of speech, had a tendency to render concrete the abstractions by using *nomina actionis* for the results of the action, just as many -TIO, -SIO words in Romance have become concrete: Fr. *chanson* 'song,' *maison* 'house,' *nourrisson* 'suckling,' *venaison* 'game,' etc. This evolution was the more rapid in Latin, since the Vulgar speech was in possession of many neuter participles that had become names of objects by the loss of the qualified noun: as STRATUM 'camp-bed,' DEPOSITUM 'de-

posit,' SPENSUM 'weight,' FORATUM 'hole' (Prov. *forat*, Sp. *horado*), ATTRACTUM 'supply' (O. F. *atrait*), etc.

The ancient -TU nouns were dragged into this series and became quite concrete: ADJECTUM (for ADJECTUS 'an addition') became a 'console' (It. *aggetto*); ACCENSUM was said of a spell (Sard. ACCISU); RECESSUM of a retired place (It. *cesso*); CANTUM of an enclosure (Sp. *cato*); CINCTUM of a girdle (It. *cinto*); MISUM of a dish (Fr. *mets*); VENATUM of game (Rom. *venat*, Sp. *venado*), etc. Now, most of these neuter words referred to concrete objects. By their side developed a series of feminine participles referring more often to things that cannot be counted, or to collectives. One had for instance by the suppression of AQUA:

CASICATA 'waterfall,' Sp. *cascada*.

FULTA 'deep water,' Neap. *fute*, Abruzz. *fote*.

EXCLUSA 'sluice,' Fr. *écluse*.

RECESSA 'ebb,' Ragusan *rekesa*.

By the suppression of VIA (as seen above):

CALCEATA road 'covered with lime stones,' Fr. *chaussée*.

RUPTA (road 'broken' through a rock, etc.), Fr. *route*.

STRATA 'strewn,' O. Fr. *estree* (Eng. street).

Other concrete terms of this kind were:

ARMATA, Fr. *armée*, Sp. *armada*.

ARRECTA (AURICULA), It. *dar retta* 'pay attention.'

CAELATA (CASSIS) 'vault' (H. *celata*).

CAESA (SAEPES) 'hedge,' Tyrol. *cesa*.

CAMINATA (CAMERA) 'chimney,' Fr. *cheminée*.

CONTRATA (TERRA), Fr. *contrée*, 'opposite region' (cf. Germ. *Gegend*).

FISSA (PARS) 'cunus, buttock,' Fr. *fesse*.

FRESA (FABA) 'shelled bean,' Prov. *freza*.

NEXA (PARS) 'bend of the knee,' Campid. *nescia*.

PASSA (UVA) 'dried grape,' Sard. *pabassa*, Sp. *pasa*.

SERRATA (HERBA) 'jagged plant,' It. *serrata*, *serradella*.

VALLATA (TERRA), Fr. *vallée*.

VOL(U)TA (CAMERA) 'vault,' Fr. *voûte*.

In many cases it is quite as probable that we have to do with neuter plurals:

ABLUTA 'removed dirt,' O. It. *biuta*.
 ACCISA 'taxes,' Fr. *accises*.
 ACCITA 'addition,' O. Sard. *Kita* 'suit.'
 ADAUCTA 'gratuities,' Wall. *awette, rawette*.
 DEBITA 'debt,' Fr. *dette*.
 EXCOCTA 'dairy,' It. *scotta*.
 IMPENSA 'ingredients,' O. Fr. *empoise*, Prov. *empeza* 'starch.'
 RE(N)DITA 'rent,' Fr. *rente*.

These collectives referred to "extensions," to things that can be measured rather than counted. Feminine forms were created after this pattern for all kinds of measurements:

ANNATA, It. *annata* 'crop of the year,' Fr. *année* 'work of a year.'
 BUCCATA, Fr. *bouchée* 'what is contained in the mouth.'
 CUBITATA, Fr. *coudée* 'a cubit,' 'elbow-length.'
 MANSIONATA, O. Fr. *maisniée* 'all the inhabitants of a house.'
 POLLICATA, Prov. *polgada* 'length of the thumb-joint, an inch.'

Analogous are:

ABSCISA 'what has been cut,' Oberwald. *ciza* 'hay-stack.'
 ASCIATA 'what has been cut,' Prov. *aissada*, Sp. *azada*.
 BIBITA 'what is drunk,' O. Fr. *boite* 'beverage.'
 CAEDITA 'what has been cut,' Tosc. *cetina* 'bushes.'
 COLLECTA 'what has been collected,' It. *colletta* 'crop.'
 FEMITA (= FIMUS), Fr. *fiente*, Sp. *hienda* 'manure.'

These words give the measure of an action as well as the measure of its results. In this way they may be considered as verbal nouns of action. This character is more evident in:

FALLITA 'failure,' Fr. *faute*.
 FUGITA 'flight,' Fr. *fuite*.
 PONITA 'laying of eggs,' Fr. *ponte*.
 PREHENSA 'taking,' Fr. *prise*.
 TENDITA 'shearing,' Fr. *tonte*.
 SEQUITA 'sequence,' Fr. *suite*.
 VENDITA 'sale,' Fr. *vente*.

In the latter cases abstract nouns may have been understood, such as *res*, *causa*, *pecunia*, but it would be an error to think that such words ever were expressed and that we have to do with abbreviations.

viated formations. These words, as we have seen so often in this article, exerted their influence by semantic association. The existence of a great number of feminine words that were abstract (-TIO, -TAS, -TUDO, -IA, -IES, etc.) was sufficient to cause the feminine to be felt to be more suitable for abstract nouns in the consciousness of the speakers. This is the way in which genders have been extended in languages. It is interesting to observe how in Vulgar Latin the use of the feminine for collectives and for abstractions has been developed partly through the absorption of the neuter plurals, partly through the development of the adjectival nouns connected with nouns referring to "extensions" like *TERRA*, *AQUA*, etc. By this process a situation has been created which, curiously enough, is nearer to what seems to have been the case in primitive Indo-European speech, with masculine as the normal *casus*; neuter as the fragmentary *casus* referring to things, instruments, diminutives; and feminine as the *casus* of extension, disindividualization, derivation, collectivity, abstraction. It is well known that the suffixes of the neuter plurals are originally the same as those of the feminine abstracts in -A, -IE, etc.

The consideration of the adjectival derivation in Vulgar Latin thus throws much light on the development of genders, because it shows more clearly than is generally the case the general truth that in a word one finds not only the symbol of some idea but the reminiscence of other ideas consciously or unconsciously associated with it in our minds. The word is a member of a series. If the use of metaphoric language had not become old-fashioned in linguistics we might say that the life of words is a life in society.

To sum up the results of this enquiry, it may be said that this article does not treat of the adjectival derivation as of something heretofore unknown, but tries to show that its importance has been insufficiently recognized; and it insists on the influence exerted on the whole Latin vocabulary by a type of word-development that may be characterized as the replacement of special terms by adjectival expressions associated with some generic vocable, expressed or understood. The further extension of these formations shows the tendency to develop the vocabulary after a serial process.

The study of this central question has given us, moreover, an

occasion for considering many *curiosa* of the Vulgar Latin vocabulary, such as the new picturesque terms referring to the calendar and the weather, to farm, farm-yard and farming, to homestead, trees and country. The study of Romance toponymy is but just begun, and this article will be a modest complement to the chapter of Meyer-Lübke's *Einführung* (pp. 222 to 255), as well as to Gröhler's *Französische Ortsnamen* and Buckeley's *Beiträge zur französischen Ortsnamenforschung*. The borderlands, notably Belgium, witnessed in the early Middle Ages a very curious interpenetration of the vocabulary of the invaders with that of the previous inhabitants. Several of these hybrid formations are here for the first time brought to the attention of Romance scholars. The extraordinary multiplication of the collectives in the language of the country just mentioned also deserved to be emphasized, as well as the curious tendency of the feminine gender in Vulgar Latin to return to its original extensional impersonal meaning. The development of the abstract nouns in -TA, so important in Romance linguistics, also called for a reconsideration, inasmuch as the explanations given, e. g., in Grandgent's *Introduction* (p. 21 ff.), were avowedly of a provisional character.

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THE TRISTRAN AND PERCEVAL CASKETS

IT is, of course, known to every one that our richest sources of illustrations to the medieval romances are the illuminated MSS. It is perhaps not so well known that the source next in richness is the product of the ivory and bone workers of the middle ages. Their carvings of secular motifs have survived in considerable numbers through the wear and tear of centuries, made of more lasting material than sculptures in wood or weaving of silk or wool. In the second half of the fourteenth century the Embriachi family of Venice produced a large number of carvings illustrative of the romances of Jason and the Knight of the Swan, and other tales.¹ Of the same period is a French casket depicting scenes from the Knight of the Swan romance, now in the possession of Col. George A. Gibbs of Tyntesfield, Somerset.² At the beginning of the fourteenth century there arose in Northern France, with its centre probably at Paris, a school of craftsmen which devoted itself to the task of supplying a demand among the wealthy burgesses and seigneurs for toilet articles in ivory. The precious product of Eastern jungles, cut in appropriate sizes and delivered over to the carver, would emerge from his hands in the form of a comb, a mirror-frame, a pair of writing tablets, or the plaques of a casket. The ivories, after being colored perhaps, would be exhibited in the shop or carried in the pack of a chapman, would be haggled over by haughty dame or snapped up by spendthrift lover, and would at last find a destination in the bower of castle or mansion.³

Among the caskets a common type, of which one finds examples at Cracow cathedral, in the British and South Kensington Museums, the Bargello, the Morgan Collection, New York, and the Economos Collection, Paris, presents a regular series of scenes.⁴ On the top

¹ *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XX, p. 220.

² Described in *Chevalere Assigne*, Early Eng. Text Soc., Ex. Ser., VI, p. vii.

³ *Revue de Paris*, 1909, VI, p. 376.

⁴ *Romanische Forschungen*, V, p. 241. *Art in America*, Dec. 1916. Bibliography in R. S. Loomis, *Illustrations of Medieval Romance on Tiles from Chertsey Abbey*, p. 12. S. de Ricci, *Exposition à l'Hotel de Sagan*, pl. 44. *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale*, 1898, No. 123.



FIGURE 1.



FIGURE 2.



FIGURE 3.

we see the siege and surrender of the Castle of Love, combined with a joust: on the front the humiliation of Aristotle, and either the Fountain of Youth or Pyramus and Thisbe: on the right side the meeting of *Tristan* and *Yseut* at the fountain, and the slaying of the unicorn: on the left side, *Enyas* and the wodehouse, and *Galahad* at the gate of the Castle of the Maidens: on the back, *Lancelot* on the Sword Bridge, and *Gawain* on the Perilous Bed, and his subsequent fight with a lion. Another common type of casket was that which illustrated the complete story of the *Chatelaine de Vergi*, of which examples are found at the Louvre, the British Museum, the Museo Archeologico, Milan, the Imperial Museum, Vienna, in the Collection Cl. Cote, Lyons, and the Morgan Collection, New York.⁵

From the same school, doubtless, issued two caskets likewise devoted each to a single story. These are a casket carved with scenes probably from the *Tristan* of Bérout,⁶ now preserved at the Hermitage Museum, Petrograd, and another illustrating the youthful adventures of *Perceval* as recounted in the *Conte del Graal* of Chrétien de Troyes, now preserved in the Louvre. These form the subject of the present article.

The first has been partially illustrated and very inaccurately described in F. Michel's *Tristan*, I, pp. lxxii ff. At the date of this publication, 1835, the casket was in the possession of Sir Samuel Meyrick, to whom it had been bequeathed by Francis Douce. Michel describes it as lacking a lid. It is now fitted with a lid, which, strange to say, the authorities of the Museum regard as the only piece of genuine medieval workmanship in the casket, the sides with

⁵ O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Ivory Carvings in the British Museum*, p. 124.

⁶ The bibliography of *Tristan* illustrations given in my *Illustrations of Medieval Romance on Tiles from Chertsey Abbey* may be improved as follows: to note 4 may be added, J. Lessing, *Wandteppiche und Decken des Deutschen Mittelalters*; to note 5, A. Overmann, *Ältere Kunstdenkmäler der Plastik*, etc., *der Stadt Erfurt*, p. 344; to note 8, A. Racinet, *Costume Historique*, IV, pl. 4, 5; to note 25, Von der Leyen and Spamer, *Altdeutsche Teppiche im Regensburger Rathaus*, pp. 4, 8. A casket in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, may be that partly figured in J. B. Waring, *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*. Scenes from the *Folie Tristan* appear on a casket described *Collection Basilewsky, Texte*, p. 196. A mirror-case at Hamburg is described *Berichte des Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe*, 1903. I hear also that a twelfth century casket has been discovered by Dr. R. Forrer of the Museum Elsässischer Altertümer at Strassburg, and that he intends publishing an extensive account of the same this year.

their comparatively long record being regarded as modern counterfeits. This is an unfortunate state of affairs, yet I think we may regard the modern work, whether executed before or since the casket was in English possession, as a faithful reproduction of medieval work. The designs have a convincing character, a character such as no forger working before 1835, when Michel's plates appeared, could possibly have attained without following line for line some genuine original. We can then feel secure that the casket as here reproduced approximates closely a rendering of the Tristan story by a medieval craftsman. Its design cannot be the fanciful invention of a modern.

Prof. Golther in his *Tristan und Isolde in der Dichtungen des Mittelalters*⁷ describes the casket as based on the version of Thomas, and I somewhat carelessly in my *Illustrations of Medieval Romance on Tiles from Chertsey Abbey*⁸ merely qualified that description by the word "mainly." A more careful study of the casket, however, has convinced me that the scenes follow rather the version of Bérout, the remaining fragment of which was published by Michel in the very volume with his reproductions, and in 1903 was edited for the Société des Anciens Textes Français by E. Muret. According to M. Muret, the poem consists of two parts: ll. 2-2756, and 2767-3031. The first of these is properly to be attributed to Bérout, a Norman poet writing about 1165. The second part was written about 1200 by a continuator.⁹ Later scholars seem cautious as to the dual authorship,¹⁰ but they agree with M. Muret that the first part seems akin to the version of Eilhart von Oberge, whereas the second part seems related, though more remotely, to that of Thomas.¹¹

The front of the casket (Fig. 1) presents three episodes from a part of Bérout's work which has not survived, though there can be little doubt that he treated them. The first is the drinking of the

⁷ P. 411.

⁸ P. 10.

⁹ Bérout, *Tristan*, ed. Muret, pp. lxiv f.; same editor, *Bérout*, in *Classiques Français du Moyen Age*, Paris, Champion, 1913, pp. viii, ix.

¹⁰ W. Golther, *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters*, p. 105. G. Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, p. 9.

¹¹ Bérout, ed. Muret, p. xxiv.

magic philtre on Yseut's voyage from Ireland to Cornwall. Bérout makes Yseut refer to the incident in this wise:

“ — la poison
Que nos beumes en la mer.
Ce fist Brengain qu'i dut garder :
Lasse ! si male garde en fist.”

Ll. 2206-09.

The carving presents a boat on the water, the princess Yseut fondling a pet dog, a youth, perhaps Tristan, offering her a hanap, another youth apparently urging her acceptance, Brengain with her small cask, now empty, and a helmsman with two guiding oars.

In the middle just below the lock appears a second scene, the first delirious embrace of the lovers; Tristan, kneeling, embraces Yseut, who bends over and places her hands on his shoulders. The third scene shows us the reception of Yseut by her destined husband on her arrival in Cornwall. Brengain fondles her mistress's dog, Tristan points to the bridal pair, and Mark clasps the hands of Yseut in welcome.

One of the small sides (Fig. 2) reveals the plot of the marriage night. Brengain has been persuaded to substitute herself for her mistress, and in the carving she appears in the bed beside Mark, while on the right the queen steals away with her lover.

The lid (Fig. 3), which we remember is the one part of the casket said to be actually from the hands of a medieval craftsman, shows us on the left a famous scene, the meeting of the lovers at the fountain and their discovery of Mark's presence by the reflection of his face in the water. The tale runs to the effect that Mark, suspecting the queen of infidelity, is informed that she is secretly to meet Tristan beside a fountain, and seats himself beforehand in the branches of a tree which overhangs it. The lovers keep their tryst. Bérout's fragment begins in the middle of the scene which follows. Yseut later, telling Brengain of the perilous experience, says:

Mais li rois Marc estoit en l'arbre,
Ou li perrons estait de marbre:
Je vi son ombre en la fontaine.
Dex me fist parler premeraine:
Onques de ce que je i quis

N'i out mot dit, ce vous plevis,
 Mais mervellos complaignement
 Et mervellos gémissement.
 Jel blasme qu'il me mandot,
 Et il autretant me priout
 Que l'acordase a mon seignor,
 Qui, a grant tort, est a error
 Vers lui de moi; et je li dis
 Que grant folie avoit requis,
 Que je a lui mais ne vendroie
 Ne ja au roi ne parleroie.
 Ne sai que je plus racontasse.
 Conplainz i out une grant masse;
 Onques li rois ne s'aperçut
 Ne mon estre ne desconut.
 Partie me sui du tripot.

Ll. 349-69.

According to Thomas's version, Mark was betrayed by his shadow thrown by the moonlight on the ground,¹² This lid, therefore, accords with the version of Bérout.

The other scene depicts Mark again deceived as to his wife's innocence. Discovering certain evidence of her passion for Tristran, he delivers her over to a band of lepers. Tristran rescues her, and carries her away to the forest of Morrois. There they live in a lodge of boughs and leaves, packed with earth. One day one of Mark's huntsmen discovers them asleep there, and brings his master to the spot. Mark enters with drawn sword, and lifts it to destroy the pair:

Quant vit qu'ele avoit sa chemise,
 Et qu'entre eus deus avoit devise,
 La bouche o l'autre n'ert jostee,
 Et quant il vit a nue espee
 Qui entre eus deus les desevert,
 Vit les braies que Tristran out:
 "Dex!" dist li rois, "ce que puet estre? . . .

Ll. 1995-2001.

Je lor ferai tel demostrance
 Que, puis que il s'esvelleront,
 Certainement savoir porront

¹² *Tristramsaga*, ed. Kölbing, ch. LV.



FIGURE 4.



FIGURE 5.



FIGURE 6.

Qu'il furent endormi trove
Et q'en a eu d'eus pite,
Que je nes vuel noient ocire,
Ne moi ne gent de mon empire. . . . Ll. 2020-26.
Le rai qui sor la face brande,
Qui li fait chaut, en vuel covrir;
Et, qant vendra au departir,
Prendrai l'espee d'entre eus deus
Dont au Morhot fu le chief blos."
Li rois a deslie les ganz:
Vit ensamble les .ii. dormanz;
Le rai qui sor Yseut decent
Covre des ganz mout bonement. Ll. 2034-42.

The back presents three scenes (Fig. 4). The first reveals with medieval frankness Tristan and Yseut lying in the bed of love. There is no hint as to the particular occasion.

In the next compartment is a scene which also points to Bérουλ. as its source. When Mark again suspects the fidelity of Yseut, she undertakes to clear herself by oath. She bids Tristan meet her train at a certain marsh called the Mal Pas, wearing the disguise of a leper:

" .I. hanap porte o soi de madre,
Une botele ait desoz
O corioie atachie a noz;
A l'autre main tienge .i. puiot,
Si aprengde de tel tripot." Ll. 3304-08.

In a later passage he is described as follows:

Il fu en legne, sanz chemise;
De let burel furent les cotes,
Et a quarreaus furent ses botes.
Une chape de burel lee
Out fait tallier, tote enfumee. Ll. 3572-76.

When at the Mal Pas all the rest of the company, including Mark, have crossed the marsh, Yseut dismounts and drives her palfrey across with a whip. She then makes Tristan approach. He, after a show of reluctance, takes her on his back:

Ses cuises tient sor son puiot;
 L'un pie sorlieve et l'autre clot:
 Sovent fait senblant de choier,
 Grant chiere fait de soi doloir. Ll. 3939-42.

Li rois Artus cele part torne,
 Et li autre trestot a orne.
 Li ladres ot enclin le vis:
 De l'autre part vint el pais;
 Yseut se lait escolorgier. Ll. 3953-57.

The scene here clearly represents Yseut as slipping from the leper's back into the arms of a knight who approaches to receive her. This scene would not be consonant with the Thomas version, where the point is made to lie in the queen's falling to the earth beside the disguised Tristan.¹³ Although we may not distinguish in the carving the leper's staff, yet the object depending from his waist may be identified with "the bottle with a thong attached by a knot."

In the third compartment, Yseut takes oath "qu' entre ses cuises nus n'entra que il meseaus qui la porta . . . et li rois Marc, ses esposez." Bérout relates that the ceremony of purgation took place in the Blanche Lande, where the pavilions of the two kings and their courts were pitched:

Un drap de soie a paille bis
 Devant le tref au roi fu mis:
 En Cornovalle n'ot reliques. . . .
 Sor le paille les orent mises,
 Arengies, par ordre asises. Ll. 4127-38.

Arthur remonstrates with Mark but he remains firm. The queen enters between them. Arthur then bids her clear herself of the charge:

"Seignors," fait el, "por Deu merci.
 Saintes reliques voi ici.
 Or escoutez que je ci jure,
 De quoi le roi ci aseure:
 Si m'ait Dex et saint Ylaire,
 Ces reliques, cist saintuaire,
 Totes celes qui ci sont

¹³ *Ibid.*, ch. LVIII.

Et totes celes par le mont,
 Qu'entre mes cuises n'entra home,
 Fors le ladre qui fist que some,
 Qui me porta outre les guez,
 Et li rois Marc mes esposez."

Ll. 4199-210.

The carver has depicted the queen on her knees, placing her hands upon what may be either a reliquary or a book. A bishop and a king stand near by. It is, perhaps, significant that the red hot iron essential in the Thomas version is here absent.

The last side (Fig. 5) presents a scene from the latter part of the story, which is not dealt with in what we possess of Bérout's poem. It contains elements from two scenes in Thomas, however, so that it is not difficult to recognize its purport. Thomas relates that once on Yseut's leaving Mark's palace to attend service in the high church, Tristan in the disguise of a leper, with bowl of wood and clapper, asks alms of her, and despite the threats and blows of her attendants, follows her into the chapel, and knocks on his mazer to attract her attention. She turns upon him in anger, but discovers that the bowl is one she had given Tristan, and thereupon recognizes him. She takes a ring from her finger and is about to cast it into the bowl, when Brengain notices the action, recognizes Tristan in her turn, and has him thrown out.¹⁴ On another occasion, according to the Saga, Tristan and Kaherdin, providing themselves with the costume of pilgrims, sail from Brittany to England, and there learning of the queen's approach upon a certain road, place themselves in her way, though not it would appear availing themselves of their disguises. Yseut at once recognizes Tristan, but fearing to betray herself, throws him a ring and says, "Ride on, strange knight, and seek harborage for thyself, and do not stay our journey."¹⁵ We have reason to believe, however, that here the Saga may not represent closely the original of Thomas, and M. Bédier in his reconstruction follows rather the version of *Sir Tristrem*. This narrates that when Tristan and Kaherdin have observed the Queen's cavalcade from an overhanging tree, Kaherdin rides after the Queen. As he holds her in conversation, he strokes the hound Petitcru so that she observes Tristan's ring on his hand. To her query as to

¹⁴ Thomas, *Tristan*, ed. Bédier, ll. 1796-1854.

¹⁵ *Tristramsaga*, ed. Kölbing, ch. LXXXVII.

how he came by the ring, he replies, "He who owned the ring sent it for a token."^{15a}

On the casket we find evidently Tristran and Kaherdin in the long pilgrim's robe, equipped with pouch and staff. Tristran holds out his begging bowl. Yseut, apparently riding forth on pleasure, as the hawk on the fist of her attendant would indicate, has recognized him, and drops her ring into the bowl by way of recognition. Can we accept this composite episode as forming a part of the lost conclusion of Bérout?

The question rests mainly, of course, on the evidence that the other carvings are based on Bérout. The evidence of the lid, which points pretty clearly to Bérout rather than Thomas, must be set aside because we cannot be sure that the lid originally belonged with the sides. Nor do most of the sides show any decisive feature. Yet the two scenes connected with the Ambiguous Oath point clearly to Bérout. While it may be urged that the figure of the bishop is derived from the Thomas version as we know it from the Saga,¹⁶ yet that may have been a detail naturally supplied by the carver's imagination. On the other hand, the crucial points of these two scenes as found in Thomas, namely the falling of Tristran with Yseut to the ground and the carrying the red-hot iron, are omitted and instead we have representations that harmonize readily with Bérout's account. As a slight confirmation we have the details of Tristran's disguise, the bottle and the cape, coinciding with Bérout's narrative. The final scene also with its curious composite of features derived from Thomas is of precisely the character which we should expect from the continuation of Bérout, whose episodes according to Dr. Schoepperle, "seem to be variants of incidents found respectively in Thomas, Bérout, and the Prose Romance."¹⁷ It will, of course, be asked, "What of the lost versions of the Tristran romance?" I will readily concede that a final dictum on the subject is not warranted in our present state of ignorance as to these versions. But we may at least reply that the researches of Dr. Schoepperle have shown that the hypothetical source for the various extant Tristran versions is most closely represented by the *Tristrant* of Eilhart von

^{15a} *Sir Tristrem*, ed. Kölbing, st. 281-4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. LIX.

¹⁷ *Tristan and Isolt*, p. 9.

Oberge.¹⁸ Now the French poem which furnished the matter for Eilhart could not have been the basis of our casket: for in Eilhart's version (1) the potion was drunk during a rest ashore; (2) Mark was accompanied in his watch in the tree by a dwarf; (3) the episode of the Ambiguous Oath is entirely omitted; (4) and on the occasion when Tristran and Gouernal came to Cornwall in the disguise of pilgrims, they did not present themselves to Yseut on the road. We are then thrown back either on Béroul or an entirely unknown version. There is, in my opinion, sufficient harmony between the casket and what we know of Béroul to lead us to accept tentatively the theory that the original carver was familiar with Béroul and based his designs on that version.

Another casket deriving from the same workshop as that we have been discussing is now in the possession of the Louvre. Of its previous history we know little, except that it was once in the Sauvageot Collection. The lid contains the figures of St. Christopher, St. George, St. Martin, and St. Eustace. The four sides of the casket present in low relief scenes from the early life of Perceval as recounted in the *Conte del Graal* of Chrétien de Troyes, written between 1174 and 1177. The only other illustrations of the Perceval story outside the manuscripts known to me are to be found on a sixteenth century tapestry at the museum of Brunswick.¹⁹ K. J. Benziger has published a book entitled *Parzifal in den Deutschen Illustrierten Handschriften*, and Potvin's edition of Chrétien's poem contains a few line engravings from illuminations of his MS.

On one side of our casket (Fig. 6) we see the youth Perceval with a bow over his shoulder, kneeling in prayer before three knights in full panoply, their shields sprinkled with flower designs. Perceval is described at a slightly later point in the story as equipped with²⁰

De kanevas grosse cemise
Et braies faites a la guise

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁹ H. Riegel, *Führer durch die Sammlung Mittelalterlicher Gegenstände*, No. 37.

²⁰ Baist's edition of the *Conte del Graal* has not been accessible to me, and accordingly all the following extracts have had to be made from Potvin's inferior edition.

De Gales u l'en fet ensamble
 Braies et cauces, ce ma samble,
 Et si ot cote et caperon,
 Clos de cuirs de cers environ. Ll. 1693-98.

Apparently the craftsman drew some of his details from this description. Chrétien relates that the youth went out into the forest and cast his javelins for sport until he heard

Venir .V. chevaliers armes
 De toutes armes acesmes. Ll. 1315 f.
 Et, quant il les vit en apert
 Que del bos furent descovert,
 Et vit les escus formoians
 Et les haubiers clers et luisans;
 Et les lances et les escus
 Que onques mais n'avoit veus,
 Et vit le vert et le vermel
 Reluire contre le solel,
 Et l'or et l'asur et l'argent,
 Si li fu moult biel et moult gent,
 Et dist "Ha! sire Dex, merchi.
 Ce sont angle que je voi ci. . . . Ll. 1339-50.
 Ci voi-jou Damledieu, je quic. . . . L. 1358.
 Et jou auerrai cestui
 Et tous les autres avoec lui."
 Maintenant vers tere se lance
 Et dist trestoute sa creance
 Et orisons que il savoit,
 Que sa mere apris li avoit. Ll. 1365-70.

When the knights had told the youth their real character, he returned to his mother bent on repairing to Arthur's court and winning for himself the glorious degree of knighthood. The first compartment on the back of the casket (Fig. 7) apparently shows him receiving her advice before his departure (ll. 1702-92).

The next compartment is described as follows:

Quant li valles fu eslongies
 Le get d'une pierre menue,
 Se retourne et si voit cheue
 Sa mere au chief del pont arriere,



FIGURE 7.



FIGURE 8.



FIGURE 9.

Et giut pasmee en tele maniere
Com s'ele fust keue morte.

Ll. 1814-19.

The third compartment shows him riding away on his courser :

Et cil s'en va, ki pas n'agrupe,
Ains l'enporte, grant aleure,
Parmi la grant foriest obscure.

Ll. 1822-24.

He carries two javelins instead of the one specified in ll. 1799-1803.

The fourth compartment shows Perceval kissing the damsel whom he found alone in the tent :

Li valles avoit les bras fors,
Si l'embraca moult nicement,
Car il nel sot faire autrement ;
Mis l'a sor lui toute estendue,
Et cele s'est moult deffendue
Et gandilla kank'ele pot ;
Mais deffense mestier n'i ot ;
Que li valles, en un randon,
Le baisa, vosist-ele u non,
.Xx. fois, si com li contes dist.

Ll. 1894-1903.

The third side reveals Perceval at Arthur's court (Fig. 8) :

Et li valles entre a ceval
En la sale, ki moult fu lee
Et longe, de marbre pavee.
Li rois Artus estoit assis
El cief d'une table, pensis.

Ll. 2096-2100.

Arthur courteously tells the youth of the Red Knight, who has carried away his cup and poured the contents on the queen :

Fait li valles : " Biaux sire rois,
Ne serai chevaliers des mois
Se chevaliers vermaus ne sui :
Dones-moi les armes celui
Que j'encontrai devant la porte,
Qui vostre coupe d'or enporte."
Li senescaus, ki fu blecies,
De ce qu'il ot sest corecies
Et dist : " Amis, vos aves droit ;
Ales li tolir orendroit

Les armes, car eles sont vos;
 Ne feistes mie que sos
 Quant vous pour çou venistes ci."
 "Kex," fait li rois, "por Dieu, merci.
 Trop dites volentiers anui.
 Si ne vous caut onques a qui." Ll. 2187-2202.

The figures on the left are doubtless Kay and the prophetic damsel. For as Perceval was about to ride out of the hall, a damsel who had not laughed for ten years, cried out laughing:

"Et saces ke il avendra
 Qu'en trestout ce monde n'aura
 .II. mellours chevaliers de toi." Ll. 2233-35.

And Kay, leaping up,

Si li done cop si estout
 De sa paume en la face tenre
 Qu'il le fist a la tiere estendre. Ll. 2242-44.

Perceval thereupon rides forth to meet the Red Knight, followed by the "sergeant" Yonet, and his adventures with him are depicted on the front of the casket (Fig. 9). The youth demands the arms of the Red Knight, and threatens to beat him if he delays:

Lors fu li chevaliers iries,
 Sa lance a a .ii. mains levee,
 Si l'en a donne tel colee
 Par les espaulles en travers,
 De la u n'estoit pas li fiers,
 Qu'il l'a tout embroncie aval
 Jusques sor le col del ceval;
 Et li varles s'est courecies,
 Quant il senti qu'il fu blecies
 De la colee qu'il ot prise;
 En l'uel, au mius qu'il pot l'avise,
 Et let aler son gaverlot
 Si qu'il n'entent ne voit ne ot,
 Sel fiert parmi l'uel el cervel,
 Et, d'autre part le haterel,
 Le sanc et la cervelle espant. Ll. 2294-2309.

The third compartment is elucidated by these lines :

Et li varles descendi jus ;
Si met la lance a une part,
Et l'escu del col li depart ;
Mes il ne sait venir a cieff,
Del hiaume qu'il a sor son cieff,
Qu'il ne set coment il le pragne ;
Et s'a talent qu'il li descagne
L'espee, mais il nel set faire,
Ne del fuere ne le puet traire ;
Ains prent le fuere et sace et tire. Ll. 2312-21.

The last compartment presents the half humorous situation where the ingenuous youth refuses to allow the squire, Yonet, to take off his good waterproof skins and substitute the silk gambeson of the Red Knight.

Mout grief cose est de fol aprendre :
Riens fors les armes ne vot prendre,
Por proiere que on il face.
Yones les cauces li lace,
Et sor les revelins li cauce
Les esporons desor la cauce. Ll. 2366-71.

Prof. Émile Bertaux has said of the work of these ivory carvers :

“Même sur les pièces les plus finement ciselées, les figurines, trop petites, ne peuvent rien exprimer des grandes amours. L'histoire de Tristan et d'Yseult se réduit à un badinage d'enfants.”²¹

Readily it may be admitted that these caskets convey but feebly, if at all, the emotional significance of the scenes they depict : yet who will not find in their childish conventionalism a certain naïve charm, such as renders the coming of an illuminated manuscript a rare delight ?

ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS

URBANA, ILL.

²¹ *Revue de Paris*, 1909, vol. VI, p. 384.

CHAUCERIANA.—I

I.—CHAUCER'S *Clerk's Tale* AND A FRENCH VERSION OF HIS ORIGINAL

IT is well known that the *Clerk's Tale* of Chaucer follows, in the main, Petrarch's version of Boccaccio's last story in the *Decameron*, and it seems to have been assumed without question that Chaucer was directly dependent upon Petrarch's Latin, without the assistance of any intermediary. In fact, Tatlock expressly declares, with respect to one such possible intermediary, against Chaucer's use of it.¹ My purpose in this paper is to establish the probability that this intermediary, the *Ménagier de Paris* (ed. Pichon, Paris, 1846), was actually utilized by Chaucer in the composition of the *Clerk's Tale*. The indications to this effect naturally vary in evidential force, but a clear statement of each will enable the reader to judge of their relative cogency.

1. Chaucer twice speaks of Griselda as falling to the ground in a swoon, once² after Walter acknowledges his children, and again³ after she has tenderly embraced and addressed them. Petrarch knows nothing of an actual swoon, but merely declares that she was nearly dead with joy, and mad with affection (*pene gaudio exanimis et pietate amens*), while the *Ménagier* (1. 123) tells of one swoon: "Oyant les paroles de son mary cheist devant lui toute pasmée à terre."

2. Chaucer says of her faint:

O, which a pitous thing it was to see
Hir swowning (1086-7).

¹ Having said (*Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, pp. 156-7), "His [Petrarch's] version and its authorship were known in France as early as 1392-4, for it is the avowed source of a part of the *Ménagier de Paris*," he adds in a note: "There is not the least evidence, as a brief comparison will show, that Chaucer ever saw this version."

² Whan she this herde, aswowne doun she falleth
For pitous joye (1079-80).

³ Al sodeynly she swapte adoun to grounde (1099).

The French has (I. 124), but with reference to her transports over her children: "C'estoit grant pitié à veoir." There is nothing of this in the Latin.⁴

3. Griselda holds her children so tightly

That with greet sleighte and greet difficultee
The children from hir arm they gonne arace (1102-3).

This corresponds to the French (I. 123): "L'en ne les pouoit oster d'entre ses bras."

4. Chaucer several times employs the word *sergeant* to designate the bailiff or constable who took away the children (thus 524, 539, 548, 582, 673):

A maner sergeant was this privee man (519).

The same word occurs in the French (I. 109): "Le marquis appella un sien subject; . . . le commist au sergent." It also occurs three times on p. 109, three times on p. 110, and four times on p. 113. The Latin has "unum suorum satellitum," "satelliti," "satellitem," once each. It seems obvious, then, to assume that Chaucer borrowed his word from the French version; that "sergeant" would not have occurred to him without some such definite suggestion is perhaps indicated by his phrase, "a maner sergeant," though it is true that he employs the same term ("serjaunts") in one other place (*Boethius* 3, p. 5) to render "satellite."

5. The sergeant said nothing,

But took the child, and wente upon his weye (574).

The French has (I. 110): "Le sergent se parti de la marquise, emportant sa fille." The Latin has only: "Reversus ad Dominum."

6. When Walter sets out to betroth himself to Griselda, he has with him lords and ladies,

And of his retenue the bachelrye,
With many a soun of sondry melodye (270-1).

⁴ Where this is the case, I shall in future say nothing of the Latin.

This evidently reflects the French (I. 104): "Ménestrels et héraulx suivoient."

7. When Walter first calls Griselda,

Doun upon hir knees she gan to falle (292).

The French has (I. 104): "A genoulx."

8. In the same context,

And she set doun hir water-pot anoon (290).

The French has (I. 104): "Grisilidis mist sa cruche à terre"; and just before: "Grisilidis apportoit sur sa teste une cruche pleine d'eaue."

9. When Janicula covers his daughter with her old coat, he is "ful sorwefully wepinge" (914); so in the French (I. 118), "tout larmoyant."

10. Among the jewels prepared for Griselda are "broches" (255), where the French has (I. 103) "fermaulx." Elsewhere (382) the same French word (I. 106) is rendered by "nowches."

11. "Ful of gemmes clere" (779) renders (I. 116) "parée . . . de joyaulx." The Latin has nothing more specific than "præclaroque conspicuam ornatu."

12. Chaucer (1137) speaks of Walter's son as fortunate in marriage. Here the French has (I. 124): "Quant son fils fut en aage, il le maria."

13. Chaucer imputes blame to Walter:

Save in somme thinges that he was to blame (76).

I blame him thus, that . . . (78).

The French has (I. 100): "Un vice estoit en lui, car . . ." The Latin is milder: "Vir insignis, nisi quod . . ."

14. Walter's people say to him:

So wel us lyketh yow
And al your werk (106-7).

The French has (1. 100): "Toy et toutes les choses qui sont en toy nous plaisent." The Latin omits *you*: "Tua nobis omnia placeant."

15. After his marriage,

Thus Walter lowly, nay but royally,
Wedded with fortunat honestetee,
In Goddes pees liveth ful esily
At hoom, and outward grace ynogh had he (421-4).

The French has (1. 107): "Et ainsi le marquis et Grisilidis vivoient joyeusement . . . en paix et en repos, à la grâce de Dieu, et dehors à la grâce des hommes." The Latin reads: "Sic Gualtherus humili quidem, sed insigni ac prospero matrimonio, honestatis summa domi in pace, extra vero summa cum gratia hominum vivebat." Here Chaucer's "Goddes" seems to be reflected from the French "de Dieu."⁵ The latter contrasts the grace of God with the grace of

⁵ My colleague, Hendrickson, has a different theory concerning this word and Petrarch's "honestatis" (*Mod. Phil.* 4. 191-2): "The text is obviously corrupt, and we should doubtless read: 'humili quidem sed insigni ac prospero matrimonio *honestatus*,' etc.—though it is not safe to suggest even so simple a correction without a better knowledge of the actual condition of the evidence of the MSS. But the same corruption is found in the marginal entry of the Ellesmere MS, and it would therefore seem probable that Chaucer found it and owed to it his use of the word *honestetee*. For the words which follow,

In goddes pees liveth ful esily
At hoom, and outward grace ynogh had he,

the words of Petrarch are: 'Summa domi in pace extra vero summa cum gratia hominum vivebat.' It would seem here that Chaucer has added merely the word *goddes*. But the marginal entry of the Ellesmere MS presents the interesting variant 'Summa dei in pace.' It would seem, then, that Chaucer's copy must have presented both readings *dei* and *domi* ('in goddes pees—at hoom'), one in the text and the other in the margin or above the line, though concerning their exact relation it is impossible to speak. Of course, nothing can be done in problems of this sort until we have a thorough collation of the Petrarch MSS containing the story, and I have touched upon this one point, somewhat rashly I know, merely for the sake of indicating by a concrete illustration a most imperative prerequisite to any intelligent study of Chaucer's relation to Petrarch—a critical text of Petrarch's tale."

With reference to the "Dei . . . pace," it may be observed (1) that the marginal notes are very carelessly written, or are copied from a poor manuscript,

men, disregarding the antithesis of "domi" and "extra"; Chaucer contrasts "at hoom" with "outward," but condenses "en paix et en repos," à la grâce de Dieu" to "in Goddes pees." Neither the French nor the English translator is quite clear about "honestatis . . . pace." Petrarch's antithesis seems to be not only between "domi" and "extra," but also between "honestatis summa . . . in pace" and "hominum summa cum gratia." The former might conceivably be interpreted in the sense of Cicero's "cum dignitate otium," but if Petrarch were thinking of Cicero, we should rather expect "cum pace honestas." *Honestas* sometimes means "honorable character" in classical Latin, so that one might even think of "the peace resulting from their nobility of nature." Petrarch, however, may have had the Vulgate in mind, for in Baruch 5. 4 he would have found, in "pax justitiæ," a construction similar to his own (similarly the Septuagint; cf. Num. 25. 12), and elsewhere (Wisdom 7. 11, 13⁷; 8. 18; Eccclus. 11. 14; 24. 23) *honestas* in the sense of "riches" (translating the Greek *πλοῦτος*). We may, therefore, suppose him to have meant something like "the peace of opulence." The French "joyeusement" perhaps reflects this sense, and "joyeusement" may, in turn, be reflected in Chaucer's "ful esily," since Petrarch's "prospero" is doubtless rendered by Chaucer's "fortunat" (cf. B 3965-7).

16. Chaucer has:

As he on hunting rood paraventure (234).

French (I. 103): "En alant à son déduit"; Latin: "Illac transiens."

17. "Lumbardye" (46); French "Lombardie" (I. 99).

as a few examples, selected from a larger number, will show (the references are to the pages and lines of Petrarch's Latin in *Originals and Analogues*, pp. 151 ff., the readings of the Ellesmere MS. being in each case the second): 153⁶ sed Padi: Padi; 157⁷ expedita: expeditis; 157⁹ Dum Gualtherus cogitabundus incedens: Quum Walterus cogitabundus cedens; 157²⁶ invenere: invenit; 158¹ repugnantia: impugnacione; 158¹³ jussit: jusserit; 159¹³ hæc: ac; 159¹⁴ obibat: subibat; 159²⁸ cepit: cepit; 159²⁸ doctiores judicent: om.; 161²⁶ nulla tristitia: om.; 163¹⁹ cœperat: cepit; 170¹³ audeant: audeat; 170¹⁵ tentet: temptat; (2) the "Dei" might conceivably be a rendering back into Latin of Chaucer's "Goddes."

* Chaucer has "reste and pees," 487; "pees and reste," 1132; "reste and ese," 434; "in concord and in reste," 1129; "reste," 160, 741; "pees," 638. The French has (I. 115): "la paix et repos."

† The *New Eng. Dict.*, under Honesty (I. I. c), fails to recognize this meaning in the Wycliffite rendering.

18. "A fair persone, and strong" (73); French (I. 100): "Bel de corps, fort."

19. "On a day" (86); French (I. 100): "Une journée."

20. "Han pitee" (142); French (I. 101): "Meu de pitié."

21. "Into chambre" (1115); French (I. 124): "En une chambre."

22. "Hir glade chere" (1045); French (I. 122): "La bonne chière."

23. "Retourneth to your fadres hous" (809); French (I. 116): "Va t'en en la maison ton père"; Latin: "in antiquam domum . . . revertere."

24. "He caste adoun His yën two (668-9); French (I. 113): "La chière basse"; Latin: "Turbato vultu."

25. "Al his contree" (615); French (I. 111): "Tous ceulx du païs."

26. Chaucer has:

God hath swich favour sent hir of his grace (395).

French (I. 106-7): "De la divine grâce resplendist icelle povre dame Grisilidis en telle manière"; Latin: "Tantum divini favoris affulserat."

27. "Magnificence" (815); French (I. 116): "Magnificence"; Latin: "Magnitudinem."

28. "Poverté" (816); French (I. 116): "Povreté"; Latin: "Humilitatem."

29. "Dowaire" (848); French (I. 117): "Douaire"; Latin: "Dotem."

30. "Dispoilen" (374); French (I. 106): "Despouilliée toute nue"; Latin: "Nudari."

31. "Rude peple" (750); French (I. 115): "Peuple rude"^a; Latin: "Alpestribus rudisque animis."

32. "I truste in Goddes bountee" (159); French (I. 101-2): "Espérant en sa douce bonté"; Latin: "Sperans de sua solita pietate."

33. "In tyme cominge" (79); French (I. 100): "Au temps à venir"; Latin: "Futurorum."

34. Chaucer has:

And Walter was this yonge lordes name (77).

French (I. 100): "Fut appelé Gautier"; Latin: "Gualtherus quidam."

35. "Castel" (287); French (I. 102): "Chastel"; Latin: "Palatio."

36. "Obeisant" (66); French (I. 100): "Obéissoient"; Latin: "Pertineret."

37. Chaucer has:

Lordes and ladyes in his companye (268).

French (I. 104): "Chevaliers et dames à grans routes"; Latin: "Prosequente virorum et matronarum mobilium caterva."

38. "Streyne" (144); French (I. 101): "Contraignez"; Latin: "Cogitis"; "Constreyned" (527); French (I. 109): "Contraint"; Latin: "Coactus"; "Constreyneth" (800); French (I. 116): "Contraignent"; Latin: "Cogunt."

39. "Chaunge my corage" (511); French (I. 109): "Mué mon courage"; Latin: "Animum mutare"; "Changed of corage"

^a MS. 7387 of the Bibliothèque du Roi has: "Gens simples et rudes."

(709); French (I. 114): "Changement de couraige"; Latin: "Mutatio."

40. "Estaat" (958); French (I. 120): "Estat"; Latin: "Dignitate."

41. "Grucche" (170); French (I. 102): "Groucier"; Latin: "Litiget."

42. "Saluces"⁹ (63); French (I. 99): "Saluces"; Latin: "Salutiarum."

43. "Pemond" (44); French (I. 99): "Pimont"; Latin: "Pedemontium."

44. Chaucer has:

A markis whylom lord was of that londe,
As were his worthy eldres him bifore (64-5).
Therwith he was, to speke as of linage,
The gentilleste yborn of Lumbardye (71-2).

French (I. 100): "D'ancienneté a esté gouvernée . . . par aucuns nobles et puissans princes, . . . desquels l'un des plus nobles et plus puissans fut appellé Gautier"; Latin: "Marchionum arbitrio nobilium quorundam regitur virorum, quorum unus primusque omnium et maximus fuisse traditur Gualtherus quidam."

45. "Withouten feynting" (970); French (I. 121): "Ne m'en feindray"; Latin: "Neque fatigabor."

46. "Chamberere" (819); French (I. 116): "Meschine"; Latin: "Servitio."

47. Similarity of rhythm: "Thy feith and thy benignitee" (1053); French (I. 123): "Ta vraie foy et loyaulté"; Latin: "Fides . . . tua."

Chaucer has:

And ful of honour and of curteisye (74).

French (I. 100): "Riche d'avoir et de grant seignourie."

⁹ Tatlock (see p. 210, note 1) calls attention to this as a French form.

48. Direct for indirect discourse: "Lord, he is al redy here" (299); French (1. 104): "Il est à l'hostel"; Latin: "Illum domi esse."

49. Tatlock has pointed out¹⁰ that in l. 31 of the *Clerk's Tale*, 17 out of 24 Chaucer manuscripts, including all those of the Six Text, read "Petrak," and that 14 out of 17 (again including all of the Six Text) have the same reading in l. 1147. The French version (1. 99) has: "Maistre François Pétrac qui a Romme fut couronné poëte."

The question can not fail to be raised whether, supposing Chaucer to have made use of a French version, this is the particular one that he drew upon, seeing that Legrand d'Aussy was acquainted with more than twenty such.¹¹

This matter could not, of course, be positively determined without an examination of all the extant French versions. Judging, however, from the beginnings of three of these, it would seem that Chaucer is more likely to be indebted to that of the *Ménagier*. The latter begins: "Aux confines de Pimont en Lombardie, ainsi comme au pié de la montaigne qui devise France et Ytalie, qui est appelée ou païs Mont Vésée, a une contrée," etc.; MS. 12,459 of the Bibl.

¹⁰ *Dev. and Chron.*, p. 159.

¹¹ *Fabliaux et Contes*, 3d ed., 2. 297: "La quantité de versions en prose qu'on fit de ce conte au quatorzième siècle prouve la grande réputation qu'il avait dès-lors. J'en ai trouvé plus de vingt différentes sous les titres de *Miroir des dames*, *Enseignement des femmes mariées*, *Exemple des bonnes et mauvaises femmes*, etc." In an appendix (pp. 16-17) he gives an extract from MS. 7387 of the Bibliothèque du Roi, covering the events from the pretended dispensation by the Pope till after Griselda's return to her father's house.

Hazlitt, in Warton's *Hist. Eng. Poetry* (London, 1871, 2. 350), notes the existence of a version in MS. 7999 of the Bibliothèque du Roi, besides that of the *Ménagier*. Pichon knew of several manuscripts; thus he says (*Ménagier* 1. 99, note): "Il y a à la Bibl. Roy. plusieurs manuscrits de traductions anciennes de Grisélidis. J'en ai examiné quatre. La version du *Ménagier*, toute différente de celle du no. 7387, diffère légèrement de celles des nos. 7403 et 7568, mais est tout à fait la même que celle du no. 7999."

These are in addition to the mystery of 1395 (MS. 7999. 3), an extract from which was given by Legrand d'Aussy, vol. 2, Appendix, pp. 17-8, and which has been published in a somewhat modernized form by Taurines et Tourasse (Paris, 1910), the former of whom has promised an edition of the original, with a comparative study of the Griselda-story. There is, besides, an edition by Groeneveld, 1888.

du Roi (15th century) begins: "Au pié des monts, en un coste d'Ytalie"; MS. 20,042 (A. D. 1436) has: "Aupres des mons en un coste d'Ytalie"; MS. 7167 (15th century) of the Bibliothèque du Roi has¹²: "En la terre de Saluces, qui siet assez près des Mons, à ung costé d'Ytalie." Now Chaucer begins his tale with the lines,

Ther is, at the west syde of Itaille,
Doun at the rote of Vesulus the colde,
A lusty playne,

while in the prologue (43 ff.) he tells how Petrarch, in a proem, describes

Pemond, and of Saluces the contree,
And speketh of Apennyn, the hilles hye,
That been the boundes of West Lumbardye,
And of Mount Vesulus in special.

Petrarch begins: "Est ad Italiæ latus occiduum Vesulus ex Appennini jugis mons," and only later, referring to the region which he first mentioned, adds: "Ab eorum [mountains] quibus subjacet Pedemontium nomen tenet. . . . Inter cætera ad radicem Vesuli, terra Salutiarum," etc. In the *Ménagier*-version, then, we have the proper names represented in English by Piedmont, Lombardy, and Vesulus, the second of which is not mentioned by Petrarch, while all three are mentioned by Chaucer (44-7). Moreover, the *Ménagier* has the proper noun, Pimont (Petrarch's Pedemontium), while the other two French versions have: (1) "Au pié des mons"; (2) "Aupres des mons"; (3) "Assez près des Mons."

Another consideration bearing on the dependence of Chaucer upon the version in the *Ménagier* is to be found in the fact that he may well have found in the latter (1. 186-235) the original of his *Tale of Melibeus*, though the exact form of his source has not yet been determined.¹³ If he was dependent for either the *Melibeus* or

¹² Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roi* 5. 436.

¹³ See Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben* 2. 373-4; Tatlock, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-2; Wells, *Manual*, p. 707. Tatlock says (p. 191): "The *Tale of Melibeus* is in general translated very faithfully from the French original, as I find after a complete detailed comparison"; and he adds (note 1) that this original is most accessible in the *Ménagier*, though he affirms: "This work, which was written 1392-4, there is no evidence that Chaucer ever saw"; and again (note 2):

the *Clerk's Tale* upon the *Ménagier*, this would render it probable that he was for the other also, and that would date both after 1392-4. But, as the *Melibeus* was incorporated into the *Ménagier* in a version written a generation or more earlier,¹⁴ so the translation of Petrarch's tale may have been already in existence before the *Ménagier* was composed. How long it may have taken for the tale to reach France and be translated must be a matter of conjecture, but it is reasonable to suppose that it may have required several years. On Nov. 3, 1374, more than three and a half months after Petrarch's death, Boccaccio was begging for a copy of his friend's last letter¹⁵ and his version of the Griselda-story.¹⁶ Before Petrarch's patrons and friends in Italy were supplied, some time would elapse, and considerably more before copies would be sent abroad.

Moreover, I particularly desire, if you can manage to obtain it without too much trouble, a copy of the long letter, the last he wrote "Chaucer's MS. of the French was rather different from that published in the *Ménagier*, and better." Mätzner, who had evidently looked with much care into the French manuscripts accessible to him, says that Chaucer's version might have been from any one of them, but adds (p. 374): "Daher nennen wir auch den französischen Text des *Ménagier* ohne Weiteres das Original."

¹⁴ By Renaut de Louens, who in 1336 or 1337 translated Boethius; cf. Gröber, *Grundriss der Rom. Phil.* 2¹. 747, 1025; Vayssière, *Renaut de Louens*, 1883; Paulin Paris, *op. cit.* 5. 55. Gröber (p. 1025, note 4) enumerates twenty manuscripts, and adds "etc." Pichon mentions another, MS. 7072 of the Bibliothèque du Roi, and Skeat (Chaucer, *Works* 3. 426) two manuscripts in the British Museum. There was an earlier version, of the thirteenth century (Gröber, p. 1025); indeed Pichon says (*Ménagier* 1. 186, note) that, in all, it was translated three times into Old French.

¹⁵ *Senil.* 17. 2 (16.2 of the Basel edition of 1581) beginning, *Epistola status tui*; see Mather, in *Mod. Lang. Notes* 12. 4. Mather is somewhat inaccurate in copying the Latin of Boccaccio's letter, besides misdating it (Nov. 7, following Corazzini's Italian version, instead of Nov. 3). Thus he writes *Luysius* for *Luysius noster*, *perire* for *periere*, and *sumpiunt* for *surripiunt*, adding in a note: "The form *sumpiunt* in the passage quoted in the text is no extreme instance of Boccaccio's latinity."

¹⁶ Corazzini, *Le Lettere Edite e Inedite di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio*, p. 384 (with changes in punctuation):

Præterea summo opere cupio, si commodum tuo fieri potest, copiam epistolæ illius quam ad me satis longam et extremam scripsit, in qua, credo, sententiam suam scribebat circa ea quæ sibi scripseram, ut tam assiduis laboribus suis amodo parceret; sic et copiam ultimæ fabularum mearum, quam suo dictato decoraverat. Misit tamen ipse ambas has, ut frater Luysius noster de Ordine Eremitarum asserit, verum desidia portitorum in itinere periere—credo opere presidentium præsentationibus, qui sæpe indigne surripiunt et sui juris injuste faciunt. Scio tibi laboriosum erit, sed confidenter amico desideria aperienda sunt.

me, in which, I believe, he uttered his mind about my suggestion that he should somewhat abate his arduous labors; I should also much like a copy of my last tale, as he improved it by his rendering. Both of these he did send me, as I was told by Brother Luigi [Marsili], of the Order of Hermits, but they were destroyed on the way by the negligence of the carriers—I suspect through the fault of those who have charge of the deliveries,¹⁷ who frequently appropriate letters, and arbitrarily commit injustice. All this will be an imposition on you, I know; but may not one boldly communicate one's wishes to a friend?

Of the French versions of the tale already referred to,¹⁸ two manuscripts are assigned to the fifteenth century, and another distinctly bears the date of 1436.¹⁹ But the clearest indications of which I am cognizant are the facts (1) that the mystery-play on

¹⁷ The original, *presidentium presentationibus*, is not clear to me; Corazzini, "che presiedono alle presentazioni"; Körting (*Boccaccio's Leben und Werke*, p. 347), "jene vornehmen Herren . . . haben den Boten die Briefe abgedrängt." One meaning of Ital. *presentazioni* is "record-office."

¹⁸ See above, p. 218.

¹⁹ The first French translations from Boccaccio date from the early years of the fifteenth century. That from his *De Claris Mulieribus*, probably by Laurent de Premierfait, appeared in 1401, forty years after the original was completed (cf. Körting, p. 733). The *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, from 1373 or later (Körting, p. 730), was translated by Laurent in 1409, and thus became the foundation of Lydgate's *Falls of Princes* about 1430. The *Decameron* (ca. 1353) was not translated by Laurent till 1414, after three years of labor, and then from a Latin version made by Antonio d'Arezzo for the express purpose (Paulin Paris, *op. cit.* I. 242, 244; cf. *ibid.* I. 229-260; 5. 119-122; Hortis, *Studj sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, pp. 613 ff., 638 ff.; Gröber, *Grundriss d. Rom. Phil.* 2^a. 1106-7). The interval between the composition of Petrarch's *De Remediis Utriusque Fortune* and its translation into French by Jean Daudin was much shorter than in any of the foregoing cases: it was finished on October 4, 1366 (Körting, *Petrarch's Leben und Werke*, p. 542), and translated about 1378 (Delisle, in *Notices et Extraits* 34. I. 273, 290). If Petrarch's Griselda-story were translated as soon after its composition as the *De Remediis*, that would have been not earlier than 1385.

It is curious that, as late as 1409, Laurent supposed that the tale of Griselda, and, in fact, the whole *Decameron*, was written in verse. At the close of a manuscript (No. 6799, Bibl. du Roi) of his version of the *De Casibus Virorum* occurs a metrical characterization of Boccaccio, in Latin and French. In the latter we find (Paulin Paris, *op. cit.* I. 251):

De Griselde marquise de Saluces l'histoire
En rime florentine mist digne de mémoire,
En quoi ont les espouses miroir de patience;
Et cent fables compta en rime de Florence.

the subject is dated 1395, and (2) that in the same year the epistle of Philippe de Mézières to Richard II refers to his reading "la cronique autentique du dessus dit marquis de Saluce et de Griseldis, . . . escripte par le solempnel docteur et souverain poète, maistre François Petrac" [sic].²⁰ Singularly enough, then, the few data that we thus far have—from the *Ménagier*, the mystery-play, and the epistle to Richard—all point to the first lustrum of the decade 1390–1400. But whether the date of the French version in question be after or before 1390, it certainly is late enough, if we assume that Chaucer used it, to dispose of Skeat's assumption (Chaucer, *Works* 3. 455) that "the main part of the Clerk's Tale was probably written in 1373 or early in 1374,"²¹ and of Pollard's view (*Globe Chaucer*, p. xxv) that there is a general agreement in the belief that he wrote his English version of Petrarch's Latin shortly after his return to England from the Genoese mission of 1373.

II.—"NAYLED IN HIS CHESTE"

Speaking of Petrarch, Chaucer says in the *Clerk's Tale* (l. 29) :

He is now deed, and nayled in his cheste.

It is somewhat singular, and has not, I believe, been hitherto noticed, that the second statement of the line is apparently destitute of truth. Petrarch, so far as we can ascertain, never was nailed in his chest, or coffin. The account of his funeral, written by two chroniclers of the period, father and son, Galeazzo and Andrea Gataro, is as follows¹ :

There were present at his funeral [having journeyed a dozen miles for the purpose] Messer Francesco da Carrara, Prince of Padua, the heads of the University, the Bishops of Vicenza, Verona, Treviso, and Padua, with the abbot, priests, monks, and friars, and all the clergy of Padua and the region about, together with a multitude of knights, doctors, and students, and numerous torch-bearers.

²⁰ Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 26. The epistle is summarized in Kervyn de Lettenhove's edition of Froissart (15. 377–382), but the summary does not include this passage.

²¹ Skeat adds: "The test of metre likewise suggests that it was one of his early works. The closeness of the translation also proves the same point."

¹ *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 17. 213–4.

The body, covered with cloth of gold,² was borne on a bier, under a baldachin of cloth of gold lined with ermine, by sixteen University Doctors, from his house to the church of St. Mary in Arquà, where the sermon, including an enumeration of twenty-four works by Petrarch, was delivered by Fra Bonaventura da Peraga, afterwards cardinal. Not long after there was constructed for him a sarcophagus of red stone after the ancient manner, in which he was deposited,³ the whole being placed upon four columns, and situated in the churchyard.

The chroniclers, it will be observed, say nothing of a coffin, though in Andrea's account of the funeral of Petrarch's patron, Francesco da Carrara, in 1393, there is mention of two—an inner coffin of lead, and an outer of cypress.⁴ Perhaps this was the custom of the times in the case of princes and other magnates; at least, the body of Otto, Marquis of Montferrat, was buried at Parma with spices in a leaden coffin in 1378 (see my monograph, *The Last Months of Chaucer's Earliest Patron*, p. 109).

On May 27, 1630, the sarcophagus at Arquà was broken into, and certain of the bones stolen. One of the contemporary documents describing this event asserts that the stone was first broken, and afterwards the coffins⁵; but Meneghelli, writing on the subject in 1843,⁶ after the restoration of the tomb by Count Carlo Leoni,

² Cittadella (*Storia della Dominazione Carrarese in Padova* 1. 351) says, on the basis of a comparison of various chroniclers, that the body was covered with a flame-colored garment, the dress of the Paduan canons, while it was the bier that was covered with cloth of gold. This seems more likely.

³ Six years after his death, according to Fracasetti, *Lettere di Francesco Petrarca* 2. 349; cf. Körting, *Petrarca's Leben und Werke*, p. 453.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 17. 815: "Messo in una cassa di piombo, e poi in un'altra di cipresso." These coffins his son caused to be opened on the 18th of November at night (his father having died at Monza on October 6). There lay the embalmed body, arrayed in cloth of gold, with gilded sword and spurs, and many rings on its fingers, before the dead prince's sons and grandsons; and, seeing him thus lie, the younger Francesco burst into tears, and exclaimed: "This was the lord your grandfather, and my father, who in great victories overcame others, and now is himself overcome" (*ibid.*).

Since the cypress coffin could thus readily be opened and closed, one thinks of it as fashioned with screws, rather than nails.

⁵ "Le casse in cui era serà quel corpo" (Ferrazzi, *Enciclopedia Dantesca* 5. 599).

⁶ *Brevi Cenni intorno la Ristaurazione della Tomba di Fr. Petrarca (Opere Scelte* 2. 262).

denied the existence of any coffin, and stated that the body lay on a bare plank of larchwood,⁷ with only a cloth over the feet:

La seguita apertura assicurò gli astanti che le reliquie di quella spoglia preziosa non sono chiuse in una cassa, come riferiscono alcuni cronisti, ma poste sopra una nuda tavola di larice, e che le sole estremità stanno coperte da un pannolino.

As Petrarch's body lay uncoffined on its bier, and was found uncoffined the first time⁸ that his tomb was opened, though the plank on which he lay was still in existence after 469 years, it would seem difficult to prove Chaucer's assertion, whenever it was made, that he was "nayed in his cheste." But perhaps Chaucer meant nothing more than that Petrarch was securely dead.⁹

III.—Prologue 1-8

Whan that Aprille with his shoures sote
The droghte of Marche hath perced to the rote,
And bathed every veyne in swich licour
Of which vertu engendred is the flour;
Whan Zephirus eek with his swete breeth
Inspired hath in every holt and heeth
The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne
Hath in the Ram his halfe cours yronne. . . .

The "licour" of *Prol.* 3 is fecund. Its vital energy, when the "veins," or sap-vessels, of plants, have been suffused in it, produces the flower. Is it itself the sap, or is it merely the rain of April converted into moisture approximating sap, and readily passing into it? Who shall say? Does April bathe every vein in her sweet showers—and are these the "licour?"—or in their own sap? Chaucer, in

⁷ The body of St. Dominic was found at Bologna in 1383 to be enclosed in a coffin of larchwood (*capsam ligneam ex larice*), well nailed (Ghirardacci, *Historia di Bologna* 2. 396; but cf. 395).

⁸ Save for the corner broken away in 1630, which was soon restored (Ferrazzi, p. 604). The tomb was opened on May 21, 1843.

Petrarch's body was no doubt embalmed, since he died in the night of July 18-19, and the funeral did not take place till July 24. It must be remembered that he was fully six feet tall, and much inclined to portliness in his later years (Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums*, 3d ed., 1. 105, note 1).

⁹ Cf. D 502.

his artful-artless fashion, has here left a problem none too easy to resolve. It may help toward a solution if we can discover whence he derived the general notion. This, notwithstanding the parallels that Skeat adduces, may not improbably have been derived, at least in part, from Petrarch's *Sonnet 9*, "Quando'l pianeta":

Quando 'l pianeta che distingue l'ore
 Ad albergar col Tauro si ritorna,
 Cade virtù da l'inflammate corna
 Che veste il mondo di novel colore;
 E non pur quel che s'apre a noi di fore,
 Le rive e i colli, di fioretti adorna,
 Ma dentro, dove già mai non s'aggiorna,
 Gravidò fa di sè il terrestre humore;
 Onde tal fructo e simile si colga.¹ . . .

Here the influence of the sun, piercing through to the underground darkness, renders the terrene fluid pregnant from itself, a "sappy liquor . . . with fulness sweld," and thus productive of flowers and fruit. If this be indeed Chaucer's source—which the correspondence of Petrarch's "virtù" and "fioretti" with Chaucer's "vertu" and "flour"² renders still more probable—it would appear that it is the water of the sweet showers that, distilled through the alembic of the soil, becomes charged with generative vigor.³

¹ Thus rendered by Cayley:

When 'gins that planet, which divides the affairs
 Of Time, to make with Taurus his abode,
 A power is from the fervent horns destowed,
 Which the world's raiment with fresh hues repairs.
 Nor decks he merely that outside, which bears
 Our sight, in banks and hills that blossoms load;
 But inwardly, where never daylight glowed,
 The moister earth his impregnation shares;
 And hence these crops and others of their kind.

² Observe the correspondence between Petrarch's first rhyme and Chaucer's second.

³ Different, but somewhat analogous, is the conception of the generative principle in reference to plant-life which we find in Dante, *Purg.* 25. 77-8:

Guarda il calor del sol che si fa vino,
 Giunto all' umor che dalla vite cola.

(Look at the heat of the sun which becomes wine, joined to the moisture which percolates from the vine-plant.) Cf. *Conv.* 3. 12. 59-60; 4. 23. 68-72.

It may be objected that Chaucer mentions Aries, and Petrarch Taurus; but there is only an apparent discrepancy. Skeat has pointed out that any time between April 11 and May 1 will satisfy the conditions. The sun has already issued from the Ram, and is accordingly in the Bull—just as in Petrarch's sonnet. Then there is nothing antecedently improbable in Chaucer's using Petrarch as a source, seeing that he translated the sonnet, "S'Amor non è," in *T. and C.* 1. 400-420. Both authors may, however, be indebted to Guido delle Colonne and Vincent of Beauvais, as quoted by Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer* 5. 2.

Before leaving the Chaucerian passage, it may be worth while to note a possible reminiscence in Spenser (*F. Q.* 2. 2. 6):

Of those [waters], some were so from their sourse indewd
By great Dame Nature, from whose fruitfull pap
Their welheads spring, and are with moisture deawd;
Which feedes each living plant with liquid sap,
And filles with flowres fayre Floraes painted lap.

iv.—*Troilus and Criseyde* 5. 817

The line,

That Paradys stood formed in hir yen,

seems to repose upon Dante, *Par.* 18. 21¹:

Che non pur ne' miei occhi è Paradiso.

See *Mod. Phil.* 15. 13, and cf. Shakespeare, *T. and C.* 4. 4. 120: "The lustre in your eye, heaven in your cheek"; Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster* 3. 2: "How heaven is in your eyes"; Milton, *P. L.* 8. 488: "Heaven in her eye."

It is well known that lines 1863-5 of Chaucer's same book are from Dante, *Par.* 14. 28-30.

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¹ Cf. *Conv.* 3, *Canz.* 2. 55-7; *Conv.* 3. 8. 34-7; 3. 15. 9-12.

REVIEWS

The Literary History of Spanish America. By ALFRED COESTER, PH.D. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1916. 8vo, pp. xii, 495.

Of all the huge areas on earth occupied more or less by civilized folk none has been accorded relatively so scant an international recognition as the region south of the United States. The several countries and their inhabitants have been surveyed with an eye to economic exploitation and measured in terms of political incapacity, but in most other respects they have been left out of consideration. In this realm of omission the absence of regard for purely intellectual achievement is conspicuous. And yet this is just the factor in the life of the southern peoples of the New World which the foreigner must learn to appreciate, if ever he hopes to understand them. Still more is the statement true if he wishes to act as their spokesman or interpreter. Without such an appreciation of the things of the mind and the spirit, Pan-Americanism as a form of international fellowship will continue to be a stock feature of postprandial effusions and little else.

So far as abundance of material is concerned, no one able to read the English language need go hungry for certain kinds of information about the eighteen republics of Spanish origin. Their fortunes or misfortunes as colonies, the vicissitudes through which they have passed as independent nations, and the opportunities they offer to the business man, the publicist and the scientist, have all been laid under contribution with varying degrees of success. But the number of works that endeavor to mark the stage of intellectuality reached by the Spanish Americans is extremely small. If the seeker after knowledge of this sort strikes off from the common highway into the bypaths of thought and imagination, he promptly discovers that his ignorance of Spanish is a bar to further progress. When, therefore, a kindly guide appears to lift the bar and proffers a helping hand, the service is one that calls for due acknowledgment.

This service has been rendered by Dr. Alfred Coester in his *Literary History of Spanish America*. It deserves recognition, both because of the intrinsic merits of his work, and because of the fact that it is the first book on the subject in any language. The story it tells is lucid, readable and instructive. The work possesses also the unique interest that always attaches to the deeds of the pioneer. Accordingly its merits and its defects alike should be discussed at a length proportionate to such interest, and with the candor that its qualities justify.

In his preface Dr. Coester apparently accepts the judgment of Mitre, the Argentine statesman, historian and poet, that, in spite of their copiousness and the bond created by a common language, the writings of Spanish Americans do not constitute a Spanish-American literature (page viii). The argument on which this thesis rests is, that the writings in question have no logical unity and afford no evidence of an "evolution toward a definite goal." From it the conclusion follows that the literary productions of Spanish Americans are properly to be regarded, "not as models, but as facts, classified as the expression of their

social life during three periods, the colonial epoch, the struggle for freedom, and the independent existence of the several republics." On such an assumption the plan of the work has been constructed. Its contour is moulded along the broad lines of political history.

Realizing, however, the undesirability of making his characterization of Spanish-American writings quite so rigid, Dr. Coester observes (page viii) that the judgment to be rendered on the value of Spanish-American literature depends entirely on the point of view from which its study is approached. If the critic holds that the productions are merely a branch or suborder of the genus Spanish, or that they are largely an imitation of French models, he is thinking of form and not of substance. Both the significance and the originality of Spanish-American literature, on the contrary, spring in spontaneous fashion from the difference between the situation in the New World and that in Spain or elsewhere in Europe; they are characteristics that rise naturally out of the history and the language, out of the geographical phenomena and the social life, of the countries with which they are associated. Accordingly, while the form has been more or less imitative successively of Latin, Italian, Spanish and French patterns, and has followed the varying phases of the classical, romantic and naturalistic schools, the subject matter in the main has been original (page x).

With reference to the difficulty of securing in this country the materials needed for his labor, Dr. Coester emphasizes the fact that the library of the Hispanic Society of America, and that of Harvard University, are the only ones that contain really valuable collections of works by Spanish-American authors. Though bibliographies, biographical encyclopedias, historical sketches, essays and anthologies abound, it is only in the cases of Argentina, Venezuela and Uruguay that histories of their respective literatures have been written. Even these are defective in various ways. Given the character of his sources of information, the author frankly admits the possibility that he may have misjudged some writers, and have left out of consideration others well worthy of inclusion.

The precise function of the present work is declared to be that of guidance for "an English-speaking American . . . who desires a better acquaintance with the mentality of his Spanish-American neighbors." Since what it describes is an "extremely provincial type of literature," great masterpieces need not be expected. What one may hope to learn, instead, is the effect produced on Spaniards by their removal to the New World, the mental and psychological differences between national types, and the reason for revolutionary disturbances. Greater respect, also, may be gained for countries that have struggled for freedom and stability, and a corresponding appreciation won for the deeply religious sentiments of the peoples concerned, even if nothing more is noted than the Christian names of the men of literature (pages x, xi). Whether the work fulfils all these expectations the reader will have to judge for himself.

According to the choice and arrangement of his material, Dr. Coester evidently has linguistic Spanish America in mind. This is made to comprise both the region formerly under the dominion of Spain and the various political or geographical units in which Spanish is still the dominant speech. The first three chapters and the closing one deal with the broader concept, and the intervening ones with the individual countries, or with groups of them. Since the conditions of life under the rule of Spain, and the community of aims during the struggle for independence, imparted a certain similarity to literary productions, one

chapter is allotted to the colonial period and two to the age of the revolution. These make up about one fifth of the volume. Then, since the attainment of freedom enabled each country to pursue "its own course in literature as in politics," the literary contributions of the individual republics, together with Puerto Rico, are described in ten chapters, eight of which deal with Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico and Cuba respectively, one treats Peru and Bolivia, and one, collectively, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and "Central America"—the last being a designation for the six states situated there. The final chapter is devoted to an account of the "modernista movement" in Spanish America at large. A bibliography and an index conclude the volume.

So far as the literary scope is concerned, the limits of the book are declared to be such as to "allow only a casual mention of the most important works of purely historical or scientific content. Periodicals, on the other hand, have demanded attention because, as the means of immediate publicity . . . , they have often played a considerable rôle . . . and now supply the investigator with much material" (page xi). In both the geographical and the literary sense the proportions are quite well distributed, except that Paraguay is omitted altogether, Bolivia is dismissed with a paragraph or two, and the account of the colonial period is unduly brief.

The objects, plan and scope of the work having thus been indicated, the precise nature of its contribution to knowledge is now to be discussed. At the outset the reader familiar with conditions in the countries under survey is disposed to ask why Dr. Coester chose the title "Literary History," rather than "History of Literature." Quite apart from the point whether or not he believes that there is no such thing as "literature" in the region concerned, and apart also from the avowed limitation of scope, he does not state specifically his determination to include chiefly products of the imagination alone. The implied distinction he makes, therefore, between "literary" and "literature" is not entirely obvious. If it has to do with the difference between works in which expression and form, associated with ideas of permanent and universal interest, are essential features, and writings that are designed solely to furnish information, he restricts the definition of the word "literary" to limits that are somewhat unusual. Ordinarily not history alone, but biography, essays and the criticism of literature, are regarded as "literary" productions. The Spanish Americans themselves, when treating the development of thought and imagination in their own countries, "usually include a consideration of historical writings" (page xi). If so, were Dr. Coester thoroughly familiar with what often passes for history among them, he might not have put most of it outside the pale of works of the imagination! The same could be said, also, of the voluminous mass of political writings, many of which are apt to impart less knowledge of concrete affairs than to reflect mental and psychological moods or attitudes, and to reveal besides a talent for rhetorical eloquence frequently beautiful in diction. At all events his plea for allowance, "on account of the character of his sources of information" (page xi), is hardly sufficient to cover his omission of such writers as Carlos Calvo and José Ingenieros, and his extremely brief allusion to José Toribio Medina and José Enrique Rodó.

What the work really supplies is an introductory record of achievement mainly in the fields of poetry, romance and the drama. It provides a more or

less appropriate historical background, biographical sketches of many of the authors cited, a descriptive outline of their chief works, and some characterization of the literary output of the countries concerned, and within the limits chosen. On the other hand, as a rule it does not indicate the sources of a given work, its nature, its qualities and the actual position it occupies in the intellectual productivity of the area under consideration. What the volume does furnish, instead, is a series of biographical and descriptive items and not a critical evaluation of literary accomplishment, of types and characteristics, of the phases through which they have gone, of the influences, alike foreign, national and local, by which they have been affected, of the spirit and of the trend of a people's mind and soul as revealed by their literature. General characterization of the writings of a particular country is rarely vouchsafed. In its absence the reader has to construct it out of data scattered through the chapter. Just in what the literary genius of Spanish America at large, or of any part of it, really consists, in what kinds of intellectual endeavor a given state excels, are features none too clear in the body of the work.

Only when the chapter on the "modernista movement" is reached, and the tacit help of Blanco Fombona's writings has been invoked, is a systematic effort made to trace the development of foreign influences on Spanish-American thought as a whole, or on that of any Spanish-American country, to point out what is inherently Spanish American, what is derived from Spain, France or other European states, or from other lands in the New World itself. But even here, after the reader has traversed the literary vicissitudes of so many separate countries without being enabled adequately to realize how much or how little they were interrelated, suddenly to be told in the first sentence of the chapter in question that the "year 1888 may be adopted to make a date for the most recent movement in Spanish-American literature" (page 450), is a bit disconcerting. The serious student cannot help starting to grope for the "Spanish America" he left at the close of the third chapter. Nor is his feeling of bewilderment lessened when, on further perusal, he can discover no explanation of how the term "modernista" originated, and has, besides, to compose a definition of it out of statements scattered through pages 450, 451, 467, 468 and 473.

Perhaps none of the desiderata above mentioned is properly to be expected in a "literary history," as distinguished from a "history of literature." In that case, and to the extent that the omission of any of them is permissible, the reviewer is simply stating what he had hoped somehow to find, regardless of the indication carried by the title. That his quest was not rewarded in the measure of his assumptions, therefore, would be a circumstance not attributable to any fault of the author, but simply to a licit divergence of opinion between the author and the reviewer—who, on his own part, does not pretend that an acceptance of his views is indispensable for the attainment of perfection! Neither should they, nor the observations to follow, be regarded as partaking of the nature of harsh or meticulous criticism, for nothing of the sort is intended. On the other hand, it seems reasonable to protest a bit at the assortment of names and titles which the volume provides, distant though such an assortment is from the array that a Spanish-American writer, subject to a like temptation, might have presented. Dr. Coester, surely, could have kept some of the lesser lights extinguished and, instead, have advanced the greater ones to a higher luminosity by

turning on more power in the elaboration of his descriptions in individual cases, and also by furnishing the reader who does not understand Spanish with a larger number of translations from representative works. In other respects, however, the susceptibilities of this kind of reader are quite scrupulously heeded.

Given the absence of any express statement that the volume is designed to serve merely as an introduction to the subject, the difficulties of discovery and control of material to which the author alludes in his preface might seem to render the covering of so huge a field a venturesome performance. It would have been wiser, perhaps, to have selected for treatment one country, or at the utmost a group of countries affiliated in a more intimate manner than their fellows. That the larger task has been attempted is a tribute doubtless to both the ambition and the good will of the author; but its effective realization was precluded from the outset when once it is considered that many of the works themselves were not available for his personal examination, and when it is obvious that he has never visited the region from which they come. Everywhere in the volume not only the language used but the way in which the works are approached would seem to show that in most cases dependence is placed upon histories of literature, accounts of intellectual development, biographical sketches and anthologies written or compiled by Spaniards and Spanish Americans. The frequent mention of the names of critics and their opinions, and impersonal statements such as "little praise is accorded" (page 116), evidence an indebtedness, for facts, descriptions and estimates, to the writings of other scholars which should have been directly avowed rather than left to the implications of the text itself. Apposite footnotes would have been decidedly serviceable in this regard, though practically none is given. While it would be unfair to assert that the work is mainly a translation of excerpts from Spanish writings, historical and critical, arranged in a form suitable for readers of English, it can hardly be averred, either, that the task of original investigation has extended very far beyond a compilation of that sort. Useful though the text is, it displays quite often a lack of personal handling and evaluation of the works under review.

It is true that the "broad lines" of political history have been taken "as a guide through the maze of print" (page viii); but those lines on a good many occasions are rather crooked. Due allowance of course must be made for the fact that the work is not a "history," except in the "literary" sense. Even so, the frequency of errors and dubious statements (pages 3, 5, 6, 13, 30, 40, 41, 46, 52, 62, 77, 79, 83, 103, 104, 125, 245, 261, 304, 431, 444) would suggest the desirability of a more accurate antecedent knowledge of the historical background. For example, the first book printed in America was the *Escala Espiritual*, and neither the title nor the authorship of the one mentioned on page 5 is correct. Histories did not "make up the bulk of what was written about America and in America" during the colonial period (page 6). Of the eight sentences constituting the second paragraph on page 40, seven are quite erroneous. The form of government which the rebellious colonies set up was surely not "that of a democracy" (page 41). Neither Markham nor Mitre is always a reliable mentor in matters where absolute impartiality is a requisite (pages 46, 52). The correspondence of Bolívar, as edited by Blanco Fombona, is far from "voluminous" (page 77), except in the Pickwickian sense that the selections offered are contained in a single volume! García Calderón's work, though in a meas-

ure "authoritative," hardly includes the "whole history of Latin America" (page 261). In fact it is not primarily a history at all. Whether Spain had any such policy as that of "maintaining the creoles in ignorance" (page 304), is exceedingly doubtful. The Dominican Republic (not "Santo Domingo") is situated in the eastern, and not in the southern, part of the island of Haiti (page 431).

Several matters not of historical import call for comment. Foreignisms, or odd expressions, occur on pages 5, 7, 14, 20 and 23. The meaning of the last sentence on page 75 is obscure. Just why literature in Venezuela "reflects the progress of its people toward a higher state of culture," any more than it is apt to do in most countries, and why the periodical should have been any more serviceable as a literary vehicle there than elsewhere, are queries that the text on page 305 might naturally evoke. There is something wrong, also, about the physical identity of Ima-Sumac (page 30). The story about Doña Dolores Veintemilla de Galindo, told on page 212, is repeated with little variation on page 269. "Cartas de relación" (page 485) is not the name of a periodical. The name "Philip" is repeatedly misspelled, and the orthography of "Guadalupe" (pages 80, 490) is plainly incorrect. Typographical slips occur on pages 27, 221, 477, 478, 483 and 485. Cartagena de Indias was the name of the Colombian city (page 69); O'Donojú was that of the last viceroy of New Spain (pages 83, 491); de Rosas, that of the Argentine chieftain (page 106); Chincha, that of the islands off the coast of Peru (page 214), and "del Uruguay," the termination of that of the "República Oriental" (page 169). The accentuation, furthermore, of Spanish names is far from being either uniform or correct. If New Spain is called "Nueva España," assuredly the second syllable of "Peru" and the first syllable of "Mexico" should have an accent. Alike in the text, the bibliography and the index are found such examples of misplacement or omission of diacritical marks as Álvarez, Leon Valdes, Ines, López, Itzaingo, Academia, Merou, Amerique, America (as a Spanish word), Martir, Melian, Alvaro, Mexia, científico, Saenz and Salome. The system of capitalization adopted in the bibliography, also, might be revised to advantage.

At the beginning of his bibliography (page 477) Dr. Coester states that the names of "only those books most useful to the student" will be given; but he affords no explanation as to the criteria by which the selection in this field, so novel to the reader of English, has been made. Treatises in Spanish, recent and having a high degree of usefulness, like those by Sánchez, Santos González and García Godoy, are not mentioned. Even the "old faithful" Lagomaggiore is ignored. Something more than García Calderón's work is needed to supply a non-literary background. The colonial period, certainly, does not suffer from a surfeit of titles, and the same is true of some of the individual countries. It might not have been amiss, also, to have alluded to earlier treatises in English on Spanish-American literature, as, for example, those by Ramsey and Currier.

For additional information about Spanish-American authors and their productions, Dr. Coester refers the inquirer to an article of his published in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*. On this point, however, it might be suggested that the interests of such inquirer would have been served better if the portions of that article bearing on the subject matter of the present volume had been inserted in the bibliography. A complete list of the authors mentioned in the text, of the titles, dates and places of publication of their works, would have been a valuable

accessory on the spot, not only for the purpose of facilitating reference, but as a means of impressing more graphically on the reader's mind the actual extent of Spanish-American contributions to literature. So, too, a list of the productions of Spanish-American writers which have been translated into English would have been altogether desirable. The index, finally, should have been made to include the titles of individual literary works, and the names, also, of the several countries of Spanish America.

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Un Humaniste Toulousain, Jehan de Boysson (1505-1559). By R. DE BOYSSON, Chevalier de Malte, Commandeur de Saint-Grégoire-Le-Grand. Préface de G. Prévot-Leygonie, professeur à la Faculté de Droit de Poitiers. Paris, 1913; pp. xiii, 244. (Reprinted from the *Bulletin de la Société scientifique, historique et archéologique de la Corrèze*.)

After Guibal's *Jean de Boysson ou la Renaissance à Toulouse* (1864), Mugnier's *Jehan de Boyssoné, ou le Parlement français de Chambéry* (1897), and the *Lettres de J. de Boyssoné* contributed by J. Buche to the *Revue des langues romanes* (1895 et sqq.), the subject of Jean de Boysson deserved a thoro reconsideration. The volume before us is by the great-grandnephew of the celebrated professor of law, and the preface is from the pen of a professor of jurisprudence at the University of Poitiers, a friend of the author.

In this preface Professor Prévot-Leygonie compares the life of University students of the sixteenth century with that of the present day, and discusses the methods of teaching law at that early period. We find here a summary and an appreciation of the volume under consideration, and a tribute to the famous family of which the author of the study is an illustrious member:

L'auteur ne me pardonnerait pas de faire son éloge. Il me permettra bien de lui dire que son œuvre est utile, puisqu'elle apporte des documents à l'histoire et qu'elle fait penser. Me permettra-t-il aussi de formuler un vœu? Le voici: c'est que la famille de Jehan de Boysson qui, transplantée du Languedoc, a poussé dans notre sol périgourdin de si profondes et vigoureuses racines, après avoir glorieusement payé sa dette à la patrie sur les champs de bataille et trouvé surtout l'illustration dans la carrière des armes, voie de nouveau son nom briller dans les fastes de nos Universités françaises.

In his introductory chapter R. de Boysson sets forth what he considers to be the relative merits of Guibal and Mugnier, and explains that his present intention is to complete the work of his scholarly predecessors by relating the life of "un des plus singuliers personnages ayant appartenu au monde laborieux et turbulent des écoles, durant cette période agitée, où l'esprit humain cherchait à réformer les antiques méthodes d'enseignement." He further informs us, in one of the concluding chapters, that it had been his purpose to classify the correspondence of Boysson according to a methodic order and to publish all of his letters as they are found in the manuscript of Toulouse, but that having been told that the *Revue des langues romanes*, "destinée aux plus délicats lettrés de France," had begun the publication about 1896 (tho interrupted before having reached the 50th letter), he limits himself here to giving only a selection from the correspondence. It is curious that M. de Boysson speaks of only having heard that Buche published some of the letters in the above-mentioned review,

for Mugnier, to whom M. Boysson makes frequent reference, has utilized the information given by Buche, and we find references to Buche on many a page of Mugnier!

The first question treated by the author is that of the spelling of the name of Boysson. By the citation of documents he demonstrates that the spelling adopted by him is the correct one. The reader is also furnished with the genealogical tree of his family up to 1897. We cannot make mention here of all the illustrious men of this line. Suffice it to say that many of them distinguished themselves in the army, others in the Church, some were great land-owners and still others were connected with the Parlement. From this genealogical tree we learn that there were three Jean de Boysson (including the subject of this study) in the first part of the sixteenth century.¹

The author has not been able to clear up the uncertainty attending the birth and early years of Boysson. He gives the description of a house constructed for Hugues de Boysson, *capitou*, in 1468, which is still to be seen in Toulouse. In this house, we are told, Boysson was perhaps born. His early education was received at Castres, where there was a small university which enjoyed a very good reputation in the province. Boysson's father made Castres his temporary abode, but none of the records of the town mention the sojourn of the Boysson family. Jehan de Boysson speaks of it only once or twice in his works. Of his immediate family we know very little, except that he had a brother and that this brother had a son. We learn of the latter from an epigram of Voulté, while from an epistle by Boysson we conclude that he had another nephew, the son of one of his sisters.

The second chapter gives a general survey of the origins of the Renaissance in both France and Italy, and discusses the reforms in University instruction, especially in the case of law. The influence of Francis I. is treated, and our attention is drawn to the position of *régent* in the Universities of France, and to the general progress of the arts and sciences in the sixteenth century. The part played by the *Collège du gay savoir* (which distributed prizes to competing poets) is emphasized.

Boysson was perhaps sixteen years old when he came to Toulouse to study law. There he was received by his uncle Luscus, who was a doctor and a *régent* in law, occupying the chair founded by one of his ancestors. It was this uncle who guided the studies of the young Boysson. We are given an account of the prominent instructors and friends whom Boysson met in Toulouse, among them being Jean de Pins,² Budé, Michel de l'Hopital, Arnaud du Ferrier, Jacques

¹ This fact had already been noted by Professor Gerig in an article which R. de Boysson had evidently not seen: J. L. Gerig, *Deux lettres inédites de Jean de Boysson, Revue de la Renaissance*, VII, 1906, pp. 228-232. This article gives a source of information for the life of Boysson with which the author is evidently unfamiliar, viz., *Aude, Arch. civiles*. The letters are addressed to Maclou Popon, a magistrate of Dijon, and date from 1550.

² Allen, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. iii (1517-1519), Oxford, 1913, pp. 510 et seq., gives a detailed account of the activity of J. de Pins. The editor calls attention to Professor Gerig's mention of the Letter-book of Jean de Pins. Cf. Gerig, *Notes sur Raulin Séguier* in *Annales du Midi*, vol. xxi, 1909 (p. 6 of the reprint).

du Faur, Jean Daffis, Pierre Bunel, and Blaise Auriol. The author informs us that Boysson was less than twenty years old when he was made *doctor utriusque juris*, that is to say, doctor of civil and canon law. Mugnier, on the other hand, claims that we do not know where Boysson received his diploma of doctor. He is inclined to believe that it was in Italy. We are offered no conclusive evidence that R. de Boysson's statement is correct, still his conclusion seems possible. Notwithstanding Boysson's status as *clerc*, he never aspired to any ecclesiastic office. On receiving his doctorate he applied for and was immediately admitted to the chair of *régent en droit*, which his uncle relinquished in his favor. According to our author nothing in Boysson's correspondence or in his poems gives us the right to affirm, as Mugnier did, that he first went to Italy before teaching at Toulouse, which was then one of the largest universities in France. In the *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences morales de Toulouse* (Vol. II, p. 269) we learn that there were about 10,000 students in attendance at the time Boysson taught there. He not only held the chair of his uncle Luscus, but occupied his house and had at his disposal a large part of his fortune, as is stated in the archives of the *Cour d'appel* of Toulouse.³

These chapters on the early years of Boysson's life are the most important contribution of the present volume, for they bring to light facts heretofore unknown. Boysson's correspondence (in the Toulouse MS.) does not go back further than about 1533, according to R. de B. (letter No. 54). That is also the date of the first letter published by Buche. The information concerning this period of Boysson's life is taken mostly from archives, from the works of the jurist, and from later letters.

In teaching, Boysson followed boldly the method of the humanists—the method used by Alciat for several years. This road, however, was strewn with obstacles. Pope Clement VII. abolished all the privileges granted to the humanists. Alciat had to give up his chair at Avignon. Disturbances soon followed. Boysson's friendship with certain men suspected of taking an interest in the Reformation drew suspicion also on himself. According to the author, Boysson was arrested on the thirty-first of March, 1528, and condemned to a public abjuration of his errors, was fined one thousand *livres*, and his house was confiscated. This was apparently for preaching false doctrines. R. de B. takes his information from Lafaille's *Annales de Toulouse*, Vol. II, p. 77. This date is not given by any of the preceding biographers of Boysson, nor have we been able to verify it, not having access to La Faille. R. de B. adds that Jehan rarely made any allusion to the punishment he underwent, nor is there any record of what was the real offence. In a letter to Jacques Minut, Boysson says: "Toute ma faute a consisté dans mes rapports affectueux et fréquents avec divers amis, à qui je donnais l'appui de mes ressources personnelles" (R. de B., translation from the Latin). But this letter was written from Lyons in 1535 or 1536, and it seems improbable that it refers to an incident seven years previous. But we shall return to this later.

Boysson now goes to Italy as an exile, according to the author (since his arrest was dated by him as 1528), where he rejoins some of his friends from Toulouse. Here we are told at length of his friendship with Dolet, who was

³ R. de Boysson discovered a deed, made out the ninth of January, 1527, by which Luscus gave his nephew several pieces of property.

then studying civil law, while Boysson was perfecting himself in the art of speaking and writing Latin. Christie, in his life of Dolet, devotes a large part of his book to this friendship of Dolet and Boysson and speaks of their relations in Italy, but he gives the date as 1532, and he too cites the *Annales* of La Faille and the abjuration of Boysson! (R. de B. cites letters of Dolet and Boysson but nowhere mentions the book by Christie; first edition 1880, revised in 1899; French translation by Stryienski, 1886). According to the author, Dolet had a very pernicious influence on his great-granduncle. Boysson was naturally very gentle, he tells us, and Dolet made him become bitter and sharp towards his compatriots. "Dolet, orgueilleux et violent, l'entraînera dans ses luttes ardentes et le rendra parfois agressif comme il était lui-même, pour le plus grand malheur de sa vie." Boysson goes from Rome to Pisa, where he is received by the students with great enthusiasm and where he is asked to give a few lectures on civil law. He makes a long stay in Turin, and does not want to leave the city until he regains all the privileges of *régent*. He soon returns to Toulouse, and by October 1533 resumes his lectures at the University, after having signed a contract for three years (cf. Gerig, *Séguier*, pp. 5 et sqq.). Christie gives the date of Boysson's return to Toulouse as probably the spring of 1533, and thinks that it was after the arrival of Dolet at Toulouse, where he perhaps witnessed the humiliating abjuration of Boysson. It was in June 1532 that Boysson's friend Cadurce was burned alive; and shortly afterwards several prominent men were arrested, among them Boysson. According to the author, the news of Cadurce's arrest reached Boysson in Italy. As R. de B. gives no authoritative evidence for these statements we are inclined to believe that the date 1528 is entirely erroneous (cf. Gerig, *Rev. de la Renais.*, p. 230; Picot, *Les Français à l'Université de Ferrare*, Paris, 1902).

In the following chapter we are told of the visit of the king to Toulouse, and his granting certain rights to the regents of the university. Dolet again comes to the fore. He is arrested and exiled from Toulouse. Boysson gives him letters of recommendation to Sébastien Gryphe at Lyons. Boysson is compelled to abandon the historic method of instruction and to go back to the scholastic one. He is elected one of the seven *mainteneurs* of the *Jeux floraux*. The *Collège du gai-sçavoir* had then as chancellor Pierre Fabri. The six *mainteneurs* who sat with Boysson were: Blasius Auriol; Franciscus Bertrandi; de Ponte, seigneur de Druzac; de Sancto Petro, counselor of the Parlement; another Sancto Petro, a *docteur*; and Jacques Lebrun. The *Barbarie*, or opponents of the humanists, accused Boysson of sacrificing the science of law to eloquence. He answered them by developing in public a series of axioms taken from the most discussed chapters of the Code, the *Substitutions*. His lecture met with great success. Boysson again has trouble on account of Dolet, who failed to obtain the *joie* (a prize) of the *Jeux floraux*. Boysson was angered by this failure and published a poem expressing his wrath and indignation. This caused an open conflict between the inhabitants of Toulouse and our humanist. A riot in the university followed, and the blame was put upon Boysson. Thru the intermediary of du Pac he appealed to the king, and in the meantime went to spend his vacation in Lyons with Gryphe and Dolet.

We now come to the second professorship of Boysson at the University of Toulouse (1533-1538). The vacations of 1534 and 1535 he spent at Lyons. In

July 1536 he is compelled to interrupt his courses on account of his father's illness. He goes to Castres and finds his father on his death-bed. From there, without waiting for the university vacation, he proceeds to Lyons. In the meantime Dolet is again in trouble. He had killed a man on the streets of Lyons. Boysson helps him financially. He is pardoned, but the *Parlement* refuses to grant the pardon. Boysson goes on his travels to Nîmes, thence to Montpellier, where he hears Rabelais commenting before a large audience on the *Prognosticon* of Hippocrates; and on his return to Toulouse he learns of the death in November, 1537, of Jean de Pins.

Not satisfied with simply teaching law, Boysson tries to obtain a public office. He declines an offer from Marguerite de Navarre of a chair at the University of Bourges, and in spite of the advice of his friends to keep away from the court he negotiates for an office. Meanwhile he resumes his courses in Toulouse, and suffers financial losses. His dream of official position, however, is soon realized, when Guillaume Pellicier is named ambassador to Venice, and Boysson is appointed by the King as secretary to the embassy. In March, 1539, he left Toulouse for Paris, when he was informed, at Lyons perhaps, that the King had just named him counsellor in the Parlement of Chambéry. This Parlement was composed of a single Chamber of ten counsellors, of which Raymond Pélisson was President. We cannot go into detail on the subject of the friends Boysson made at Chambéry, nor on the trial of Crassus and of Scève. All this is adequately treated elsewhere and is no original contribution of the author. The information is taken from the letters of Boysson himself.

The trial of Tabouet is also treated in great detail. Tabouet, the attorney-general of Chambéry, was a very tyrannical and ambitious man, who tried to make his influence predominant in the senate in order to manifest to the duke of Guise the blind fidelity of his services. It is the opinion of R. de B. that Tabouet might probably have accused the magistrates of lèse-majesté, by skillfully denouncing their affectionate and persistent relations with the prominent inhabitants of the annexed country who remained faithful to the fallen dynasty. Boysson, in his capacity of cleric, was likewise singled out for not having carefully observed the laws of the Church in relation to ecclesiastic celibacy, and those of the quadragesimal fast. Boysson, not foreseeing trouble, applied for the position of judge of the *Grand-Conseil*. Not long afterwards, Francis I. died, and disturbances followed. Boysson left Chambéry for Toulouse. This trial also is too lengthy and complicated to find full treatment in the present notice. The outcome, which interests us, was that Boysson was imprisoned with the rest of his colleagues, and underwent most humiliating torture. He was freed after paying all sorts of fines. From now on he becomes more and more violent and embittered.

In 1550, at Chambéry, Boysson received a visit from the dean of the University of Grenoble, offering him the chair of civil law. Before accepting the offer he wrote to the chancellor, Bertrand, asking him if the King would deign to approve of his nomination as a *régent* in one of the universities of the kingdom after the unjust sentence pronounced against him. As there were no objections, the answer being that the verdict applied only to judiciary offices, Boysson

accepted the offer and signed a contract for three years.⁴ He was received there by the notables of Grenoble, who showed great interest in him. He went to Toulouse to spend the vacation of 1552, but did not take any part in the meetings of the *Collège du gai savoir*. He was very anxious to rehabilitate himself in the eyes of the world, and set out for Paris with that purpose about the fifteenth of January, 1554. After spending fifteen months in Paris, having taken many different steps and measures, he at last had the satisfaction of obtaining the annulment by the *Parlement* of the condemnations of the eighteenth of July and the fourteenth of August, 1551. The same decree announced that Raymond Pélisson, Jehan de Boysson and Louis du Rozet would be reinstated in their functions, and that Tabouet would have to pay the costs of the many law-suits of which he had been the occasion. After still more complications, which exhausted both the strength and the capital of Boysson, on the fifteenth of October, 1556, under the personal presidency of the King, Henry II., the *Chambre* of the *Parlement* issued a decree which declared null the errors imputed to Pélisson, Boysson, Rozet and Pélissier, "which decree shall be final, and Tabouet shall stand the costs."

Boysson resumed his post with Pélisson. In the spring of 1557 he left for Toulouse, took part in the *Joies de la violette et de l'églantine* of the *Collège du gai savoir*, and started back for Chambéry. There are records dating from 1559 in the archives of Chambéry which show the different acts signed by the four magistrates. In the register of the *Collège du gai savoir* for the year 1560 there is a notice indicating that Boysson was replaced on May 6, 1560, by a certain M. Lagarde. The exact date of his death remains unknown. The *Parlement* of Chambéry vanished at the same time as the four victims of Tabouet!

The concluding chapters of the book are devoted to the Epistles (of which the author gives a good selection), and to some of the *Carmina* and the *Dixains*. R. de B., after analyzing Boysson's style (in the French poems), says: "Jehan de Boysson pensait évidemment en latin et traduisait péniblement en langue d'oïl les œuvres qu'il voulait publier en français." He thinks that Boysson made a mistake in leaving his own province and going to Savoy, and adds:

Si notre humaniste toulousain était resté fidèle aux traditions de sa province et de sa famille, il aurait obtenu de sa cité reconnaissante le titre glorieux de *fondateur de l'Ecole historique du droit*; il aurait composé ses poésies dans la belle langue *limousine*, qui fut sa langue maternelle, et nous verrions une double auréole entourer son front de marbre, à la place même où se dresse la statue de Jacques Cujas.

R. de Boysson has given us an interesting account of the life of his ancestor, an account, however, which is not entirely free from a certain sentimental strain which tends to exaggeration. He has improved greatly on Mugnier in the matter of composition, making his volume much easier to read and much clearer, but he has not added very much to what was already known concerning Boysson. On the other hand, he does not seem to possess the bibliographical equipment

⁴ In the letters published by Professor Gerig (*Rev. de la Renais.*, 1906, p. 232) we read that Boysson asks Maclou to try to help him in his law-suit which was keeping him at Dijon and preventing him from going on with his literary work.

indispensable for sixteenth century study. He might have given us a more analytic study of the literary aspect of Boysson's works, but was more interested on the biographical side. He has published several letters of interest not to be found in Buche. An index of proper names would have added very greatly to the utility of the book. In conclusion, it is evident that there still remain many problems to be settled concerning Boysson before the Chambéry period, so minutely treated by Mugnier, and there is still room for a more detailed study of his writings.⁵

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⁵ R. de Boysson is the author of the following works, in addition to the one here noticed: *Bertrand de Born, sa Vie, ses Oeuvres, et son Siècle*, Picard, Paris (épuisé); *Le Clergé périgourdin pendant la persécution révolutionnaire*, Id. (épuisé).



OBITUARY

ALBERT FREDERICK KUERSTEINER

On June 9, 1917, after an illness of two years, Albert Frederick Kuersteiner died at the Robert W. Long Hospital in Indianapolis, aged fifty-one years. Since 1898 Professor Kuersteiner had occupied the chair of Romance Languages in Indiana University. He was a graduate of the University of Cincinnati and the Johns Hopkins, and also spent several years in study abroad. His interest was almost equally divided between Spanish and French, as is shown by his having done extensive work toward a critical edition of the *Rimado del Palacio* and having completed the manuscript of a grammar of French.

Professor Kuersteiner was a devoted and accurate scholar, and an enthusiastic and inspiring teacher. An American of Swiss ancestry, he was eager to aid in bringing to his country the best in the thought and life of the Old World. Thus he took a keen interest not alone in his own institution but in the improvement and extension of Romance work in the state of Indiana and thruout the country, and contributed substantially to the advances that have been made in the past twenty years. To a warm heart he joined a sociable and expansive temperament, and his stalwart honesty made him an unwearying enemy of shams. During his long and painful illness he showed the greatest courage, and bent all the energies of a strong will toward recovering sufficiently to resume his work, tho fully realizing the gravity of the obstacles to be overcome.

Kuersteiner ranked among our best teachers in the field of Romance scholarship, and his work was of a kind that bore, and will continue to bear, valuable fruit.

E. C. A.



THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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NOTES ON THE METRE OF THE POEM OF THE CID

III, 1

IN the last article¹ it was shown that, contrary to current opinion, the versification of the heroic poetry of Castile could not have been influenced by the French Alexandrine before 1140, for the reason that this metre did not appear in the French epic itself previous to that time. It was furthermore shown that Santillana's celebrated utterance² is not to be regarded as a confirmation of the idea³ that the original metre of Castilian epic poetry was of the irregular structure found in the extant copy of the *Poem of the Cid*, but must be taken as an unfavorable comparison of the professional writing of *romances*, as practiced in his time, with the metrical artistry of the Gay Science and the Italianate School. It was pointed out in connection with this that in Santillana's criticism we have an invaluable, though naturally indirect, testimony to the existence in his day of the *romance* as a distinct poetic type handed down in the oral memory of the folk and preserved to us only in literary redactions. It was finally made clear that the extensive epic cannot have had the part in the genesis of the *romance* assigned to it by the theory now in vogue, firstly because the existence of the number of long, continuous poems conjectured as sources of our extant old *romances*

¹ ROMANIC REVIEW, 5, 295-349. That article will henceforth be referred to as 'II.' For a correction of some errata contained in it see the end of the present contribution.

² See for the original text, II, 304.

³ Only recently reasserted by Pio Rajna in his *Osservazioni e dubbi concernenti la storia della romanza spagnuola*, published in ROMANIC REVIEW, 6, 29-38, without any apparent regard for the indispensable testimony of Hispanic verse contained outside the disordered texts of the Poem of the Cid and the *Rodrigo*.

is not only unsupported by sufficient evidence, but rendered highly improbable by several important facts; and secondly because the structure of the *romance*, as recorded in inscribed and oral tradition, is essentially different from that claimed for the pretended higher art, and thus testifies to the independent origin of this poetic form.

Before returning to the discussion of the metre of the *Poem*, a subject which presents a problem inseparable from that of the history of the Castilian epic itself, it remains for us to examine a number of other arguments currently advanced in favor of the assumption that the *romance*, as a distinct poetic type, descends from a decadent long epic.

For this purpose it seems expedient to begin with the arguments of Ramón Menéndez Pidal, not only because these, as first presented in his *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara* (especially pp. 38-47), have been accepted somewhat too readily by many students of balladry, but because this scholar is now unquestionably the foremost advocate of Milá's theory. If, in consequence of this, we cite him very frequently in the course of our exposition, we wish it to be distinctly understood that it is only the doctrine expounded by him that we oppose, and that we do not fail to recognize that there are others holding similar ideas.

Let us take as basis for our examination the following passage, which contains a brief, yet fairly complete, general statement of Menéndez Pidal's conception of epic processes in Castile:⁴

Los poemas españoles que cantaban todos estos héroes, se llamaban *cantares de gesta*. Eran poemas no muy extensos comparados con los de otras literaturas (el del Cid tenía solo unos 4000 versos). escritos en metro largo é irregular, predominando los versos de 14 sílabas y más tarde los de 16. . . . El tono de estos poemas ó cantares era esencialmente narrativo, sin apenas ninguna digresión lírica; eran crónicas ó novelas rimadas. Sus asuntos eran las aventuras y las hazañas principalmente militares, de héroes pertenecientes á la alta clase de la sociedad medieval, los reyes, los condes, los ricos hombres, ó los simples caballeros. Era poesía aristocrática, señorial,

⁴*El Romancero español* (The Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1910), pp. 7-11. The same opinion, in practically identical terms, is contained in *Épopée*, 157-160. For similar, though in many respects more conservative, views expressed by Menéndez Pidal's predecessors see the references given II, 329, note 176.

escrita originariamente para un público de hidalgos, cantada en el palacio, en el castillo, en la casa solariega, en medio de las mesnadas que marchan al combate; era la poesía de la casta militar, heredera de las tradiciones de los visigodos.

Esta poesía, después de un largo y activo florecimiento, decaía visiblemente en los siglos XIV y XV. . . . La epopeya castellana, aristócrata en su origen, ensanchó el campo de sus oyentes, y se dirigió á un público numeroso y heterogéneo; perdió el cerrado carácter militar que tuvo, como poesía de nobles, para buscar muy variados matices; buscó más bien la aventura novelesca que la hazaña heroica. . . .

Dominados por esta tendencia, los juglares se aplicaron á renovar la envejecida epopeya que ya cansaba á la misma clase militar entre la que había nacido, y lograron atraerse la atención, lo mismo de los hidalgos, que de los burgueses, los mercaderes y los labradores. Solo entonces, tardamente, la poesía heroica se hizo la poesía de todos, grandes y pequeños, esto es, poesía verdaderamente nacional y popular; solo entonces pudo llegar á vivir en la memoria del pueblo.

Así el pueblo recibió como suya esa poesía nacida para los nobles; éstos mezclados con aquellos, escuchaban con interés incansable al juglar que venía á recitar las últimas refundiciones de los viejos poemas, y el juglar logró retener su público aun en la mayor decadencia de la epopeya castellana, cuando ya los poetas de su hermana, la epopeya francesa, no sabían atraerse un interés general hacia los enormes poemas que componían. Y esa comunicación de poetas y público, continuando activa en Castilla, dió nueva vida á la poesía heroica.

Los oyentes de una larga recitación épica se encariñaban con algún episodio más feliz, haciéndolo repetir á fuerza de aplausos, y luego que el juglar acababa su largo canto, se dispersaban llevando en su memoria aquellos versos repetidos que luego ellos propagaban por todas partes. Pues bien, esos breves fragmentos, desgajados de un antiguo Cantar de Gesta, y hechos así famosos y populares, son, ni más ni menos, los *romances* más *viejos* que existieron.

It is quite true that, as Menéndez Pidal observes, the narrative song of Castile centres mostly around kings, nobles and chieftains. This prominence of persons of quality, however, is not peculiar to his special subject of investigation, but forms, as is well known, a common trait of the earliest recorded stages of heroic poetry everywhere. Indeed, it is precisely from this feature that many critics, judging the matter purely in the light of modern literary processes, have derived their main support for the theory that heroic song must

have originated in, and been primarily intended for, the aristocracy.⁶ Are we to accept this interpretation as the correct one? Obviously not, unless it be an established fact that in the heroic age the disparity in mode of thought and standard of conduct between lord and liegeman was such as to keep them in different spheres. This, however, is not the case, the evidence brought to light by the research of the past fifty years or more revealing a substantially different form of society.

In essentials, the conditions of an heroic age, the period in which heroic poetry in the strict sense of the term arises as the expression of a newly formed nationality, are those of a simple, primitive form of community in which there is no sharp distinction of classes. True, in the Germanic North, as well as in the regions reflected in the Homeric poems, we find an aristocracy; but it is an aristocracy not as yet separated from the rest of the people by that difference in occupation, in standards of action, and in letters, which the troubadours expressed in the formula *corteis et villain*.⁶ When we remember that even in the conventional days of the troubadours, the ability to read and write formed no part of a nobleman's training, that Perceval could not read, and Wolfram von Eschenbach, who claimed some familiarity with French, was unable to write,⁷ we may well admit that in an earlier age lay-society must still have been marked to a large extent by that uniformity of intellectual life which ethnology and the comparative study of poetry have shown to be the absolute condition for the universal gift to turn, as Gummere puts it, 'a contemporary event into the rhythm of the communal dance,' in other words, for the production of genuine folksong.⁸ In such a

⁶ See, among others, F. Wolf in his introduction to Rosa Warren's *Schwedische Volkslieder der Vorzeit*, 1857, pp. xiv-xix, and Chadwick in his learned work, *The Heroic Age* (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 86, 94, etc.

⁶ See, e. g., Wolf, *Proben portug. u. catal. Volkslieder*, pp. 19-22; Rosa Warren's *Schwed. Volksl.*, l. c.; Lemcke, *Jahrbuch*, 14, pp. 148-150; W. P. Ker, *Epic and Romance*, pp. 7-9; Gummere, *Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 177; *Popular Ballad*, p. 82.

⁷ Cf. A. Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, I, p. 157, 160.

⁸ See, e. g., the works of Buecher and Gummere quoted I, pp. 17-18; the latter critic in *Pop. Ballad*, pp. 22-25; Bruchmann, *Poetik* (Berlin, 1898), p. 99; Grundtvig in introduction to R. Warren's *Dänische Volkslieder*, 1858, pp. xvii-xxii; G. Paris, *Romania*, 13, p. 617; Comparetti, *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns*, p. 331.

society, then, any national poetry must be the uniform utterance of the people as a whole rather than the individual expression of only one, and that the most restricted, of its elements.

If this latter element nevertheless plays so prominent a part in the poetry of this period, the reason consequently can not be the one alleged, but must be sought in the fact that, as Gummere has well expressed it,⁹ "the songs produced by such a homogeneous community would naturally put in the foreground of action persons who actually filled the foreground of its life."¹⁰ What, indeed, have we in this trait but an illustration of the poetic law formulated by Aristotle, that epic poetry is an imitation in verse of persons of a higher type, not of the common level?¹¹

Scarcely better founded than the one just examined is the equally popular idea that the primitive form of this poetry of supposed aristocratic origin was that of large compositions. Primarily, this idea appears to be derived from the fact that the epic poems first met with upon the literary record are mostly rather extensive works with more or less amplitude of treatment and artistic merit, whereas the related songs brought to book in a later period are short and less conscious in style. Further support for the idea is found in the a priori assumption that it was only long epics that were suited to the taste of the aristocracy, while brief lays were adapted to the plebeian audiences of a later democratic age.¹² In so far as this view is applied to the case of Castile, its merits will be considered in detail in the chapters dealing with the social conditions of that country,

⁹ *Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 177. Cf. also the same author in *Pop. Ballad*, p. 82: "The social group is naturally represented by its leaders, the prince, the knight, the warrior. It is only in very recent developments that the humble or common man is put in the foreground of story and play." And cf. Steenstrup, *The Medieval Popular Ballad*, transl. by E. G. Cox. Boston, 1914, pp. 202-216.

¹⁰ As for the evolution of the chief, the aristocrat, himself, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the observation of Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, 3, 449: "Subordination began when some warrior of superior prowess, growing conspicuous in battle, gathered round him the less capable; and when, in subsequent battles he again, as a matter of course, took the lead."

¹¹ *Poetics*, V, 4; xv, 8, and S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* (1911), p. 166.

¹² Such is the opinion expressed, e. g., by H. F. Nutzhorn with regard to the Homeric poems (*Die Entstehungsweise der homer. Gedichte*, Leipzig, 1869, p. 91); and by A. Lang, *Homer and the Epic*, p. 230; with regard to Castile, by Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero*, pp. 5-6.

and the question of the existence of extensive poems in its earliest period. For the present, a few remarks of a more general character may suffice.

As for the priority in age of literary works over popular specimens of the same genus, we may remind the reader in the first place of the fact that the literary language grows out of a dialect and yet is recorded earlier than this; and in the second place of Andrew Lang's just observation that the "fallacy of supposing that a rite, or myth, or custom, or belief, or romantic incident is necessarily derived from its civilized or literary counterpart, and that popular examples of the same ideas are necessarily later, borrowed, and degenerate, has long been abandoned by anthropologists, and ought not to be accepted by literary students."¹³ Nor is there sufficient reason for thinking that long poems are the only kind of epic poetry suited to courtly hearers. Quite apart from the fact that, as was said above, the diversity of mental development characteristic of a more conventional society did not obtain in the heroic age, we have direct testimony that brief lays were no less favored in the halls of the mighty than long, continuous poems. Ajax and Odysseus find Achilles singing a lay on the *κλέα ἀνδρῶν* (Il. 9, 189); at the Phaeacian court, the minstrel Demodocus chants a song on Troy (Od., 8, 43 ff.), and one on the love of Ares and Aphrodite (l. c., 261).

As for ancient Rome, Cicero repeatedly cites the testimony of Cato the elder for the time-honored custom of singing ancestral valor in separate lays. Thus *Tusc. Disput.*, IV, 2:

. . . gravissimus auctor in *Originibus* dixit Cato morem apud maiores hunc epularum fuisse, ut deinceps qui accubarent canerent ad tibiam clarorum virorum laudes atque virtutes; and *Brutus*, 19, 75:

'recte' inquam 'Brute, intelligis; atque utinam extarent illa carmina, quae multis saeculis ante suam aetatem in epulis esse cantitata a singulis convivis de clarorum virorum laudibus in *Originibus* scriptum reliquit Cato.' ¹⁴

¹³ Chambers' *Cyclopedia of English Literature*, I, p. 524. Cf. also G. L. Kittredge, *Engl. and Scott. Ballads*, p. xv. On the general question of the degradation theory see Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, p. 95 (§ 50).

¹⁴ Cf. also *Tusc. Disput.* I, 2. This passage, which led me to the discovery of the others, was called to my attention by my colleague, Dr. Frederick Anderson.

The same testimony we have from the fragments of Varro's *De vita Pop. Rom.* (Nonius, 1105), only that here the chanting was done by boys:

In conviviis pueri modesti ut cantarent carmina antiqua, in quibus laudes erant maiorum et assa voce et cum tibicine.¹⁵

As Rome had no literary poetry before the *Annales* (189-169 B. C.) of Ennius, who wrote under the patronage of Cato, we have here a fairly clear case of heroic balladry not to be explained as degenerate art.

In the Beowulf, an heroic song is chanted by one of the king's thanes (ll. 867 ff.), and another, concerning the hero's fight with Grendel, is intoned by the king himself (2105 ff.). Similar evidence is afforded by Roman writers of the fifth and sixth centuries; as by Priscus in his account of a visit to Attila in 448,¹⁶ by Cassiodorus¹⁷ and by others.¹⁸ Furthermore, not all the extant early song relating the deeds of kings and chieftains is in the form of extensive productions, as may be seen, for instance, from the Anglo-Saxon lay of 'Finnsburg' (51 ll.),¹⁹ from the German 'Hildebrand' (71 ll.),²⁰ and from the early Scandinavian lays (850-1100) preserved in the collection known as the 'Older Edda' and dealing largely with the matter of the Nibelungen-epic. Indeed, some of the latter songs, as those of Weland and Brynhild, contain in a summary way a whole history.²¹

When, in addition to this, we reflect that the average length of the 320 songs known as now current among the valiant Serbian people is 873 verses, only fifteen of them having more than 2000,²² we need not wonder that Chadwick thinks it very probable that the

¹⁵ For the annalist Fabius Pictor, and Roman heroic song in general, see K. W. Nitzsch, *Die römische Annalistik*, 1873, p. 242 ff. The custom in question is referred to by Horace, *Carmina*, l. IV, 15, 25 ff.

¹⁶ See K. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 4, p. 92.

¹⁷ *Variorum*, II, 40.

¹⁸ See the references given by Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, pp. 84-85. Cf. what is said II, pp. 304-315, regarding the character of the *cantares* or *cantares de gesta* cited by the *Primera Crónica General*.

¹⁹ Cf. Gummere, *Old English Epic*, 1909, p. 159 ff.

²⁰ Cf. W. Scherer, *History of German Literature*, 1, pp. 25-27; 50.

²¹ Cf. Ker, *Epic and Romance*, pp. 97, 136-143, and *History of the Ballads*, l. c., pp. 202-205.

²² See Chadwick, l. c., pp. 101-102.

earliest narrative poems were of comparatively small compass.²³ On the other hand, this living heroic poetry of Serbia also indicates that poems of the extent of 4000 lines or more are by no means incompatible with the conditions of oral delivery before popular audiences. The prevalence of a similar state of things in ancient Greece is amply shown by the Homeric poems. These, as Gilbert Murray says,²⁴ are presented to us by History as being "publicly recited not by one bard, but by relays of bards, in fixed order at the Panathenaea, the greatest of all the festivals of Athens, recurring once in four years and lasting several days." However, as no poem of anything like the length of the Iliad and the Odyssey can be sung at a single sitting, the bards on other occasions also recited separate portions of them, apart from their context, choosing for this purpose such incidents as could be readily detached and were interesting in themselves.²⁵ There is absolutely no evidence that this long-continued custom of reciting selected portions of the great epics of Greece, accompanied as it was in each case by the addition of an invocation to a god, resulted in their transformation into a new type of epic poetry in the shape of brief lays.

Analogous conditions were known in medieval France. In the *Roman de la Violette*, composed before 1225, Guillaume de Nevers, disguised as a minstrel, chants four *laissez* (ll. 3036-3430) of *Aliscans*, without indicating their context,²⁶ while in *Huon de Bordeaux*, a work of over ten thousand lines, which in Gautier's opinion²⁷ it would have taken no less than eleven hours to recite, the minstrel, pleading fatigue, breaks off at line 4,962 with the request to be heard again on the next day. Again, in the *Chanson de Roland* there are transitional passages showing, as Gautier remarks,²⁸ that the poem was so constructed as to permit the minstrel to chant it in detached portions. It is on more or less precise data like these that Gaston Paris based the statement:

Nos chansons de geste, au lieu de se concentrer dans leurs passages les plus énergiques et les plus vivants, se sont délayées dans

²³ *L. c.*, p. 94.

²⁴ *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, Oxford, 1907, p. 171.

²⁵ See, e. g., A. Lang, *Homer and his Age*, pp. 321-322.

²⁶ See J. Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, 1, p. 308.

²⁷ *Épopées françaises*, 2, pp. 232-236.

²⁸ *Chanson de Roland*, p. 70.

d'interminables amplifications et se sont perdues, loin du peuple, dans les rédactions en prose. C'était cependant bien l'usage, au XII^e et XIII^e siècle, d'en chanter isolément telle laisse ou telle suite de laisses; mais cet usage se perdit quand les poèmes changèrent de public: il ne pouvait convenir à la place publique, où les chansons de geste avaient passé en sortant des châteaux, et où les jongleurs des XIV^e et XV^e siècles les débitaient pendant des journées entières.²⁹

Yet, with all the wealth of epic production in France from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, with all the practice of the minstrels in reciting episodes from the long poems before the high and the humble,³⁰ there has not been discovered in later tradition one lay that could be characterized as a fragment of an ancient epic. To hear Gaston Paris again:

La vieille matière épique française, par suite de l'affaiblissement de plus en plus marqué de la forme qu'elle avait revêtue, s'est complètement perdue pour le peuple, qui, dans sa poésie lyrico-épique, n'en a conservé aucun vestige.³¹

The closeness with which we have seen reproduced in France the conditions under which the Homeric poems originated in the Greek world, and the richness of epic literature which the peoples of the two countries, separated in time and space, brought forth,³² justify one in considering the poetic practices observed in both as

²⁹ *Légende des Enfants de Lara*, p. 26 (= *J. d. S.*, 1898, p. 333). Cf. J. Bédier, *l. c.*, pp. 308-309.

³⁰ See the original and instructive views expressed on the function of the epic by Johannes de Grocheo in his musical treatise written at Paris toward the end of the thirteenth century (edited in *Sammelbände der Internat. Musikgesellschaft I* (1899-1900), pp. 65-130): "*Cantum vero gestualem dicimus in quo gesta heroum et antiquorum patrum opera recitantur. . . . Cantus autem iste debet antiquis et civibus laborantibus et mediocribus ministrari, donec requiescant ab opere consueto, ut auditis miseriis et calamitatibus aliorum suas facilius sustineant et quilibet opus suum alacrius aggrediatur. Et ideo iste cantus valet ad conservationem totius civitatis.*"

³¹ In his excellent work on the *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (Paris, 1889), p. 11, J. Tiersot speaks as though some of the epic matter informing the *chansons de geste* were still sung in scattered lays surviving among the rural folk.

³² For suggestive comparisons between the Greek and the French epic see A. Lang, *Homer and the Epic*, pp. 406-408, and *Homer and his Age*, pp. 289-309. A parallel between the heroic poetry of Greece and that of the Germanic North is drawn by Ker in *Epic and Romance*, pp. 9-10.

exemplifying in principle the order and the processes of epic evolution everywhere.

That the epics of Greece and France were committed to writing—a fact which for France is first noted in Jendeus de Brie's copy of the *Bataille de Loquifer*,⁸³ shows by itself that they were not popular, but literary productions. In so far as this matter concerns the *Chanson de Roland* or the *Poema del Cid*, more will be said about it further on. Suffice it to say here that a fully developed epic, like the *Iliad* or the *Chanson de Roland*, is characterized as a work of art by such essential qualities as organic unity, dramatic representation of character and dignity of style; it is popular only in the restricted sense that, as Butcher well expresses it,⁸⁴ "it relates a great action in the contemplation of which the nation recognizes with exultant pride its glorious achievements and ideals," and that, furthermore, all its formal elements, its language, its metre, its style, are the common property of all.⁸⁵

What now are the circumstances under which the heroic poetry of Castile arose? Are they so radically different from those of Greece, of France and of other countries as to justify the theory of a virtually inverted order of epic processes put forward by some modern critics? These are the questions we shall now attempt to answer.

In so far as the social and intellectual conditions of the heroic age are concerned, what has been said above applies with especial force to the new nation which arose in the northwestern part of the Peninsula out of the followers of Pelayo and the descendants of the Ibero-Romans. The long and intense struggle in which all elements of this people were engaged for their faith and for the reconquest of their native soil from the Moslems, not only made it the duty and privilege of commoner and noble alike to bear arms, but raised to the position of knighthood every one who maintained arms and horse at his own expense.⁸⁶ Thus, as was observed by Duran, one of the most sober and sagacious of Spanish critics on epic matters, there originated a chivalry different from the one existing in the

⁸³ See Gautier, *Épopées françaises*, I, p. 215.

⁸⁴ *L. c.*, p. 354.

⁸⁵ Cf. II, pp. 305-306, 309.

⁸⁶ See, *e. g.*, the evidence quoted by Milá, *P.H.*, p. xl.

North of Europe, a chivalry not confined to one class, but the possession of all.⁸⁷ It was therefore precisely in this earliest period of its history, in its truly heroic age, and not in the days of Juan Manuel and Santillana, as Menéndez Pidal would have us believe,⁸⁸ that the people as a whole constituted that chivalrous democracy in which the commons shared with the nobility the same religious and political ideals and enterprises, and that the national spirit was formed. The facts here stated are not infrequently referred to, and admitted, even by Milá and his disciples;⁸⁹ unfortunately, however, with such imperfect apprehension of their real bearing upon the point at issue that Menéndez Pidal cites them in support of the very theory which they obviously refute. Thus, *Épopée*, pp. 43-44, where we read of the period of origins: "Bientôt la Castille se distingua de Léon par une législation municipale variée et novatrice, et par une constitution démocratique de la chevalerie qui, partout ailleurs, était essentiellement aristocratique."⁴⁰ If that is true, as it is, what then is the basis for his main contention that the earliest poetic expression of Castilian society was an essentially aristocratic

⁸⁷ See *Romancero General*, I, pp. xvi-xx. Cf. Wolf, *Primavera*, p. xlv (= Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 8, pp. lv-lvii); *Proben*, etc., pp. 10-25; Lemcke, *Handbuch der Span. Lit.* (Leipzig, 1853), 2, p. 20 ff.; *Jahrbuch f. rom. u. engl. Literatur*, 4 (1860), p. 148 ff.; also Rios, *Historia crítica*, 3, pp. 65-66.

⁸⁸ *Romancero español*, p. 9, a passage cited II, p. 303, note 52.

⁸⁹ Milá, *P.H.*, pp. vi-vii, 466-467; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 11, p. 79.

⁴⁰ Statements of like import occur *l. c.*, p. 53, where the insolence of Fernan Gonzalez as depicted in the *Poema* is characterized as entirely in accord with the manners of his time; p. 54, where, after speaking of the hypothetical epic on that hero as an "échantillon de cette épopée féodale des vassaux rebelles," he informs us that the vigor of the democratic spirit of Castile did not permit the feudal epic to take deep root there; and p. 116, where we are assured that "Le Poème du Cid . . . est national par son inspiration démocratique." These views are directly contradicted, however, in the author's study of the romances dealing with the very Fernan Gonzalez (*Homenaje a M. y P.*, 1899, I, p. 461): "Esto no quita que el mismo discurso de Fernan Gonzalez contenga impropiedades y exageraciones notorias . . . y que esté lleno de un *espíritu democrático que es extraño en general á la primitiva poesia épica, aristócrata en su fondo*" (the italics are ours); and again, *Épopée*, p. 121: "les chansons de geste [by which term are here meant chiefly the Cid-poem and the conjectured epic on the siege of Zamora] étaient donc une poésie féodale, respirant la guerre et les luttes civiles; l'amour, au contraire, était réservé à la poésie courtoise et bourgeoise." How about the pretended epic on Garci Fernandez (970-995), which is said to have been chiefly concerned with the two marriages of this personage?

epic which had to change its form to become adapted to Castilian democracy? Moreover, the decidedly democratic character of Castile in its early period manifests itself in other well-known facts. As far as available records go, the Commons were represented in Cortes at Burgos as early as 1169.⁴¹ They were granted extraordinary powers and immunities, superior on the whole to those enjoyed by this order elsewhere in Europe. In consequence of these privileges, the cities of Castile reached a degree of prosperity which alienated from them the sympathy of the other orders of the state, and paved the way for their suppression by Charles V.⁴² It was, again, largely through this ascendancy of the burgher since the very beginnings of Castilian nationality that forms of the indigenous folksong like the *romance* and the *villancico*, already foreshadowed in the Galician *Cantigas de Santa Maria* ascribed to Alphonse X,⁴³ were elevated into the realm of literature in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴⁴

In the community of spiritual and political interests between noble and commoner which we have described, there was naturally involved that substantial uniformity of mental development which we found to be a characteristic of lay-society in the heroic age in general. Outside of the clergy, which still adhered to the use of Latin, the art of reading and writing was known to few. The aristocracy, as everything indicates, and the more circumspect Spanish critics fully admit,⁴⁵ was unlettered and rude; in other words, on the same low level of culture as the rest of lay-society. This fact will surprise no one who bears in mind that this class embodied all the freemen able to maintain arms and horse.⁴⁶ In the *Siete Partidas*, a knight is still required to have as his three essential qualities

⁴¹ See *Primera Crónica General*, fol. 344-345; Ferreras, *Histoire d'Espagne*, 3, pp. 482-484.

⁴² See, e. g., Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España*, 3, pp. 1-32.

⁴³ Cf. II, pp. 322 ff., 333-334. The views there expressed find full confirmation in the study of the musical character of these *Cantigas* by Collet and Vilalba in *Bulletin Hispanique*, 13 (1911), pp. 279-282.

⁴⁴ Cf. II, pp. 308, 314, 321-322. This period will be considered more in detail in a later article.

⁴⁵ See Milá, *Observaciones*, p. 55; *P.H.*, pp. x and 395; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, pp. 42, 45, 79.

⁴⁶ By a law of Alphonse VIII (1157-1214), all freemen of this description were elevated to noble rank. See Lafuente, *Historia de España*, Pt. I, Bk. 2, C. 13.

endurance, power to deal hard blows, and fierceness,⁴⁷ and enjoys with women, minors, farmers and shepherds immunity for ignorance of the law.⁴⁸ The same code expects the ability to read only of kings and royal princes,⁴⁹ knights being enjoined to have the stories of great deeds of arms read to them.⁵⁰ Even in the fifteenth century, when medieval Castile was at the very zenith of literary culture, and when the ability to read had become somewhat more common,⁵¹ reading and writing were far from being a common practice among the nobility. Alonso de Cartagena, bishop of Burgos, in his answer to Santillana's inquiry regarding the origin and the duties of knighthood, names as regular accomplishments of the knight only proficiency in the use of arms and in the chase, and praises Santillana especially for his reading and studies, regarded

⁴⁷ Pt. II, 21, 2: la tercera [cosa] que fuessen *crudos*, para non aver piedad de robar lo de los enemigos, nin de ferir, nin de matar.

⁴⁸ *Partida* V, tit. 14, l. 31. Cf. also *ibid.*, I, 1, 21.

In this connection, a few examples of the mode of signing used by prominent personages of early Castile will be of interest. They are taken from Fero-tin's *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Silos*:

No. 1 (919). Ego Ferran Gundisalvet et uxor mea Sancia quod fecimus roboravimus et signum crucis ++ fecimus. Five witnesses say: Confirmavi et manu mea + feci.

No. 3 (979). Et ego abba Severus, una cum matre mea Paterna, qui hac cartula fieri iussimus, legente audivimus, et manus nostras hec signoc fecimus ++, et testes ad roborandum tradimus.

No. 10 (1041). Ego Ferdinandus, rex Castelle et Legionis, et uxor mea Sancia regina, quod hanc cartam fieri iussimus, propriis manibus roboramus et confirmamus, et hoc signum ✕ [fecimus], et testibus tradidimus ad confirmandum.

No. 16 (1067). Ego Sancius superius rex memoratus (i. e., Sancho, II, 1065-1072) . . . coram Deo et hominibus et ante testibus signum inieci + et roboravi.

No. 19 (1076). Ego Rodric Didaz (i. e., the Cid) et uxor mea Scemena . . . et ex manus nostras hos signos ++ fecimus et roboravimus.

No. 28 (1116). Ego Ildefonsus Reimondi, Deo gratio rex (i. e., Alphonse, VII) hanc cartam donationis fieri iussi, et hoc signum + meis manibus feci.

No. 29 (1118). Ego Gelasius, Ecclesiae Catholicae episcopus, *subscripsi*, Signum manus mee.

⁴⁹ *Pta.*, II, 5, 16 and 7, 10. Cf. with this the requirements for the higher and lower clergy stated *l. c.*, I, 5, 37, and 6, 4.

⁵⁰ *Pta.*, II, 21, 20. The ability to read was, of course, not always accompanied by that of writing. See *Pta.*, VI, 1, 13: Mas si fuesse letrado, e no supiera escriuir, non podria fazer testamento.

⁵¹ The Archpriest of Hita tells us that his servant was able to read, though none too well (c. 1624).

by many as superfluous.⁵² And Ruy Sánchez de Arévalo, in his *Vergel de los Príncipes* addressed to Henry IV in 1454,⁵³ prescribes excellence in the use of arms, in the chase, and in the practice of musical melodies as essential to the education of a prince, not saying one word of reading or writing.

In view of what has been said it will, we believe, be conceded as a well-established fact that the epoch which created the epic legends of Castile and gave them their first poetical rendering is precisely the one in which the people presents itself to us as that homogeneous and unlettered community which in the heroic age of other countries, as of Greece, of the Germanic North, of Great Britain, is known to have furnished the basis for an original and truly national folksong. True, the very existence of such homogeneity, and its important bearing upon the course of a nation's poetical activity are denied by Menéndez Pidal in a line of argument which it may be well to quote:⁵⁴

Pour que se produise dans un pays une poésie qui s'adresse à la nation entière, il n'est pas nécessaire, quoi qu'on en ait pu dire, que la terrible distinction entre lettrés et illettrés soit inconnue dans ce pays. Les données du problème ne tiennent pas à la plus ou moins grande culture des différentes classes sociales.

Il peut coexister, à une même époque, un genre de poésie destiné à toutes les classes sociales, et un autre qui ne s'adresse qu'aux classes cultivées. Un même poète, Lope de Vega par exemple, peut écrire pour tous dans ces comédies et pour une élite dans sa *Jérusalem*.

La distinction entre lettrés et illettrés subsiste toujours, de même que la distinction entre riches et pauvres existe aussi bien dans ces sociétés bienheureuses où les uns et les autres mènent en commun une vie patriarcale, que dans ces nations où les deux classes s'isolent dans un éloignement qui engendre l'oubli ou la haine. En général le divorce est complet entre la classe cultivée et la classe illettrée; elles sont l'une pour l'autre des étrangères qui se méprisent ou s'ignorent. Le poète savant ne s'adresse jamais à ceux dont la culture est inférieure à la sienne, il dédaignerait même de leur plaire; car les difficultés techniques, où il est fier de montrer sa maîtrise, restent hors de leur portée. La classe ignorante, de son côté, a bien aussi

⁵² *Obras del Marques de Santillana*, ed. Amador de los Rios, pp. 490-491.

⁵³ Ed. of Uhagón, Madrid, 1900, pp. 15-16, etc.

⁵⁴ *Épopée*, pp. 3-4.

ses poètes; mais ceux-ci, privés de tout contact avec les lettrés et isolés dans leur manque total d'éducation, ne peuvent produire que des œuvres d'un art vulgaire et infime, qui méritent à peine le nom d'œuvres d'art. Par contre, dans les cas où l'art s'adresse à une nation entière, la distinction entre lettrés et illettrés a beau exister, elle ne constitue pas une cloison étanche; loin de là, les deux classes communient fraternellement dans la recherche du même idéal, dans le sentiment des mêmes enthousiasmes, des mêmes tendances et des mêmes goûts; de là peut aisément sortir une forme déterminée d'art.⁵⁵

What must strike one at once in these statements is the total absence of even an attempt to support them with evidence obtained either from a comparative study of national poetry, as found among races still in the stage of impersonal art, or from what are the known conditions of Castile antecedent to the thirteenth century. If Castilian lay-society of that period was intellectually divided into two classes, as in the days of Lope de Vega, which one of the two was the lettered class? The aristocracy, for whom he assumes the long epics to have been originally written? But no; for only a few pages below⁵⁶ he tells us that the national poems were written in a period of anonymous authorship and barbarism. The commons, then? But how could they have constituted the lettered element at that time, when even to-day sixty per cent. of the population of Spain are illiterate? Nothing, then, can be more palpably futile than the attempt to illustrate the intellectual conditions of the heroic age of Castile by those of the epoch of Lope de Vega. But even apart from this, Menéndez Pidal's treatment of the subject is singularly inaccurate and incomplete. To take up only a few points; if Lope de Vega wrote for an élite in his *Jerusalem*, and for the whole nation in his *comedias*, what can be the meaning of the assertion that the learned poet never addresses the people of inferior culture, that he would even disdain pleasing them? Did not Lope de Vega, as a matter of fact, give the uncultivated Spanish public a

⁵⁵ The first part of these observations calls to mind an utterance by Gaston Paris on the same question in *Poésie du moyen-âge*, 1887, pp. 21-22, though its purport is different. Cf. also J. Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France*, p. 347.

⁵⁶ *L. c.*, p. 7: Les poèmes nationaux sont anonymes ou produits par des auteurs sans aucune personnalité littéraire; ils sont écrits à une époque barbare ou inculte et destinés à être chantés en public.

drama suited to its own taste, whatever truth there may be in the reasons he gives in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* for sacrificing the Renaissance ideas of dramatic art? Is this not the very reason why, as Menéndez Pidal himself remarks further on,⁵⁷ the same *comedia* which Calderon wrote for the obscure burghers of Yepes was later performed before Philippe IV? It is exactly by men of genius like Shakespeare and Lope de Vega, whether they be learned or not, that the creation of a literary art addressing itself to the whole nation is made possible in a period of a highly developed society like that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And for the very reason that the twelfth and preceding centuries did not have, and could not have produced, a Lope de Vega, it is false to say of the author and the public of a work like the *Poem of Cid*, in contrast to learned poets like Lope de Vega, that

il ne dédaigne pas d'employer sa richesse intellectuelle à procurer aux illettrés le plaisir artistique; et voilà pourquoi il produit des œuvres qui plaisent à la fois aux savants et aux ignorants, bien que ces derniers ne réussissent pas à y voir tout ce que les premiers y découvrent.⁵⁸

As for the idea that the appreciation of the technical difficulties of an artistic poem are beyond the reach of the masses, it may be true enough in general; it does not apply very well, however, to the countrymen of Juan del Encina and Lope de Vega, whose taste, as appears sufficiently from the rich variety of metrical forms, both native and foreign, used in the *comedia*, had been exceptionally well educated for higher forms of art by the Church, by popular music and by types like the *cantiga* and the *villancico*.⁵⁹ With regard to

⁵⁷ *L. c.*, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁸ *L. c.*, p. 5. Is it this *richesse intellectuelle* that has produced the epics with crude language and style, and with formless versification? And how does this characterization of their form agree with what is elsewhere called "l'ampleur magnifique des chansons primitives"? We should like to call the attention of the reader to the sane views expressed by Comparetti, *l. c.*, pp. 331-332, on the relations between popular and artistic poetry.

⁵⁹ See, e. g., F. Pedrell, in *Sammelbände der Internat. Musikgesellschaft*, 5, p. 46, and 11, pp. 55-57; and Collet, *Mysticisme musical espagnol au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1913), pp. 137, 141. With regard to Collet's *Mysticisme*, however, attention should be called to the reviews of it by Mitjana, *Revista de Filol. esp.*, 1, p. 334 ff., and Einstein, *Monthly Journal of the Internat. Musical Society*, 1913, pp. 83-84.

folksong, what does the Spanish critic mean by his remarks on the poets of the ignorant class and their work? Is he thinking of those who compose beggar-ballads?⁶⁰ Or rather of the people themselves, among whom spontaneous creation is still an act of every-day life at the present time, and was of course to a far greater extent as we ascend to Lope de Vega and to the *cantigas d'escarneo* forbidden by the *Siete Partidas*?⁶¹ Here is an important distinction which should have been made clear. What, again, are we to understand by those compositions of ignorant poets which are said to be of such lowly nature as hardly to deserve the name of works of art? Is it the charming bits of lyric and narrative song surviving on the lips of the simple folk of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, bits which Lope de Vega, as much as any other writer of his day, delighted in weaving into his verse? This at least is what one is allowed to infer when Lope de Vega's insertions of this character are designated as "l'inspiration naïve et rude des humbles."⁶² Or is it compositions like the *saetas*, improvised by the people then, as to-day, during the passage of the *Corpus Christi*? But these also are recognized as of considerable artistic merit.⁶³ Or is it, finally, the lyric of the Spanish people still in elaboration in our times, the most common form of which, the *quatrain*, we have shown to exist in the thirteenth century?⁶⁴ But here, again, it would be difficult to prove that this species cannot lay claim to much aesthetic, if not artistic merit.⁶⁵ If Menéndez Pidal had in mind a poetry of the ignorant class other than the one exemplified in the forms mentioned, he has certainly not made it clear. As the statement above cited stands, it is at variance with well-known facts and principles of literary criticism. That the earliest heroic song of Castile was

⁶⁰ Collet and Villalba, *Bulletin hispanique*, l. c., p. 285, speaks as follows of *Cantiga* no. 189 of Alphonse X's collection: "Cette *cantiga*, répétons-nous seulement, offre un type achevé des *romances de ciegos*." Cf. also the *cantares de ciegos* in Juan Ruiz (*coplas*, 1710-1719, and 1720-1728).

⁶¹ *Pta.*, VII, 9, 3. Cf. Rios, *Historia crítica*, 3, 66-67 and 500-501.

⁶² *Épopée*, p. 213.

⁶³ Cf. Collet, *Mysticisme*, p. 141.

⁶⁴ See II, pp. 333-336.

⁶⁵ Among Spanish critics who attribute some artistic merit to the modern folksong of their country may be mentioned Juan Antonio Cavestany, *Discurso leído ante la R. Ac. Esp.*, 1902, on *La copla popular*, pp. 11-16, and Manuel Fernandez Caballero, *Discurso*, etc., 1902, pp. 17-23.

the creation and expression of all without distinction of class was indeed substantially the view entertained by the foremost critics of a half a century or more ago,⁶⁶ and among others by Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo themselves, the latter expressing himself as follows:⁶⁷ "Aquella poesía . . . era, en verdad, la poesía del pueblo, porque era la poesía de todos, y no había quien dejase de colaborar en ella como autor, como oyente ó como recitante."⁶⁸ Not discerning, however, the real import of their conclusion, the critics just named, swayed no doubt by the prominence of aristocratic personages in the Cid-poem, and by the dictum of Damas-Hinard,⁶⁹ nevertheless held this poetry to be aristocratic by origin and destination. They took it for granted that it consisted of extensive compositions, like the one on the Cid, which in the fourteenth century began to adapt themselves to the taste of the lower classes in the degenerate form

⁶⁶ See, e. g., Duran, *Romanc. Gen.* (1828-1831), 1, pp. xl-lxii; Clarus, *Darstellung der Span. Litt.* (1846), p. 133 ff.; Wolf, *Studien*, p. 403; Lemcke, *Handbuch*, 2, p. 10 ff.

⁶⁷ *Antol.*, 11, pp. 16-17. Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 42 and 79.

⁶⁸ Cf. Milá, *Observaciones*, p. 55: Puesto que los más antiguos cantos, tales como los que celebran al Cid, ó poco despues de su muerte, debían de interesar igualmente que al pueblo a las altas clases iletradas y guerreras; also *P.H.*, pp. vi-x and 395.

⁶⁹ *Romancero espagnol* (Paris, 1844), 1, pp. v-vi:

Les premiers monuments de la poésie traditionnelle en Espagne furent sans doute des compositions considérables, des poèmes gigantesques. . . . Plus tard . . . on les brisa, on les morcela, on en sépara les divers épisodes, qui devinrent autant de petits poèmes complets que l'on chanta isolés. . . . De même pour la versification: composés d'abord dans un mètre lourd, grossier et d'une étendue excessive, . . . on leur donna ensuite, en dédoublant ce vers immense, une allure plus lesté et plus rapide.

The practical identity of the idea here expressed—the extensive epic with the long verse of clumsy, irregular structure disintegrating into small songs forming a new poetic type—with the fundamental tenets of Milá's doctrine, as well as the fact that the latter's *Observaciones* (1853) already indicate a departure from the belief in the originality of the *romance*-type professed in his *Compendio del Arte poética* (1843), render it very probable, if not certain, that the new conception of epic evolution in Castile came from France. Milá, however, differs from Damas-Hinard in that he took the full trochaic tetrameter, not its hemistich, to be the original metre of the *romance*. This element in his theory he may have obtained from J. Grimm, who, as is well known, introduced the long line in his *Silva de romances viejos* (1815). To this extent Pio Rajna (*ROMANIC REVIEW*, 6, p. 4, note 9) may be right in crediting the German scholar with a determining influence upon the learned Catalan.

of brief cantos known as *romances*.⁷⁰ This theory, as we have seen, is in substance the one advocated by Menéndez Pidal.⁷¹ There is one point, however, and that quite an important one, in which this scholar departs from the course of his predecessors. We refer to the time of the beginnings. While Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo assign these to the twelfth century, the period from which the first documents in the vernacular actually date,⁷² Menéndez Pidal takes the position that the composition of epics in Castilian began as early as the tenth century, and that these poems were written.⁷³

Let us look into the facts of the case somewhat more closely than has yet been done.

It will be conceded, we believe, that Menéndez Pidal's claim implies that the territory known first as Bardulia, then as Castile,⁷⁴ following the reign of Alphonse II of Asturias (791-842), when it was reoccupied by the Christians, had risen to conscious individuality as a nation, and had developed a new vernacular fitted to continue in more vigorous and noble accents the heroic note first struck in Asturias and Leon.⁷⁵ Now, in what stage of development was the language of this territory and of its accretions toward the South in the days of the Infantes de Lara?

With the fall of the Gothic monarchy, Hispano-Latin became virtually the only inherited vernacular of the Christian population of the Peninsula.⁷⁶ Forms of Hispanic Romance appear more and

⁷⁰ See the references given II, p. 338, note 176; also the opinion of Milá cited II, p. 341, note 262.

⁷¹ See the preceding note, and the extract given above, pp. 242-243.

⁷² Milá, *P.H.*, p. 400; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, 265-266.

⁷³ *Leyenda*, p. 38; *Romancero*, pp. 5-6; *Épopée*, p. 7.

⁷⁴ See Sebastian of Salamanca (ninth century), in *España Sagrada*, 13, p. 485; *P.C.G.*, pp. 359a, 376a, 387a.

⁷⁵ Rios, *Historia crítica*, 3, p. 234, and note 1. Let it be remembered once for all that Menéndez Pidal distinctly confines the origins of Spanish epic poetry to that part of Spain which is called Old Castile, to the exclusion of Asturias and Leon (*Romancero*, p. 6). Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, p. 177. See the following note.

⁷⁶ Broadly speaking, it was not until 711 that Hispanic Vulgar Latin became the vernacular of the whole Christian population of the Peninsula. Previous to that time, there was at least one other vulgar tongue in use, that of the Goths. It is well known that until within about sixty years of the overthrow of the Gothic monarchy by the Arabs, the Goths were isolated from the Ibero-Romans by Arianism (to about 600), and by rigid property and marriage laws which pre-

more frequently in Latin public documents of the latter part of the eighth, and of the ninth and tenth centuries.⁷⁷ According to Dozy, there is evidence that at the time of Abderrahman III (912-961)

vented the union of the two races (to about 651). During this period there was therefore practically no social and intellectual intercourse between them, each race clinging to its own language. (This is admitted, *Épopée*, p. 40.) Even between the Catholic and the Arian clergy there was division of speech, as appears from the decree of the third Toledan council (587), which established unity of faith under Catholicism (see, e. g., Mariana, *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae*, l. v, cap. 15; Rios, *l. c.*, I, pp. 323-324; 2, p. 281 ff.). It is safe to say, consequently, that only a small fraction of the population of the Peninsula ever spoke Gothic. During the last sixty years of Gothic rule (651-711), when social relations doubtless existed, Gothic influence upon the speech and custom of the Ibero-Romans could hardly have been strong enough to survive the blow of the Arabic invasion, which sensibly reduced the numbers of the race. In no case does that influence, as some suppose (see, e. g., *Épopée*, p. 44), offer in any appreciable degree a parallel to that exercised by the Franks upon the institutions, the customs and the language of the Celto-Roman society of Gaul. The great difference between Gaul and Spain in this respect is sufficiently shown by the fact that the Spanish language has only a comparatively very small number of words of Germanic origin, and that most of these have come to it from France between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries (cf., e. g., Baist, *Grundriss*², p. 882, § 4; Hanssen, *Gramática*, p. 7, § 13). Under the circumstances here briefly recited it seems exceedingly doubtful that such heroic poetry as the Visigoths may have kept alive in the Peninsula in spite of the disintegrative action of a new religion and environment (cf., e. g., Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, pp. 88-89) should have been inherited by Castile, as Menéndez Pidal so positively asserts (*Épopée*, pp. 18-21, 40-44; cf. II, p. 349). We are not informed by him either of the manner of this alleged direct transmission of poetry from the Goths to the Castilians, or of the reason why the legend informing the *romance* of Gaiferos may not have been a later borrowing from France, as were so many others. We cannot, therefore, examine the arguments upon which this theory is based, but must content ourselves for the present with a few questions. If, as is admitted (cf. *Épopée*, pp. 40-42), it was the Asturo-Leonese monarchy that owed its birth to the Gothic nobility, and maintained the continuity of Gothic political and legal ideals, while on the other hand Castile's indigenous tradition was opposed to them, why should the alleged poetical legacy have come to the latter country only, whose existence began two hundred years later? Again, if Castile was the direct and only heir of Visigothic song, and the origins of Spanish heroic poetry belong exclusively to that part of Spain which is called Old Castile (see the preceding note), why were Gothic heroes, like King Rodrigo, and Leonese heroes, like Bernardo del Carpio, not sung at the very beginning of the heroic age of Castile, in the tenth century, but, as Menéndez Pidal contends (*Romancero*, pp. 6-7), only in a much later period, when according to him epic song spread from its narrow Castilian home to other parts of Spain, as to Leon?

⁷⁷ Cf. Rios, *l. c.*, 2, pp. 390-394.

this idiom was familiar to some of the Arabs, even in the higher classes, though as a rule they spurned learning the language of the conquered.⁷⁸ The celebrated Dutch historian characterizes the Hispanic Romance of that time as "cette langue qui n'était plus le latin, mais qui cependant n'était pas encore l'espagnol,"⁷⁹ a view to which one may assent in a certain measure if one considers how difficult the close resemblance of French and Provençal has rendered it to decide with certainty whether the Oaths of Strassburg belonged to the one or the other variety of Gallic Romance.⁸⁰ However this may be, it seems safe to say that in the ninth century more or less marked local varieties of Hispano-Latin must have developed in such regions as Galicia, Asturias and Leon, where Latin tradition had suffered less interruption than elsewhere from Arabic occupation.⁸¹ We may assume that the vulgar speech of these parts was at that time already attuned to the rhythm of communal dance and song, and was being further cultivated for poetical expression by the Latin hymns chanted in unison by clergy and people,⁸² by the influence of France transmitted through the pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela,⁸³ and by the close relations with that country brought about by Alphonse II of Asturias. Yet it would not occur to any one to contend that the Romance speech of those regions served as the instrument of a written poetry, whether lyric or narrative, even at so advanced a date as the first half of the tenth cen-

⁷⁸ *Recherches*³, I, pp. 86-87.

⁷⁹ *Loc. cit.*

⁸⁰ In the opinion of Suchier (*Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 2, p. 300), the Picard and Walloon dialects were not easily distinguishable in the period of the *Eulalia*.

⁸¹ Cf. what was said I, pp. 21-23, regarding the close relationship existing between Latin metrics, both popular and hymnal, on the one side, and the traditional poetry of Northwestern Spain and Northern Portugal on the other.

⁸² For the close relations between the clergy and the people, see, e. g., the *Historia Compostellana* (in *España Sagrada*, vol. XX), pp. 112, 121, 224, 330, etc. A good idea of the purpose of many of the hymns is given by Isidore of Seville, *De Officiis Eccl.*, bk. I, c. 5 (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, 83, col. 742): Propter carnales autem in Ecclesia, non propter spirituales, consuetudo est instituta canendi, ut que . . . a verbis non compunguntur, suavitatis modulaminis moveantur. Cf. also F. D'Ovidio, "Sull'origine dei versi italiani," in *Giornale Storico*, 32, p. 22 ff.

⁸³ Pilgrimages to Santiago are attested since 850. See Dozy, *Recherches* 2^a, p. 277; A. Lopez Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa Iglesia de Santiago*, 2, p. 70. Cf. further *Liederbuch*, p. xx ff.; C. Michaelis, *Canc. da Ajuda*, 2, p. 797 ff.; Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, I, p. 337 ff.; 3, p. 142, etc.

tury when the Asturo-Leonese monarchy, at the very highest point of its religious and heroic enthusiasm, broke the formidable power of Abderrahman III.⁸⁴ Neither the idiom nor the people had attained to that fulness of growth and historical consciousness which are indispensable conditions for the rise of an epic.⁸⁵

Can it have been otherwise with Castile, whose day dawned two hundred years later? As far as is known, the narrow strip of land called *Castilla* since about 850,⁸⁶ and lying between the Pisuerga in the West and the Alava and Rioja in the East, formed part of the territory, neighboring on Asturias and Cantabria, which the Arabs had assigned to the Berbers. Abandoned by the latter near the middle of the eighth century, it was rapidly conquered toward the end of the same century by Alphonse II of Asturias. Not being able, however, to colonize it all, this monarch contented himself with settling the districts nearest to his original domain, that is, Liebana, Bardulia and probably the town of Leon, the colonists being in all likelihood mostly Asturians.⁸⁷ Fortified under the same monarch, the region named Castile remained subject to the kingdom of Leon until the ascent of Ramiro III (967-982), from whom Count Fernan Gonzalez (933-970) obtained its nominal independence.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ This was fully admitted by Milá, *P.H.*, p. 137, and by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, p. 177:

Ni Alfonso I, el matador de hombres (739-757), . . . ni Ramiro II (930-950) . . . han sido nunca héroes de cantares de gesta, ni siquiera de romances. Para que llegasen a serlo, faltó en el incipiente reino del Noroeste la plenitud de la conciencia histórica; faltó también el necesario instrumento de la lengua llegada a la relativa madurez, y capaz de ajustarse a las exigencias del metro épico, por rudo y bárbaro que le supongamos.

⁸⁵ Heedless of the sane views of Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo referred to in the preceding note, Puyol y Alonso, a disciple of Menéndez Pidal, has quite recently (*La Gesta de D. Sancho*, Madrid, 1913, pp. 55-56) promised to bring to light "vanished" Castilian epics on Alphonse the Catholic (739-757), Fruela (757-768), and Alphonse the Great (848-912), to say nothing of the *Duelo de España* (711).

⁸⁶ See Sebastian de Salamanca, *l. c.*

⁸⁷ Dozy, *l. c.*, I, pp. 118-123.

⁸⁸ That Castile remained under Leonese sovereignty for some time after the death of Fernan Gonzalez, appears from documents like the following, a donation by Ordoño of Leon to the monastery of Silos in 979 (*Férotin, Recueil*, no. 3): Factum privilegium, notum die, IIII feria, VIII idus aprilis, sub era M^a XVII^a, regnante rex Ordonis in Legione, comite vero Garci Fernandez in Castella.

It was chiefly through the victories of this mighty thane that at the end of the tenth century the county of Castile found itself a considerably enlarged and compact territory, reaching from the spurs of the Pyrenees toward the valley of the Tagus, and that, by its more central location, it became a stronger bulwark of Christian Spain than the kingdom of Leon. Now, no one will deny that these achievements, the intensity of the political and religious struggle against the Arabs inherited from the Asturo-Leonese monarchy, and the rising sentiment of jealousy against Leon, had sown the first seeds of a national consciousness in the population of Castile; nor will it be doubted that these events may have lent new vigor and color to its indigenous poetry consisting, we may assume, in inherited forms of local communal song and in such brief lays as, according to an opinion entertained by Milá in his earlier days,⁸⁹ were inspired by the first two centuries of re-conquest. But could these elements, beginning with the middle of the ninth century, have produced the conditions of nationality and speech necessary to develop within a hundred years, an individual heroic song, to say nothing of a full-blown epopee,⁹⁰ deserving the name of Castilian as distinct from Asturian or Leonese?⁹¹ Quite apart from the consideration that even in normal circumstances the birth of a new people and of a new language out of a fusion of different elements requires far more than a century, neither the incessant warfare waged by the counts of Castile with the Arabs, with their Christian neighbors and with each other, nor the insecurity and instability of a population gathered from various quarters and of varying linguistic habits, can have permitted the people to attain within the tenth century to that consciousness of independent individuality

⁸⁹ *Compendio del Arte poética*, pp. 114-115: "Tendrían, pues, unos cantares breves y animados, solaz de sus fatigas, . . . llamaríanse al trasladarse al pergamino romances."

⁹⁰ The earliest monuments of this Castilian epopee are described by the terms "la poésie aristocratique, aux vastes proportions" (*Épopée*, p. 158), "l'ampleur magnifique des chansons de geste primitives" (*l. c.*, p. 164).

⁹¹ We confess to not knowing just what is meant by the following account of the Castilian epic (*Épopée*, p. 2): "C'est une matière poétique que de rudes génies créèrent à l'époque la plus reculée de l'art moderne, parfois même à un âge préhistorique." Does this refer the Castilian epic to the Gothic period of Spain? Cf. *l. c.*, pp. 18, 40-41, 44.

which, as has long been recognized, is one of the indispensable conditions for the development of an impersonal folksong into a more stable, conscious, artistic form.⁹² Few will be tempted to argue, as does Menéndez Pidal, that the extensive poems on the two counts Fernan Gonzalez and Garci Fernandez (970-995), and on the Infantes de Lara, the original composition of which he assigns to this period,⁹³ were rude in language, in style, and in metrical structure, and that their production was consequently not out of keeping with its low grade of culture.⁹⁴ In the first place, the Madrid critic disposes of this argument himself by admitting that the primitive form of these hypothetical epics is not known.⁹⁵ In the second place, it must seem clear that, as he establishes a difference between a purely artistic product of a cultivated age, such as the *Aeneid*,⁹⁶ and the *Poem of the Cid*, which he conceives to be a popular epic, he must concede a difference of similar degree between the latter and the short heroic lay or ballad. Now, this difference, as is generally granted,⁹⁷ lies in a greater stability and perfection of form, and in a more highly developed style quite as much as in any amplitude or complexity of treatment. In other words, instead of the obscurity and clumsiness of style and form, with which the theory under discussion is wont to adorn its so-called popular epics, such productions must have a fair measure of that artistic quality which this same theory ascribes to them on occasion.⁹⁸ In fine, with

⁹² See, e. g., G. Paris, *Histoire poétique*, pp. 1-3; Lemcke, *Jahrbuch*, 4, p. 150; Comparetti, *l. c.*, p. 329 ff.

⁹³ Thus, *Leyenda*, pp. 37-38; *Romancero*, p. 6; *Épopée*, pp. 12, 115.

⁹⁴ *Leyenda*, *l. c.*; *Épopée*, pp. 4-5, 7. Cf. Milá, *Observaciones*, p. 6; *P.H.*, pp. 406, 409, and the same author's view cited II, pp. 309-310, note 79.

⁹⁵ *Épopée*, p. 12: "Est-il permis de supposer que cette épopée primitive, que nous ne connaissons pas sous sa forme ancienne, soit dérivée de l'épopée française? En aucune façon; bien au contraire, la différence absolue dans la manière de concevoir et de traiter poétiquement les sujets, nous oblige à affirmer l'indépendance primitive de l'épopée castillane à l'égard de l'épopée française."

⁹⁶ See *Romancero*, p. 5; *Épopée*, p. 7. Hart, *Ballad and Epic*, Boston, 1907, p. 312, is of opinion that "the gap between the popular ballad and the *Beowulf* is even greater than the gap between the *Beowulf* and the *Iliad*."

⁹⁷ Cf. Ker, *Romance and Epic*, pp. 105, 147; Comparetti, *l. c.*, pp. 331-332; A. Lang, *Custom and Myth* (1885), pp. 156-158; Gummere, *Pop. Ballad*, p. 266.

⁹⁸ Thus, in characterizing (see above, p. 254) the ancient Castilian epic as that national art which addressed itself to the nation as a whole—usually, as we have seen, it is represented as meant for the aristocracy only—Menéndez Pidal

whatever ambiguity one may employ the terms popular or national epopee, whatever qualities one may regard as peculiar to such productions, whether harshness of expression, abrupt changes of thought or the clash of fierce passion with Christian ideals, such poems cannot, as disintegrative criticism pleads, be composed "en-su más remoto origen por cualquier hombre de viva imaginación, fácil palabra é instinto musical que hubiese sido testigo de un hecho grande ó que por tradición oral lo supiera."⁹⁹ As Comparetti justly observes,¹⁰⁰ and as is recognized in principle by competent literary critics everywhere, a long poem, whether anonymous or not, is the work of an individual, a work of art. It cannot be the product of a rustic, unfettered nature, but is brought forth according to principles which have been insensibly established by usage. And this usage, it need scarcely be said, comes from the natural, collective, impersonal poetry of the folk, a poetry which is quite as much the unconscious creation of man as language itself.¹⁰¹

The question, then, as to whether the Castile of the Infantes de Lara did, or did not, have a national epopee, resolves itself into one not of literary taste, but of evidence, of facts. Some reasons have already been given¹⁰² why at that time the county of Castile was far less prepared for the creation of such an art than the Asturo-Leonese monarchy for which, as we saw above, no experiments of this nature are soberly claimed.

The population of the petty principality of Fernan Gonzalez had barely begun to weave heroic legends of its own; it was still but feeling its way toward independent individuality; it had not yet formed the ideals which seek a higher phase of poetic art for their portrayal. But more than this. Engaged as it was in a bitter struggle

remarks that the poet cultivating it "sought to provide artistic enjoyment to the unlettered who, however, had to leave to the cultured the discovery of all the beauties his work possessed." Or, again, regarding the conjectured poem on the Siege of Zamora we are told (*Épopée*, p. 57): "[La Chanson] joint à une grande valeur archéologique un mérite artistique de premier ordre." Cf. also *l. c.*, pp. 75, 80, and the equally uncertain ideas of Puyol y Alonso, *La Gesta de D. Sancho*, p. 54.

⁹⁹ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, p. 41.

¹⁰⁰ *L. c.*, pp. 352-353.

¹⁰¹ See the literature cited I, pp. 17-18; II, p. 339.

¹⁰² See above, pp. 261-262.

for independence from the older and more stable commonwealth whence it had sprung, it lost the sympathetic echo which the fame of such personages as the counts of Castile would otherwise have found in the mother state;¹⁰³ it also lost the acquired momentum needed to cooperate with new impulses and circumstances in the movement toward a more developed form of poetry. Indeed, for the attainment of such maturity in the realm of art as is implied in the epics postulated by Menéndez Pidal it is difficult for any one who looks upon a poetic work as something more than the isolated caprice of an excited brain, to conceive of conditions more unfavorable than those obtaining in the Castile of the Infantes de Lara. A glance at the experience of France will make this still more clear.

In that country, the formation of heroic legends begins with the baptism of Chlodovech in 496, attains to its height under Charlemain, and is renewed under Charles the Bald († 877), the memory of whose achievements is said to have been preserved in song belonging to the first half of the tenth century.¹⁰⁴ Of this first heroic period, extending from the very end of the fifth century to the end of the tenth, no monument has come down to us. The epic poems to which the highest antiquity can be attributed are the *Chanson de Roland* and the one on King Louis,¹⁰⁵ which belong to the first quarter of the twelfth century.

The heroic age of Asturias and Leon may be dated from 711; that of Castile, at the earliest, from 850, that is, fully three hundred and fifty years after its beginnings in France. The Madrid critic admits, indeed, that the Spanish epic was later than the French,¹⁰⁶ but he nevertheless assigns its first monuments to the

¹⁰³ *Épopée*, p. 53, we read: "Le Poème de Fernan Gonzalez reflète bien les sentiments d'irréconciliable aigreur qui marquèrent, à cette époque, la rivalité entre la Castille et le Léon." Cf. also pp. 39, 42-43, and especially 80, where the important admission is made that "L'esprit de représailles et d'hostilité qui l'inspire ne pouvait faire du Poème de Fernan Gonzalez un poème national." But what evidence is there that it ever existed? On the general question, see the excellent remarks of Gummere, *Pop. Ballad*, pp. 270-271.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. G. Paris, *Manuel*, §§ 15-19.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. G. Paris, *l. c.*, § 22. As for the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, we pointed out before (II, p. 297), that it must be regarded as a didactic rather than an epic work, and that it dates from the second quarter of the twelfth century.

¹⁰⁶ *Épopée*, p. 34.

tenth century. More than this, he represents it as essentially Castilian from its origin, and as committed to writing.¹⁰⁷ The reader is thus asked to credit the tenth and eleventh centuries with the possession of at least one manuscript copy of each of a half a dozen or more extensive Castilian poems. The question here is not whether in a given period, recognized as unlettered, writing in the vernacular may have been applied by some one to the preservation of song, even if there was no reading public. This point may be readily granted. The question which concerns us is whether the mother-tongue of Fernan Gonzalez and his liegemen was Castilian as distinct from Asturian or Leonese, and whether it was fitted for literary use. If the language of the alleged poems is not supposed to have been Castilian in the concrete sense of the term, one naturally desires to know in what respect such poems are entitled to that name. As far as we are aware, these questions remain yet to be answered.

In his Chronicle composed in the reign of Alphonse III of Asturias (866-910), Sebastian of Salamanca complains that his compatriots had not written anything on the history of Spain since the time of Isidore of Seville (+ 636), and confesses to having based his own narrative entirely on tradition.¹⁰⁸ From Ambrosio de Morales we learn¹⁰⁹ that Oviedo, in possession of forty-one rare codices as early as 882, had no other than Latin manuscripts as late as 1576. It is no less significant that the fifteen Benedictine convents constituting the Benedictine congregation of Castile in the first part of the fifteenth century, had each a handsome collection of Latin codices, but scarcely any Hispanic texts, and none of narrative poetry in the vernacular.¹¹⁰ And we may finally call atten-

¹⁰⁷ *Romancero*, p. 6:

La poesía épica española es en su origen concretamente castellana; castellanos son todos sus héroes primitivos. . . . Los poemas que cantaban á estos héroes fueron compuestos primitivamente en los siglos X, XI, XII, y luego renovados y refundidos hasta en el siglo XV.

See also the extract given above, pp. 242-243; *Leyenda*, p. 38, and *Épopée*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁸ *España Sagrada*, 13, pp. 477-478. Cf. Dozy, *l. c.*, 1, p. 15.

¹⁰⁹ *Viaje* (Madrid, 1765), pp. 93-98. Among the ninety localities of Leon, Asturias and Galicia visited by Morales, only a dozen were found to have old manuscripts or printed texts, and none had any in the vulgar tongue.

¹¹⁰ See Beer, *Zur Ueberlieferung altspan. Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 31.

tion to the fact that no evidence of the written use of the vulgar speech of Castile in the period under discussion is known to paleography.¹¹¹

Let us now cast a glance at conditions in France.

In 813, the council of Tours, whose example was followed by other councils, decreed that the priests should put into the vulgar tongue the homilies which they addressed to their flock.¹¹² This, as G. Paris observed, was the beginning of serious literature in the vernacular. Needless to say that such a step would hardly have been taken if it had not been understood that the vulgar tongue had been fitted for the purpose by poetic activity and by its use in private documents. Indeed, the action of the Church was soon followed by the appearance of vulgar texts. The *Oaths of Strassburg* (843) are the first extant example of writing in French. This document was in all probability a vulgar version of a Latin model; and the same may be said of the *Eulalia* of the same century, the oldest relic of French poetry, and of the *Jonas*-fragment, of a hundred years later. These texts are characterized in the first place by orthographic uncertainty and by Latinisms, showing that the written employment of the language was of recent date and still an experiment, and in the second place by the fact that, owing in part to the scarcity of literary documents previous to the twelfth century, their original linguistic form cannot be determined with certainty.¹¹³

If we take as starting-point the Germanic migrations, which removed the obstacles lying in the path of a definite differentiation of Neo-Latin speech into separate national languages, we may say that the formation of French begins in the fifth century and continues without interruption till the appearance of the first written

¹¹¹ See, e. g., C. Rodriguez, *Bibliot. universal de la polygraphia española* (Madrid, 1738); A. Merino, *Escuela de leer letras cursivas* (Madrid, 1780); A. Alverá Delgrás, *Compendio de Paleografía* (Madrid, 1857); Muñoz y Rivero, *Manual* (Madrid, 1889, 2d ed.). Cf. also E. Terreros y Pando, *Paleographia* (Madrid, 1758), p. 21. Menéndez Pidal himself (*Revista de Archivos*, 12, 1904) has not been able to adduce Castilian documents anterior to the thirteenth century.

¹¹² Jean Hardouin, *Conciliorum Collectio*, 4, col. 1023-1024, XVII: Visum est unanimitate nostrae . . . ut easdem homilia, quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam, aut in Theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere quae dicuntur.

¹¹³ Cf. Petit de Julleville, *Littérature française*, 1, pp. lxxvi-lxxx.

documents, official and literary, in the ninth, a period of four hundred years. Yet, with the single exception perhaps of Rajna,¹¹⁴ no critic has credited that early formative epoch with the creation of full-blown epics. What our knowledge of epic evolution elsewhere¹¹⁵ permits us to attribute to the centuries preceding the *Chanson de Roland* is the existence of a popular art tending toward broader conceptions and more stable forms. This view is not without the support of specific evidence. While the eleventh century Latin text known as the Hague-fragment may, as Bédier has recently contended,¹¹⁶ not have the value for the history of the French epic that has been attached to it by some, the testimony of the *Vie de S. Alexis* and of the Provençal *Boethius* cannot be set aside. The metrical structure and the style of these poems are recognized by G. Paris and others¹¹⁷ as reflecting a more or less advanced stage of heroic song in the tenth century. That this opinion is reasonable appears clearly from the prevalence in the *Roland* of the symmetrical treatment of similar incidents and other modes of textual repetition which constitute a distinctive trait of all early balladry.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ *Origini*, pp. 478-485. That Rajna still adheres to this idea of the scale of primitive heroic song, may be inferred at least from his silence (*ROMANIC REVIEW*, 6, pp. 1-41) with reference to the primitive Castilian epics conjectured by Menéndez Pidal, and from his assumption that the latter influenced the form of the *romance* (*l. c.*, p. 41). Morf (*Deutsche Rundschau*, 1900, p. 377) seems to suppose that an indigenous heroic song existed in Spain before the influence of France began to exert itself with the pilgrimages to Santiago, and that it was this indigenous poetry which was developed into epics by the example of the French. Morf gives no hint as to what French epics preceding the *Chanson de Roland* he has in mind, nor as to the idiom in which he imagines his early "Castilian" epics to have been composed, nor yet as to what became of the pre-existent folksong (cf. *l. c.*, p. 393).

¹¹⁵ See above, p. 265, and note 101.

¹¹⁶ *Légendes épiques*, I, pp. 170-172. Cf. Suchier, *Les Narbonnais*, pp. lxxv-lxxxiii, and *Romania*, 29 (1900), pp. 257-259.

¹¹⁷ *Romania*, 13, p. 619. Cf. Rajna, *Origini*, pp. 491-492; and II, p. 298, note 17. Quite different is the opinion of Bédier, *l. c.*, 4, p. 463: Pour constituer le système de versification des premières chansons de geste, n'a-t-il pas fallu que le vers décasyllabe et le couplet sur une seule assonance fussent d'abord maniés et assouplis dès le XI^e siècle par le poète de la Vie de S. Alexis, dès le X^e par le poète du Boèce provençal?

¹¹⁸ See e. g., W. v. Biedermann, *Zur vergleichenden Geschichte der poetischen Formen*, in *Zeitsch. f. Vergl. Litteratur*, N. F. 2, 415 ff.; 4, 224 ff.; Gummere, *Popular Ballad*, p. 90 ff., 116 ff., etc.; W. M. Hart, *Ballad and Epic*, pp. 261-262.

Without the basis of a highly developed popular art, there would be no rational explanation for the remarkably rich efflorescence of the epopee in France.¹¹⁹ What we desire to emphasize here, however, is that when that epopee really appears in the reign of Philippe I (1066-1108), it is found to consist, as in ancient Greece, of poems which are works of art, popular only in the sense that they are eminently national by development and by interest.¹²⁰

The formation of the Spanish language which, in general, may also be said to have begun in the fifth century, was greatly retarded in its normal course by the isolation of the Goths from the Ibero-Romans,¹²¹ and by the Arabic invasion.¹²² The idiom of Castile, as an individual variety of Hispanic Romance, cannot, strictly speaking, date its beginnings further back than the middle of the ninth century, a time when, as we have seen, French literature was already in existence. It cannot, therefore, have become the medium of a national form of literary expression within a hundred years from that time. This fact, quite apart from the historical conditions previously considered, is alone sufficient to silence the claim of a Castilian epopee for the tenth and eleventh centuries which we have been asked to accept as "la conquête définitive de la science."¹²³ The reason why we do not have these long poems is not that they were lost, but that they did not, and could not, exist.¹²⁴ With them must of course be abandoned the series of recasts con-

¹¹⁹ Professor Warren, *On the Early History of the French National Epic*, in *Modern Philology*, 14 (1916), pp. 129-144, arrives at a similar conclusion from another line of argument.

¹²⁰ Cf. above, p. 250.

¹²¹ See above, p. 259, note 76.

¹²² Cf. Baist (*Grundriss*, I, p. 879, § 2): "Die Sprachbildung geht nach der arabischen Invasion von der altansässigen Bevölkerung im Norden aus, und die Mundarten bilden hier (mit dem Galicisch-Portugiesischen) eine Kette."

¹²³ See *Épopée*, p. 9; cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 7, 38. Some of these "conquests" are now being surrendered. See below, p. 278, note 161.

¹²⁴ Cf. II, pp. 340-341. It is only just to record here, with regard to the main point of our present inquiry, the opinion held by Menéndez y Pelayo (*Antol.*, 2, p. xiii):

Creemos firmemente que la epopeya castellana nació al calor de la antigua rivalidad entre Leon y Castilla . . . y que este es su sentido histórico primordial; lo cual no quiere decir que haya cantar alguno que se remonte a los oscuros y lejanos tiempos en que se elaboró la independencia del Condado; ni lengua castellana existia, cuanto menos poesía vulgar.

jectured to serve as sources of the extant old *romances*.¹²⁵ It is only in the days of the Cid that we find preparing that combination of circumstances which was to give to Castile, the dominant and absorbing power of Christian Spain, something of that national glow of life and thought which marks creative epochs of literature. In 1029, on the day when the young count Garcia (b. 1010) was to be married to Da. Sancha, the sister of King Bermudo of Leon (1027-1037), from whom he received the title of King of Castile, he was slain by the sons of the Leonese count Vela. Thereupon, his brother-in-law and guardian, Sancho the Great of Navarre (970-1035), who undertook to avenge him, was recognized as Count of Castile, and having made himself master of part of Leon, succeeded in putting an end to the feud between the two principalities by a matrimonial pact in 1032. Ferdinand, his second son, married the bereaved Da. Sancha and received Castile as independent kingdom. Under this its first king, upon whom in 1037 also descended the crown of Leon with Asturias and Galicia, Castile carried the victorious cross as far as Coimbra, and by her more central position and greater facilities for expansion soon became the nucleus of the united Christian states of Northwestern Spain. It was thus that a stirring sense of individuality and independence was awakened in the people of Castile, a sense which could not but impart new purpose and vigor to the popular balladry which there, as elsewhere, served as the natural expression of a race entering upon historical development.

This sense of nationality attained to its highest point under Alphonse VI (1072-1109) who once more united the three Christian states after a separation of seven years. The conquest of fortified places like Madrid and Guadalajara, but especially that of Toledo and its territory in 1085, added to Castile the center of the Peninsula, and exalted the patriotic sentiment of the people. The host of Castilians, Leonese, Asturians and Galicians fighting under Alphonse's banner was joined by men coming not only from other Christian parts of Spain, but also from France. Partly through these foreign elements, which were retained in the newly acquired

¹²⁵ See Menéndez Pidal, *Homenaje*, I, p. 491 (Reprint, p. 24), and especially *Leyenda*, p. xiv, and *Romancero*, p. 6.

districts by liberal grants of land and other privileges, partly also through the linguistic and poetic traditions of Leon and Asturias, which allowed the national character and circumstances to operate more and more on ground already prepared, the speech of Castile must have received a new impetus of growth, giving it a more individual coloring as well as more definite and stable traits.¹²⁶

We have repeatedly had occasion to refer to the important part played by France in quickening the intellectual life of Spain.¹²⁷ It will now be necessary to consider somewhat more in detail the various forms which this influence took in the first literary epoch of Castile. According to all appearances, it was the monastic reform proceeding from Cluny that was foremost in bringing about an advance in refinement and letters. From the beginning of the eleventh century, we hear of priests from Aragon and Navarre visiting Cluny to study its monastic life. By a decree signed by Sancho the Great of Navarre in 1021,¹²⁸ the reform is introduced in the monastery of Leyre where Sancho had spent his youth.¹²⁹ In 1029, when this monarch became Count of Castile, the rule of Cluny was established there.¹³⁰ How devoted Ferdinand I of Castile and his son Alphonse VI were to Cluny, is well known. During the long reign of the latter, the clergy sent out by that institution were given the highest places in the Church and other important positions. Their example affected every phase of Spanish life. They supported the papacy in forcing Alphonse VI to replace, in opposition to the will of the people and the native priesthood, the inherited Visigothic liturgy by that of Rome (1090), and the Isidorian script by the Frankish (1091).¹³¹ By removing usages

¹²⁶ Cf. Terreros y Panda, *l. c.*, pp. 16-17: "Pero la reconquista de Toledo, hecha por D. Alonso VI, . . . dió nueva y mayor extension a la lengua Castellana, cuya primera juventud, por decirlo así, duró casi dos siglos, hasta entrar en edad de discreción en el feliz Reynado de Fernando III, y en el de D. Alonso el Sabio." Cf. also *l. c.*, p. 25; Rios, *l. c.*, 2, pp. 172, 404-407; 3, pp. 64-65, and Baist, *Grundriss*, I², p. 407, § 24.

¹²⁷ See above, p. 261; I, pp. 28-29; II, 346-347.

¹²⁸ See Mabillon, *Ann. Bened.*, 4, p. 273 ff.; E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser* (Halle, 1894), 2, pp. 104-105.

¹²⁹ Sackur, *l. c.*

¹³⁰ Sackur, *l. c.*, p. 108 ff.

¹³¹ See, e. g., Rodrigo of Toledo, *De rebus Hispaniae*, l. vi, c. 26; Mariana, *Historia general de España*, l. ix, c. 6; Lafuente, *Hist. gen. de Esp.*, 5, pp. 308-309, and Rios, *l. c.*, 2, pp. 170, 268, 378 ff.

which had divided the clergy of the Spanish Church, these changes doubtless spread, as Rios remarks,¹³² the cultivation of the liberal arts, and aided the literary development of the vulgar tongue.

The activity of foreign ecclesiastics of superior classical training lent new force to the prestige which Latin had enjoyed as the only instrument of official and literary expression. It revived, among other things, Latin historiography, maintaining it in undisputed sway until the very middle of the thirteenth century in such works as the *Gesta Roderici Campidocti*,¹³³ the *Historia Compostelana*, due in large part to French authorship,¹³⁴ the *Chronica Alphonsi Imperatoris*¹³⁵ and the Chronicles of Lucas of Tuy (—1236) and Rodrigo of Toledo (—1243). It accounts also to a large extent for the use of Latin in the poetical treatment of national legends and personages.¹³⁶ Not to mention traces of a Latin epic dealing with Sancho II and the Cid, an epic which in the opinion of Cirot seems to be reflected in a Latin Leonese chronicle contemporary with the work of the monk of Silos,¹³⁷ we have as evidence of what may be termed the semi-popular Latin poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, employing the forms of the sacred poetry of the time, the elegiac song on Ramon Borrel III of Barcelona (1018),¹³⁸ the fragment of a poem on the conquest of Toledo,¹³⁹ the hymn on the Cid which, as Rios well says,¹⁴⁰ recalls the ancient tradition of the religious hymns sung by clergy and people, the introduction of a song in praise of Ramon Berenguer IV (1137–1162)¹⁴¹ and the well-

¹³² *L. c.*, 2, p. 171.

¹³³ Beside Risco's edition (Madrid, 1792), we now have the reprint of the text due to the care of Foulché-Delbosc (*Revue Hispanique*, 21, pp. 412–459). Cf. Du Ménil, *Poésies populaires lat. du moyen-âge*, p. 287 ff., and Rios, 2, pp. 174–182.

¹³⁴ *España Sagrada*, 20. Cf. Rios, *l. c.*, p. 183.

¹³⁵ *España Sagrada*, 21, pp. 321–409.

¹³⁶ Cf. Rios, *l. c.*, pp. 191–233.

¹³⁷ "Chronique latine léonaise inédite" (in *Bulletin hispanique*, 11, 1909, p. 263): "Le rédacteur de cette chronique a dû avoir sous les yeux quelque poème dans le genre de celui qui est consacré à la prise d'Almería." Cf. *l. c.*, p. 266.

¹³⁸ Printed by Rios, *l. c.*, p. 334 ff.

¹³⁹ Printed in Rodrigo of Toledo, *l. c.*, l. vi, c. xxii. See Rios, *l. c.*, p. 212, note 1.

¹⁴⁰ Printed in Du Ménil, *Poésies pop. lat. du moyen-âge*, p. 308 ff.; Rios, *l. c.*, p. 343 ff.; Bertoni, *Il Cantare del Cid*, Bari, 1912, p. 197 ff. See the discussion of the piece by Rios, *l. c.*, p. 212 ff.; Baist, *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 5, 69 ff.

¹⁴¹ Printed in Rios, *l. c.*, p. 347, no. xxiii.

known *Poema de 'Almeria* which, while not intended to be sung like the other texts, is pervaded by a truly patriotic, Castilian spirit.¹⁴²

It was, however, not only into Latin writing, but also into the native vernacular poetry of Spain that the action of France infused new life. Such action, as has already been said, began as early as the tenth century with the pilgrimages to Santiago. Without it, one would find it difficult to understand how the idiom and the poetic types of Galicia and Northern Portugal could have matured to serve as the primitive instrument of an artistic lyric in the Central and Western Part of the Peninsula as early as the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁴³ And in view of the unity of poetical tradition between Asturias, Leon, Galicia and Northern Portugal,¹⁴⁴ it is clear that the lays called forth in those regions by the heroic struggle between the Cross and the Crescent must have been similarly affected by contact with the more advanced balladry of France. It is in all probability in this early period that, as G. Paris suggested,¹⁴⁵ the form *Rodlan*, which must have been the form of the name preceding the Oxford *Roland*, passed into the current Spanish *Roldan*. Now, this older popular influence of France upon Peninsular song became more conscious and systematic in the course of the eleventh century, when Castile placed herself under the tutelage of Cluny. The Chronicle of Turpin, the composition of which falls in the period between 1126 and 1160, and may have been inspired by Cluny, is the earliest direct evidence we have of the introduction of the French epic into Spain.¹⁴⁶ Attention has already been called¹⁴⁷ to the ancient practice of the clergy and the people of Spain to sing hymns in unison on festal occasions. This intimate relation between sacred poetry, the poetry of the Church, on the one

¹⁴² Contained in *España Sagrada*, 21, pp. 399-409. See the discussion by Rios, *l. c.*, pp. 219-228.

¹⁴³ See I, p. 21 ff.

¹⁴⁴ See I, pp. 19-23.

¹⁴⁵ *Histoire poétique*, p. 204. In Provençal *Rotlan* is the old and regular form; in Gallego-Portuguese *Roldam*, as, e. g., in *Canc. Vat.*, 1066, a poem of the thirteenth century.

¹⁴⁶ See the instructive discussion of this document by Bédier, *Annales du Midi*, 1911.

¹⁴⁷ See above, p. 261.

hand, and the daily life of the people on the other, shows itself also, as Rios remarks,¹⁴⁸ in the community of purposes subserved by the municipal *fueros* and the local hymns. And as the sword followed the cross in the struggle of centuries, the secular Latin poetry, that poetry which commemorated legends and events interesting the whole nation, followed in the footsteps of sacred song. Employing as it did the forms of the hymns, it served in its turn as the model for the native poetry in the vernacular whose interests it shared. Nothing can illustrate better this indebtedness of vernacular song to the Latin hymns than the *Cantigas de S. Maria* ascribed to Alphonse X, some of which, as has already been pointed out, foreshadow the *villancico* and the *romance* as they appear on the literary record of the fifteenth century.¹⁴⁹ As is well known (though overlooked by many), the great majority of the 418 poems called *Cantigas* are narrative songs, only sixty being lyrical. It is, therefore, as will be shown more in detail on a later occasion, chiefly in matters of form, as in the mastery of metre and strophe, that the development of the indigenous folksong was aided by its more cultivated Latin sister.¹⁵⁰ And there can be nothing more erroneous, nothing more contrary to well established facts characteristic of the early musical training of the Spanish people¹⁵¹ than the theory so tenaciously asserted and reasserted, that the heroic song of Castile had no well-defined, regular versification at its command previous to the fourteenth century, and that the metrical disorder of the extant text of the *Poem of the Cid* is an example of such technical immaturity.¹⁵²

There remains to be considered still another and no less important effect, which the advent of French ecclesiastics had upon

¹⁴⁸ *L. c.*, v. 2, p. 202.

¹⁴⁹ Regarding the question of French influence in the *Cantigas*, Collet and Villalba (*Bulletin hispanique*, 13, p. 286) express themselves as follows: "Plutôt que dans la structure, l'influence française se remarque dans le *mélос* de quelques *cantigas*."

¹⁵⁰ This is, of course, not to say that the hymns were not, in their turn, to a large extent indebted to the forms of popular poetry. As a matter of fact, recent investigation in the history of music has led to the conclusion that the Church introduced in its liturgy popular songs, or songs based upon popular melodies, and that these were also used in the musical art of the troubadours.

¹⁵¹ See above, p. 256, and note 59.

¹⁵² See I, p. 18; II, pp. 295-303.

poetical activity in Castile. This is the beginning of literary composition in the vernacular.

In the twelfth century, that is, in the period when the Castilian people had attained to full consciousness of their individuality, France was cultivating two kinds of poetry in the vulgar tongue, the national epic, and religious and other didactic composition in the single-rhyme quatrain of Alexandrine lines. Both kinds soon became known to the clerical circles of Castile which then almost exclusively constituted the lettered class. It was natural that religious poetry, so well suited to the national character, should appeal to the clerics particularly as a model for imitation. And many of them, without doubt, resorted to writing in their mother-tongue with all the more readiness as they found themselves unable to meet the high standard of Latinity set for them by the monks of Cluny. This much is revealed to us in the candid confession of Gonzalo de Berceo in his *San Domingo de Silos* (copla 2) :

Quiero fer una prosa en romance paladino,
En qual suele el pueblo fablar a su vecino;
Ca non so tan letrado por fer otro ladino.
Bien valdra commo creo un vaso de bon vino.¹⁵³

In these words we have an authentic testimony not only of one of the motives of the time for using the vernacular for literary purposes, but also of the comparative novelty of this practice. As regards the latter point, this testimony of the *mester de clerecia* is supported by other no less significant facts which it would be idle to mention here but for their singular neglect on the part of those who assign the beginnings of extensive composition in the speech of Castile to the second half of the tenth century. One of these facts is the simplicity of form and feeling which marks the essays in artistic writing by Berceo and his contemporaries.¹⁵⁴ Another, the Latinisms and the orthographic uncertainty noticeable in earlier imitations of foreign models, such as the *Auto de los Reyes*

¹⁵³ The inability of many of the Spanish clergy in that period to speak Latin is the subject of a disciplinary measure adopted by the council of Valladolid of 1228 (see *España Sagrada*, 37, p. 217).

¹⁵⁴ Cf. e. g., Rios, *l. c.*, 3, pp. 233-234, 238; Wolf, *Studien*, pp. 62-63; Baist, *Grundriss*, II², pp. 402-403; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 2, pp. xxxii, xlv ff.

magos.¹⁵⁵ Still another, that it was only in the reign of Ferdinand III (1230-1252) that Castilian was adopted in place of Latin as the language of the royal chancellery, while the Leonese dialect served this purpose nearly a century earlier in the *fueros* of Oviedo (1145) and Avilés (1155).¹⁵⁶ Lastly, the earliest literary prose in Castilian belongs, as is well known, to the second half of the thirteenth century, which is in perfect harmony with the fact observable wherever we have any record of literary evolution, namely, that prose, as a conscious form of artistic expression, is the younger sister, if not the daughter, of poetry.

In Portugal, the earliest verse dates from the last decades of the twelfth century¹⁵⁷ and the earliest extant prose from the beginning of the fourteenth.¹⁵⁸ In France, literary prose in the strict sense of the term appears toward the end of the twelfth century, in Provence in the thirteenth, its use having been considerably retarded in both regions by the mighty flow of varied narrative and lyric verse. In Italy, to cite one more case, the oldest extant work of the Sicilian lyric dates from about 1220,¹⁵⁹ while literary prose is first represented by the letters (1260) of the troubadour Guittone del Viva which, as Gasparly remarks, still betray some dependence

¹⁵⁵ The differences of opinion expressed with regard to the language of the *Poema del Cid* will be considered later.

¹⁵⁶ The *fueros* of Oviedo (1145) and of Avilés (1155) were published together by A. Fernández Guerra (Madrid, 1865). Menéndez Pidal, *El dialecto leonés*, p. 8, considers the *fuero* of Avilés the oldest example of Asturian, and the most important of the two *fueros* from the linguistic point of view. Not so Beer (*Zur Ueberlieferung*, p. 28, and note 1), who on the contrary is inclined to regard the *fuero* of Avilés as a forgery in view of the fact that none of the documents of the twelfth century contained in Muñoz y Rivero's collection has the same script. Cf. Hanssen, *Gramática española*, p. 9, § 20. According to Staaff, *Dialecte léonais*, p. 177:

Les chartes royales sont jusqu'à l'époque d'Alphonse le Savant écrites en Latin et n'ont même après cette époque nul intérêt au point de vue dialectologique. Quant aux documents ecclésiastiques, ils commencent à la même époque à être rédigés en espagnol. Dans les chartes privées, au contraire, le latin cède de bonne heure à la langue populaire. Les chartes du XII^e siècle offrent un mélange de latin et de passages espagnols ou presque espagnols.

¹⁵⁷ See the references given by the writer in *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, 32, p. 129, note 4.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Carolina Michaelis, *Grundriss*, II², p. 207 ff.

¹⁵⁹ Still older lyric verse in Italian is contained in two poems of the Provençal singer Raimbaut de Vaqueiras written before 1202. Cf. Gasparly, *Storia della Letteratura italiana*, I, pp. 47-48.

on poetic usage.¹⁶⁰ We see, then, that as a rule literary prose in the vernacular makes its appearance not later than within about a hundred years of literary verse. According to this, therefore, the rise of the vernacular of Castile into the realm of letters may be reasonably expected about the middle of the twelfth century, in other words, precisely at the time to which the earliest extant poetic documents belong and from which, with few exceptions, all students of Spanish literature have dated it.¹⁶¹

(To be continued)

ERRATA TO ARTICLE II

Page 302, note 46, l. 2, supply "edition" before "Madrid, 1861."

311, l. 6 from below, read "on Conde" for "in Conde."

313, l. 17 from above, supply "second half of the" before "eleventh."

323, l. 6 from below, read "Asturias" for "Asturia."

328, l. 13 from above, put comma after "niño."

332, l. 12 from above, read "the spiritual ballads of Alphonse X" for "these."

334, l. 17 from above, read "anywhere" for "anwhere."

338, l. 3 from below, read "Spain" for "Castile."

340, note 254, l. 1, read "unhistorical" for "historical."

¹⁶⁰ *L. c.*, p. 139.

¹⁶¹ It is irrelevant to our question whether Menéndez Pidal characterizes the productions of his alleged national epopee of the tenth and eleventh centuries as extensive epics, or whether, as in his recent discussion of these matters (*Revista de Filología española*, 1916, vol. 3, no. 3), he admits a considerable reduction of the proportions of one or more of them by saying (*l. c.*, p. 242, note 4):

El "romanz" del Infante Garcia creo que era, según indico adelante de pasada, un poema corto, una especie de romance juglaresco, no tradicional, ni épico-lírico. Los cantares de Bernardo creo que eran poemas extensos.

In a later part of the same article (p. 269) he announces the following as his general principle:

El romance tradicional se deriva de una narración poética en estilo por lo general más amplio y circunstanciado, ora de una gesta, ora de un romance juglaresco, erudito, artificioso, vulgar o como quiera que sea. Las pruebas que damos para una de estas derivaciones apoyan indirectamente la otra, pues todas concurren armónicamente a mostrar que el romance tradicional no es un producto originario, sino una derivación de la obra de un poeta, que escribe por lo general en otro estilo más propiamente narrativo.

LOPE DE VEGA AND THE PRAISE OF THE SIMPLE LIFE

IN the *Hijo Pródigo* of Lope de Vega, which first appeared in *El Peregrino* (Seville, 1604), the lyric passage beginning "Cuan bienaventurado"¹ is called by Menéndez y Pelayo "una paráfrasis del *Beatus ille* de Horacio."² On closer examination it is evident that the passage in question is not imitated directly from Horace but from Garcilaso de la Vega and Fray Luis de León. It is in the form of the "lira." By "lira" we mean the grouping of verses of seven and eleven syllables into stanzas of from five to seven lines. The name comes from Garcilaso's poem beginning:

Si de mi baja *lira*
tanto pudiese el son, que en un momento
aplacase la ira
del animoso viento,
y la furia del mar ye el movimiento. . . .³

Garcilaso was the first poet in Spanish to use this verse-form in treating the general motif of praise of the country life, and it was adopted as the best form of Horatian imitation by the most celebrated of the imitators, Fray Luis de León.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the fact that Lope knew Garcilaso and his work. Aside from the fact that Lope was born some nineteen years after Garcilaso's poems were published, he mentions him a number of times in the *Laurel de Apolo* as the "divino Garcilaso," "el claro Garcilaso de la Vega,"⁴ and refers to him in many other passages. Did Lope also know the work of Fray Luis? It is true that Fray Luis' works were not published in full until 1631, but we know that "el Brocense" published along with his annotations to Garcilaso in 1574, three odes and the epode of

¹ Lope de Vega, Real Academia ed., ii, p. 66.

² Lope de Vega, Real Academia ed., ii, p. xliii.

³ Garcilaso, *Obras*. Ediciones de *La Lectura*, p. 197.

⁴ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxviii, p. 188 et sq.

Horace beginning "Beatus ille," all translations by Fray Luis.⁵ We know too that Lope knew of the work of Fray Luis, for in the prologue of *El verdadero amante* composed probably when the author was twelve years old⁶ and later dedicated to his son, Lope says, speaking of those poets who excel in the use of their native tongue: "el Petrarca en Italia, el Ronsardo en Francia y Garcilaso en España; a quien también deben sus patrias esta honra; y lo sintió el celestial ingenio de fray Luis de León que pretendió en ella." Further, in the *Laurel de Apolo*,⁷ Lope speaks thus of Fray Luis:

¡Qué bien que conociste
el amor soberano,
augustino León, fray Luis divino,
oh dulce analogía de Augustino. . .

It is very evident too that Lope's appreciation for the poets of his own day was such as to make it quite possible for him to have borrowed from one of them rather than from a Latin original, for in *El Cardenal de Belén*, which appeared in 1620, Lope praises the modern poets those who are living, as against the ancients:*

Notables palabras de aquel filósofo contra los que piensan que no se puede alabar ni estimar lo que habemos conocido y tratado y que solo es digno de fama lo que no vimos ni conocimos . . . ¡ Desdicha humana, remitir precisamente la fama para el sepulcro, donde callando la lengua, hablen los mármoles, y que lo que se merece en vida, se reserve para la muerte cuando el que no vió ni conoció al que escribe (y él tenga tan poco que le agradecer como quien ya no siente) haga tan diferente idea de su rostro! . . . ¿Por que no gozará de la fama en vida quien la merece muerto? . . . ¿Qué objeción puede ser haber nacido en este siglo?

Compare now the poems of Lope in which he praises the joys of the country and the simple life with similar poems of Garcilaso and Fray Luis and it will be clear that in such poems Lope does not imitate Horace but these two predecessors, and a filiation from Garcilaso through Fray Luis to Lope can be established.

⁵ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Horacio en España*, i, p. 14.

⁶ Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 97.

⁷ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxviii, p. 200, "Silva iv."

* Lope de Vega, Real Academia ed., v, p. 153.

Beginning with Garcilaso, probably the most famous is the poem found in the second eclogue:⁸

¡Cuán bienaventurado
aquel puede llamarse
que con la dulce soledad se abraza,
y vive descuidado,
y lejos de empacharse
en lo que al alma impide y embaraza!
No ve la llena plaza,
ni la soberbia puerta
de los grandes señores . . .

A la sombra holgando
de un alto pino o robre,
o de alguna robusta y verde encina,
el ganado contando
de su manada pobre . . .

Convida a dulce sueño
aquel manso ruido
del agua que la clara fuente envía
y las aves sin dueño
con canto no aprendido
hinchén el aire de dulce armonía;
háceles compañía
a la sombra volando,
y entre varios olores
gustando tiernas flores,
la solícita abeja susurrando;
los árboles y el viento
al sueño ayudan con su movimiento.

Further on in the same Eclogue there are other lines which are echoed in Fray Luis:

Y en medio aquesta fuente clara y pura . . .⁹

a la pura fontana fué corriendo . . .¹⁰

la fuente clara y pura murmurando
nos está convidando a dulce trato . . .¹¹

⁸ Garcilaso, *Obras*. Ediciones de *La Lectura*, p. 29 et sq.

⁹ Garcilaso, *Obras*, p. 48, line 443.

¹⁰ Garcilaso, *Obras*, p. 49, line 476.

¹¹ Garcilaso, *Obras*, p. 85, line 1152.

In the Canciones, note also the following:

Con un manso ruido
de agua corriente y clara,
cerca el Danubio una isla, que pudiera
ser lugar escogido
para que descansara
quien como yo esté agora, no estuviera . . .¹²

el fiero Marte airado
a muerte convertido,
de polvo y sangre y de sudor teñido . . .¹³

In the same Eclogue, the same idea with the repetition of the word "bienaventurado" found in the second Eclogue, occurs again:

Oh bienaventurado que sin ira,
sin odio, en paz estás, sin amor ciego . . .¹⁴

Of all the imitators of Horace, the foremost was Fray Luis de León and his best known poem is the *Qué descansada vida*. In this as well as in some other poems of Fray Luis there are not only evident traces, but also borrowings, of phrases and expressions from Garcilaso. Let us remember that Garcilaso died in 1536 and that his poems were published seven years after his death by the widow of his friend the Poet Boscán—published, that is, when Fray Luis was about sixteen years old. Consequently there can be little doubt that Fray Luis knew Garcilaso's work. A citation from the *Qué descansada vida* shows plainly the influence of Garcilaso. The text is that of Professor Federico de Onís:¹⁵

Que no le enturbia el pecho
de los soberbios grandes el estado . . .

Despiértlenme las aves
con su suave canto no aprendido . . .

Vivir quiero comigo,
gozar quiero del bien que debo al cielo,

¹² Garcilaso, *Obras*, p. 183, line 1 et sq.

¹³ Garcilaso, *Obras*, p. 198, line 13 et sq.

¹⁴ Garcilaso, *Obras*, p. 158, line 289 et sq.

¹⁵ *Revista de Filología Española*, tomo ii, 1915, p. 250 et sq.

a solas, sin testigo,
libre de amor, de celo,
de odio, de speranza y de recelo. . . .

desde la cumbre ayrosa
una fontana pura
hasta llegar corriendo se apresura; . . .

El ayre el huerto orea
y ofrece mill olores al sentido;
los árboles menea
con un manso ruido
que del oro y del cetro pone olvido. . . .

tendido yo a la sombra esté cantando. . . .

A la sombra tendido,
de yedra y lauro eterno coronado, . . .

Not only in this poem but also in others of Fray Luís there are verses reminiscent of Garcilaso.

y el fiero Marte airado
el camino dejó desocupado, . . .¹⁶

Es bienaventurado
varón el que en concilio malicioso
ni anduvo descuidado, . . .¹⁷

By examining Lope's poems on the *Simple Life*, it will be seen that his source of inspiration is not directly Horace, as Menéndez y Pelayo thinks, but Garcilaso de la Vega and Fray Luis de León. The poem in question found in the *Hijo Pródigo* follows:*

¡Cuán bienaventurado
justamente se llama
aquel que como yo contento vive,
aquel que con su hacienda
5 alegre en pobre casa
no envidia los alcázares pomposos

¹⁶ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxvii, p. 17.

¹⁷ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxvii, p. 45.

* Lope, Real Academia ed., II, p. 66.

- de los soberbios príncipes,
no los jaspes y mármoles,
no los dorados techos,
10 no los suelos de pórfido
ni sus mesas espléndidas y llenas
de diversos manjares,
que despueblan las tierras y los mares.
 Cuál hay que por oficios
15 de la propia república
bebe los vientos, las estrellas cansa,
los pajes y porteros
tiene ya tan mohinos
que hasta las mismas puertas le conocen.
20 Cuál para la defensa
de sus confusos pleitos
solicita al letrado,
y el letrado sus libros,
y el jüez los escucha y todos juntos
25 sin descansar trabajan
para subir por donde algunos bajan.
 Cuál sigue al fiero Marte,
y honrado de su herida,
la seca sangre al Rey presenta fresca.
30 Cuál vive con lisonjas;
cuál, fingiéndose hipócrita,
el corazón en dignidades baña;
cuál se queja de todos;
cuál de todos murmura.
35 ¡Oh vanidad del mundo!
¡Oh gran casa de locos!
¡Oh cuerdo yo, que en soledades vivo,
señor de mi ganado,
no envidioso jamás, siempre envidiado!
40 Ríndenme aquí los montes
su leña en el invierno,
sus sombras y frescura en el verano,
su cristal estas fuentes,
su fruto aquestos árboles,
45 estos sembrados sus espigas rojas,
su lana estas ovejas,
sus flores estos campos,

sus peces estos ríos,
estas aves su música.
50 Dichoso yo que de la envidia lejos,
sin servir a ninguno,
ni vivo importunado ni importuno.

Comparing this poem of Lope's with the *Beatus ille*, it is readily seen that, but for the general idea of the praise of the country life, there is really no direct imitation or translation of the Epode of Horace. But on the other hand, compare it with Garcilaso in the first place and then with Fray Luis de León. Not only does the same general motif persist but reminiscent phrases and expressions occur which recall both of these predecessors.

The first two lines in the above poem of Lope are practically the same as the following from Garcilaso already quoted :

Cuan bienaventurado
aquel puede llamarse . . .¹⁸

This phrase "Cuan bienaventurado," which in poems praising the simple life is found first in Garcilaso, occurs frequently in Lope. It is not a literal translation of the Horatian epode (which, by the way, is translated by Fray Luis "Dichoso el que de pleitos alejado"),¹⁹ and it is scarcely probable that by pure chance Lope hit upon the same phrase as Garcilaso. Evidently it is imitated directly. Compare also with line 7 of Lope the following two lines with exactly the same idea from Garcilaso :

ni la soberbia puerta
de los grandes señores . . .²⁰

and line 37 of Lope with Garcilaso's

que con la dulce soledad se abraza,
y vive descuidado, . . .²¹

¹⁸ Garcilaso, *Obras. La Lectura*, p. 29.

¹⁹ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxvii, p. 37.

²² Garcilaso, *La Lectura*, p. 30.

²³ Garcilaso, *La Lectura*, p. 29.

Compare with lines 7 to 11 of Lope's poem the following from Fray Luís:

Que no le enturbia el pecho
de los soberbios grandes el estado,
ni del dorado techo
se admira, fabricado
del sabio moro, en jaspes sustentado . . .²⁴

And also the following:

Aunque de marfil y oro
no está en mi casa el techo jaspeado
con la labor del moro,
ni las vigas de Himecia sustentado
columnas muy labradas . . .²⁵

And with the first few lines from Lope's poem compare the following from Fray Luis:

Es bienaventurado
varón el que en concilio malicioso
no anduvo descuidado . . .²⁶

Also,

El cual (i. e. el consultor) . . .
del campo a la ciudad por mal llevado
llama sin esperanza
del buey y corvo arado
a la ciudad, no bienaventurado . . .²⁷

As to other poems of Lope beginning with "Cuan bienaventurado," there are four of them. They are to be found in *Los Tellos de Meneses*, *Los Pastores de Belén*, *Comedia de Bamba* and a poem in *El Villano en su Rincón*²⁸ which begins with the "Cuan bienaventurado" phrase but treats not of the simple life but of the classical idea found in Greek tragedy,—“how happy a man is cannot be told until he is dead.”

²⁴ *Que descansada vida*, ed. of Onís, *loc. cit.*, p. 250.

²⁵ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxvii, p. 31, Oda, xviii, lib. ii.

²⁶ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxvii, p. 45, Salmo Primero.

²⁷ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxvii, p. 15, Del Mundo y su Vanidad.

²⁸ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxiv, p. 154.

In *Los Tellos de Meneses*²⁹ the lyric recited by Tello el Viejo is as follows:

Cuán bienaventurado
puede llamarse el hombre
que con obscuro nombre
vive en su casa, honrado
de su familia, atenta
a lo que mas le agrada y le contenta.

Sus deseos no buscan
las cortes de los reyes
adonde tantas leyes
la ley primera ofuscan
y por el nuevo traje
la simple antigüedad padece ultraje . . .

Yo salgo con la aurora
por estos verdes prados . . .

Miro con el cuidado
que salen mis pastores;
los ganados mayores. . . .

Y, como en ellas ojos,
frutas entre sus hojas,
blancas, pálidas, rojas,
del verano despojos,
y en sus ramas suaves
canciones cultas componer las aves.

In the *Pastores de Belén*, written probably in February, 1612,³⁰ is found Lope's *canción*.*

¡Cuán bienaventurado
aquel puede llamarse justamente
que sin tener cuidado
de la malicia y lengua de la gente
a la virtud contraria,
la suya pasa en vida solitaria!

Dichoso el que no mira
del altivo señor las altas casas
ni de mirar se admira
fuertes columnas oprimiendo basas

²⁹ *Obras*, Real Academia, vol. vii, p. 308.

³⁰ Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 201.

* Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxviii, p. 346.

en las soberbias puertas
a la lisonja eternamente abiertas. . . .

Dichoso el que, apartado
de aquellos que se tienen por discretos
no habla desvelado. . . .

Dichoso pues mil veces
el solo que en su campo, descuidado
de vanas altiveces,
cuanto rompiendo va con el arado
baña con la corriente
del agua que distila de su frente. . . .
y allí, cantando de diversos modos,
de la extranjera guerra
duerme seguro y goza de su tierra . . .

In the *Comedia de Bamba*,⁸¹ the same motif of the "Simple Life" as well as the usual beginning "Cuan bienaventurado" is again found:

¡Cuán bienaventurado
es el que vive en su sabroso oficio,
remoto y apartado
del traje y del bullicio
do las maldades hacen su ejercicio!
Entre ellas no se ofusca,
sino la soledad dichoso busca.

No ve del gran Monarca
los vestidos famosos de escarlata,
sino una tosca abarca
que al pie le liga y ata;
no sabe qué color tiene la plata,
por más que al Rey le sobre,
ni señas sabrá dar del bronce o cobre.

Entre paredes pardas
entapizadas de frondosas hiedras,
cubiertas de mil bardas,
como en paja la serba,
la honra amada con razón conserva,
y la tiene muy cierta
no como el cortesano, a puerta abierta.

⁸¹ *Obras*, vol. vii, p. 51.

No ve los homenajes
ni los soberbios y altos torreones
que de sus tres linajes
son eternos blasones,
sus águilas, castillos y leones;
ni ve del Rey la cara
ni besa del señor la mano avara.

Ténganse allá los reyes
su reino poderoso,
que yo con mis dos bueyes
me hallo más ufano
que si fuera señor del suelo hispano,
al lado de mi Sancha,
que ni mi honor ofende, ni lo mancha.

Estése allá en su sala,
hasta que llegue la ligera muerte
que a todos nos iguala,
haciendo en el rey suerte,
como en el pobre su guadaña fuerte;
que sólo la mortaja
ser de ruán o anjeo es la ventaja.

In conclusion, it is evident that in those poems where Lope treats of the "Simple Life" he is influenced not directly by Horace as Menéndez y Pelayo says, but by Garcilaso de la Vega and Fray Luis de León. Not only in the general idea but in the particular phrases and forms of expression as well as in the verse form, the "lira," the influence of these two poets on Lope is apparent. It is certainly highly improbable that Lope should have hit upon the same metrical form and similar phraseology by mere accident. His poems dealing with the simple life may indeed be regarded as paraphrases of Horace but paraphrases which come from Horace indirectly and through Garcilaso de la Vega and Fray Luis de León directly.

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GONTIER COL AND THE FRENCH PRE-RENAISSANCE.
PART SECOND:—LITERARY ANTIPATHIES AND
PERSONAL SYMPATHIES

(Continued from p. 165)

IV.—THE QUESTION OF THE *Curial*

In the same Tours Manuscript that contains Col's letter to Ambrosius de Miliis, blaming him for his behavior to Monstereul, and two letters of the Italian Humanist to Col,¹ is also found the unsigned Latin letter *De Vita Curiali*, that most critics consider the Latin text of Alain Chartier's *Curial*.² The letter has nothing by which to identify it, save the following descriptive note:³ "Actum ambasie die secunda february anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo vicesimo quinto." The only important deduction from the above is that it was written before 1425. The letter has been reprinted by Martène in his *Amplissima Collectio*,⁴ with a heading not in the Tours MS. "Ambrosio de Miliis ad Gontherum," and the date 1435 instead of 1425. Collon⁵ considers this an "attribution douteuse," although it is warmly championed by Heuckenkamp and accepted by Groeber.⁶ The German savant had not seen the Tours MS., which he thought was probably lost,⁷ and so bases his theory on the probability (although he admits the contrary possibility) that the "Ambrosius de Miliis ad Gontherum" heading was to be found in the Tours MS., which did not prove to be the case. This of course weakens Heuckenkamp's point that Chartier did not

¹ MS. No. 978.

² A. Piaget, *Le miroir aux Dames*, Neuchâtel, 1908, pp. 25-26; *Romania*, vol. xxx, pp. 45-48; p. 393, n. 2.

³ *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, No. 37, Tours, p. 703.

⁴ II, c. 1459 seq.

⁵ *Cat. Gén.*, p. 703.

⁶ *Le Curial*, Halle, 1899, pp. xxx-xxxiv. Groeber also accepts Heuckenkamp's theory. *Grundriss*, 2', p. 1104.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. xi. G. Paris and A. Thomas concur in the statement that it was not lost (*Rom.*, xxviii, p. 484).

write the *De Vita Curiali*, a theory that has been vigorously attacked by Piaget⁸ and Thomas.⁹ To both these savants the Latin *Curial* was due to Chartier's pen, and the inscription in Martène, "Ad Gontherum," suggests that the editors of that compilation simply found this letter among others written by Ambrosius and Col to each other, and moved by a probability, put down the ascription as an actuality.

Heuckenkamp, although accepting—as has been said above—Ambrosius de Miliis' authorship of the *De Vita*, does not believe that the "Gontherum" referred to is Gontier Col. His reasons are, that if it had been written to Col, it would necessarily have been written before 1395, as Col began his court career in that year. It is a little difficult to see as M. Piaget notes¹⁰ why Heuckenkamp makes his court life begin with Col's journey to Avignon and disregards his position as King's notary since 1380. Moreover, while denying that the *De Vita Curiali* is dedicated to Col, Heuckenkamp makes a suggestion concerning the "Gontherum" of the *Amplissima Collectio* reprint. He surmises that it is the "Franc-Gontier" that Philippe de Vitry had just popularized in his *Dit de Franc-Gontier*—the countryman contented with a quiet existence along with a mate of his choice.¹¹ This theory identifying the "ad Gontherum" with Franc-Gontier is attractive, but the first lines of the *De Vita Curiali* makes it hard to accept.¹² "Vir diserte," as referring to "Franc-Gontier," could scarcely be considered apt by any reader of Vitry's poem. Moreover, although we have seen that the term "frater" was used loosely among the Pre-Renaissance group,—an example of which is Nicolas de Clamanges' oft-repeated "frater carissime" addressed to Col,—there is a considerable dif-

⁸ *Romania*, 1901, pp. 45-48.

⁹ *Romania*, 1904, p. 393, note 2; p. 394.

¹⁰ Piaget, *Romania*, 1901, p. 46, and *Le Miroir aux Dames*, Neuchâtel, 1908, pp. 25-26. Je rappelle pour mémoire que M. Heuckenkamp a tenté d'enlever à Chartier la paternité du *Curial*, qui serait l'œuvre d'un humaniste italien, Ambrosius de Miliis. Mais cette thèse, qui un moment a rencontré une grande faveur, n'est plus aujourd'hui soutenue ni soutenable.

¹¹ Heuckenkamp, *Curial*, p. xlv. G. Paris refutes this theory, *Romania*, xxviii, p. 484.

¹² Heuckenkamp, *Curial*, p. 2. The opening lines:

"Suades sepius et hortaris, vir diserte ac carissime frater, ut tibi ad vitam curialem anhelanti ingressum locumque preparem et in officio curiali assequendo intercessione opeque adiutem," etc.

ference between such a usage and the fact of the Humanist author of *De Vita Curiali*, calling Franc-Gontier "carissime frater." While there is no evidence going to show that Alain Chartier did know the members of the Pre-Renaissance group,¹³ there is also nothing to prevent our supposing that he was probably not ignorant of their activities.

As far as sentiments expressed are concerned the *De Vita Curiali* might have been written by any one of several of the Pre-Renaissance group, as well as by Alain Chartier. Vitry's poem has already been mentioned, and it is believed to have inspired Pierre d'Ailly to write *Combien est misérable la vie d'un tyran*.¹⁴ Both these were done into Latin by Nicolas de Clamanges.¹⁵ Monsteruel, in his letter to Col and Manhac,¹⁶ approaches still more closely the idea that inspired the *De Vita Curiali*, viz., scorn for court life. The letter is cast in the form of a vision, that threadbare literary commonplace of the period, and describes how Terence appears to the author, roundly abuses court life, and advises him to give it up, to live in the country, love solitude, read books, etc. All this is much in the tone of the *De Vita Curiali*.

Here are four men with distinct Pre-Renaissance sympathies, extolling the simple life and describing the drawbacks of a court existence. The subject was accordingly decidedly in the atmosphere among this little group of writers—perhaps as a contrast to the stormy times in which they dwelt. Living in a country rent by internal strife and foreign wars, it may be that these men felt a longing for a quiet life, for an occasion of mental stock-taking—a revulsion against the artificialities of court life. Or it may have been simply an attempt to use literature as an escape from life. There is still another consideration which seems plausible and which might explain these

¹³ A. Thomas, in *Romania*, 1904, p. 393.

¹⁴ *Rom.* XXIX, p. 112 sq.; *Rom.* XXVII, p. 64. P. Tschackert: *Peter von Alli*, Gotha, 1877, p. 353.

¹⁵ A. Müntz, *Nicolas de Clémenges, Sa vie et ses écrits*, Strasbourg, 1846, p. 60. 14. Descriptio vitae tyrannicae se trouve dans Phil. Camerarius, *Operoe horarum subcisivarum*, p. 61. 15. Carmen de vitae rusticae felicitate. *Ibid.* The translation is also found in Lydius' edition of Clamanges, *Opera Omnia*, p. 355. Nicolai de Clemangis Descriptio vitae tyrannicae cum detestatione ac reprobatione. Note dedication: *Ad Guntherum Colli*.

¹⁶ *Ampl. Col.*, vol. ii, col. 1398.

poems about country life. Monstereul quotes Vergil's Eclogues as though they were familiar,¹⁷ and to a group who knew and admired Petrarch, Vergil's Eclogues were probably not unknown. What more natural than that the above-mentioned Frenchmen wrote and translated the poems in a conscious imitation of a classic literary *genre*, to wit, the pastoral. To be sure, this *genre* was not a flourishing one in France at this epoch. There had been a period of efflorescence of that theme in the twelfth century with the *pastourelle*, but its great vogue had passed, and although there is more of the pastoral element in France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than is generally acknowledged, it was found most often in the Nativity plays, noëls, chansons, and political pastorals; that is to say, the pastoral setting was used as a cover under which to edify religiously, or to attack, flatter or exhort, politically. So while there was enough of the French pastoral influence extant at that time to lead us to admit that the *Franc-Gontier* at any rate may have owed to it part of its inspiration, we can scarcely deny at least a tincture of the Humanistic spirit to the poems of Vitry and Ailly.

V.—GROUP ASPECT OF CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

The quarrel between Jehan de Monstereul and Ambrosius de Milliis also brings out the group aspect of the Pre-Renaissance, for like the real Renaissance, it had its coterie, to wit, a rather closely knit literary group with an aggressive cast of mind, which we might suggest was one of the favorite means by which France puts into motion her literary reforms. This would describe the Pléiade, as it would the Lyons School, and could also be used without too great an extension of the term, to the group to which Gontier Col belonged. This group also consisted of a number of men moved by the same literary ideal, altho the great difference between them and the two Renaissance coteries lies in the fact that the men of the earlier group were amateurs of letters rather than professionals—as were Ronsard and Maurice Scève. The significance to us of this group as such is briefly this. Bound by ties of friendship certain men exchanged letters that are important in giving

¹⁷ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 60. *Ampl. Col.*, vol. ii, col. 1405. The same line is quoted in both places, Vergil, Eclogue 2, line 35.

us information about them and their intellectual activities that is available nowhere else. Such a source of information is peculiarly valuable when dealing with a man like Col, who was permeated by the diplomatic fear of putting pen to paper; whose self-effacing tendencies are hinted at in the beginning of one of Monstereul's letters, "*Sed rursus peto a te, Gonthere, ne lateas*"; and whose deplorable habits as a letter-writer Monstereul complains of to Col, although he tries to defend him against the criticism of his friends on that score.² If Col was indeed chronically a poor correspondent, it would explain the paucity of letters by him that have come down to us—rather puzzling in view of the large number of letters extant written to him by his friend.³

The dearth of letters by Col could not be quite satisfactorily explained on the theory of a possible confiscation of his property and seizure of his papers, attending his supposed murder in 1418, for a like fate befell other men, whose correspondence, or at least enough to judge them by, has been preserved for us. A case in point is Gontier Col's friend, Monstereul.

A good example of the value of the letters of the members of this group is the "*praeceptores*" letter, written to Col and Manhac by Monstereul; although in view of the dates when Col and Monstereul became secretaries of the King, and in the absence of any trace of Col having taught in any of the Paris colleges, the term "*Praeceptores*" is probably not to be taken literally, but is used in the same loose way that Nicolas de Clamanges uses "*frater carissime*" in his letters. Moreover, Monstereul studied in Paris (though he did not take his degree),⁴ and perhaps this circumstance affects somewhat the attitude of the good Prévôt. There is also another point to be noted. Gontier Col went to Avignon in 1395 where he first came in personal contact with Italian thought. Jean de Monstereul visited Italy for the first time in 1394-1395. It seems not unlikely that he got a glimpse of Humanism, just enough to appeal to his imagination, and when he returned to Paris and was thrown with his fellow-secretary Col, who had also just

¹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³ Clamanges, Monstereul, Miliis.

⁴ Thomas, p. 5.

returned from his first contact with Italian life, and who had similar literary tastes with possibly more complete formal scholastic training, it is not to be wondered at that he takes the attitude he does towards Col.

Monstereul's letters to Col are a mine of information,⁵ and show that he was a friend for whom the Prévôt de Lille had great respect. In one of them is found a good description of Col's attitude towards learning and scholars.⁶ Here Monstereul speaks of Col as the man who first advised him to study, who inspired him by his exhortation and his example. He also refers to Col's habit of taking books on his travels with him so as not to waste any time. This testimony to his love of books is confirmed by one of Col's safe-conducts from the English King,⁷ which specifically mentions "libris" in the list of Col's possessions. Monstereul also speaks of his friend's love for discussing things pertaining "ad eloquentiam" (rhetoric), and his encouragement extended to men interested in learning. In still another letter of Monstereul to Maître Gontier the latter's love for the classics and Vergil is again emphasized.⁸

In spite of the testimony of the Prévôt de Lille as to Col's love of Vergil, this author is not quoted by Col in the very pedantic speech he made before the Duke of Brittany, nor in his letter to the Pope, although both contain classical allusions. Col quotes from the Bible (6 citations), "Boèce" (1), "Cato" (1), "les droiz" (1), "la loy" (1), "Orace" (1), Petrarch (1), "Roman de la Rose" (1), "Salust" (1), "Terence" (1), "la Tragédie" (1), anonymous (5). In his letter to the Pope he cites only the Bible, Sallust, and Anneus Seneca, once each. The list is not particularly significant for our purpose, I think, save to note the absence of quotations from Vergil (as already mentioned) or Pliny, although there is evidence to prove that Col owned a manuscript copy of the letters of Pliny. This information is drawn from a letter of the eminent churchman, Nicolas de Clamanges,¹⁰ a friend and cor-

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁷ Rymer, vol. 9, p. 139.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

¹⁰ For his letters to Col, consult his *Opera Omnia*, Lydius edition, 1613, which contains all but fifteen, for which A. Müntz, *Nicolas de Clémenges*, pp.

respondent of Col's. The story runs that Clamanges, during his stay at Avignon as papal secretary, came to know the librarian of Benedict XIII, and that when Nicolas spoke of his friend Col having a manuscript of the letters of Pliny and that a copy might be made for the Pope's library, the librarian was overwhelmed with joy.¹¹

From the nature of the writings that Col has left us, there is little internal evidence as to his first-hand knowledge of the classics, and this information must be drawn from other sources. We have seen that Monstereul tells us that Col admired Vergil; Clamanges tells us that Col owned a copy of Pliny's letters. Beyond this it is not safe to go, for although Monstereul describes Col as one who

23 and 27, note 2, refers to the following works: D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, Paris, 1723, vol. i; Buloeus, *Historia universitatis Parisiensis*, 1670; Baluse, *Miscellanea*, 1713 (vol. vi). For unedited letters of Clamanges to Col, see *Bibliothèque Nationale*; Fonds Latin, 3127, folios 21vo and 36vo, 37rto.

¹¹ Nicolas de Clamanges, *Opera Omnia* (Lydius edition, 1613), Ep. 38, pp. 121-122, cited by L. Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, i, p. 486. While Clamanges' letter fixes Col's ownership of a copy of Pliny's Letters, which is the only thing that directly interests us here, we might note that in the *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque d'Urbain V* (1369) (in M. Faucon, *La librairie des Papes d'Avignon*, vol. i, pp. 93-262), there are references to four copies of Pliny without noting which Pliny is meant: p. 154, No. 694; p. 162, No. 798; p. 163, No. 800; p. 176, No. 965.

However, in view of the following entry, it is possible that both were represented:

Francisci Petrarca, *Epistolae de Rebus Familiaribus et Variarum* (ed. Fracassetti, Florentiae, 1862), vol. ii, p. 182, Epistola V.

"In versiculis autem ad te scriptis quos tam ardentem efflagitas, scito Plinii Secundi consilio opus esse, quem Italia excedens in patria sua, Veronae scilicet, ingenti virorum illustrium comitatu acie, dimisi. Hic mihi Plinius nusquam est, nec alteri, quod equidem ego noverim, nisi romano pontifici."

Although it is known that the Pope's library under Benedict XIII had suffered losses, in the Catalogue of the library of Peniscola there is the following reference to Pliny's letters (M. Faucon, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 140, No. 933):

"Plinius secundus in epistolas."

There are several other references to Pliny in the same catalogue, without, however, distinguishing between the two Plinys as above (Faucon, vol. ii, p. 128):

No. 773. Item, Plinius in uno volumine.

No. 774. Item (6) Prima Pars Plinii.

No. 775. Item Secunda Pars Plinii.

No. 776. Item. Plinius in uno volumine.

The lack of exact dates make it impossible to identify No. 933 with the manuscript that was to be copied for the Pope from Col's copy of Pliny's letters. F. Ehrle, in his *Historia Bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis* (Romae, 1890), throws no light on the subject.

was interested in original sources, the fact that Col quotes Terence, Cato, Horace is no proof that Col has read them in the original, although this is probable. The manner in which he quotes Petrarch and Jehan de Meung along with the Latin writers and the Bible is refreshingly Renaissance in tone.

Nicolas de Clamanges' letters to Col also show the friendship existing between the two men. His rôle in the quarrel with Ambrosius de Miliis has already been mentioned, and it is rather interesting to note that it is in one of the letters in the quarrel, that of Nicolas to Jehan, that there is perhaps the clearest statement of the friendship of Col and Jehan.¹² Another letter of Nicolas makes mention of Pierre Col, Gontier's brother.¹³ He also writes to Col on such varied subjects as the corruption of the times,¹⁴ their common love of books,¹⁵ the plague raging in Paris,¹⁶ and Col's troubles during the Civil Wars.¹⁷

From a broader point of view, Nicolas is interesting to us not only because of his relations with Col, but because of the stand he took in regard to the state of the Church. I do not wish to touch the subject as to whether he wrote the *De Corruptio* or not, but this much is to be noted: That it is a product of the period and was believed for a long time to be his; and that such a violent attack on the Church did not astonish people into indignantly denying the possibility of its being his. So the Pre-Renaissance like the real Renaissance had in it elements that were germs of the Reformation, although they were all blended together at the beginning of both movements. In the real Renaissance, after a little time, they became separated; in the Pseudo-Renaissance, the movement was checked before any very great development could take place.

The letters of Monstereul and Nicolas de Clamanges not only give us information about the three friends, but also serve to show their connection with prominent savants and littérateurs of the day, such as the famous Gerson, although his position towards them is fairly well defined by his rôle in the quarrel of the *Roman de la*

¹² *Opera Omnia*, p. 31, "Tamen inter," etc.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

Rose. Another prominent savant to whom Monstereul has written a few letters was Pierre d'Ailly, whose lay interests were not only Humanistic, but scientific rather, if I may phrase it so. He was of an inquiring turn of mind, but that faculty of his for investigating untrodden paths, instead of spending itself exclusively in the search and study of Latin texts, turned to astrology and geography, and his *De Imagine Mundi* was the result of this work.¹⁸ It would fall quite outside of my province to discuss the question as to how much of an inspiration Ailly's work proved to be to Columbus in his explorations. This much is sure, the discoverer of the New World owned a copy of the *De Imagine Mundi*,¹⁹ and quoted Ailly's work.²⁰ In addition to the geographical interest which was a prominent factor of the real Renaissance, d'Ailly is significant from still another point of view, i. e., as a writer of mystic poetry.²¹ Among his works are *Le livre du Rossignolet*, which has been called a "chant de mystique amour,"²² *la piteuse Complainte et Oraison dévote de humaine créature qui de l'estat de péché nouvellement à Dieu veut retourner*, and *Le Jardin amoureux de l'âme dévote*, which was printed in Lyons between 1515 and 1527.²³ The element of mysticism in the works of Marguerite de Navarre and of the School of Lyons, which is known to all, shows still another bond between the false and the true Renaissance.

In spite of their interest in the classics and the sciences, however, Ailly and Gerson must be regarded as thoroughgoing theologians, too deeply steeped in mediaeval traditions and too busy with the Schism to be considered forerunners of the Renaissance on the purely literary side.

Philippe de Vitry has already been mentioned, but it is a little difficult to define his personal relations to the three friends, in view

¹⁸ C. Guignebert, *De imagine Mundi ceterisque Petri de Alliaco geographicis opusculis*, Paris, 1902.

¹⁹ H. Harrisse, *Fernand Colomb, sa vie, ses œuvres*, Paris, 1872, pp. 88, 119, 170.

²⁰ A. de Humboldt, *Examen Critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent*, etc., i, 60-70, 76-83.

²¹ L. Salembier, *Les œuvres françaises du Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, évêque de Cambrai*, *Revue de Lille*, Décembre, 1906.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 200.

²³ J. Babelon, *La Bibliothèque Française de Fernand Colomb*, Paris, 1913, pp. 92 and 93.

of the paucity of material.²⁴ It is easy to take Philippe de Vitry as an example of the mutations of reputation, for few writers have been the subject of such varied statements and corrections.²⁵ This poet, whom Petrarch addressed as "Tu poeta nunc unicus Galliarum,"²⁶ is represented to us by the *Dit de Franc-Gontier* already mentioned and by the *Chapel des fleurs de lis*. He was long considered the author of that interminable *Ovide moralisé* now ascribed to Chrestien Legouis de S^{te}-More.²⁷

There are a number of contemporaries of Col who had no personal relations with him that have left any trace, although some corresponded with Monstereul and it seems not out of place to mention a few of them here, inasmuch as they were very representative of this epoch. I have in mind first of all the group of translators. Passing reference has already been made to the fact that, although the translators of Charles V (with whom must also be counted those of the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Orleans) had by no means the point of view of the modern scholar towards their text, neither was theirs wholly that of the mediaeval *clerc*. Their attitude on the linguistic side may not be devoid of interest. Let me quote Brunot:²⁸

Au XIII^e siècle, si considérable que soit le nombre des termes empruntés au latin, si conscients même que puissent être certains emprunts, on ne voit point d'effort systématique pour naturaliser des mots latins.

Or c'est là ce qui caractérise les latiniseurs de l'époque nouvelle (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). A tort ou à raison, soit éblouissement des chefs-d'œuvre qui leur sont révélés, soit paresse d'esprit et incapacité d'utiliser les ressources dont leur vulgaire dispose, ils se sentent incapables de l'adapter à des besoins nouveaux et ils le déclarent. Ils ont désormais une doctrine, et un système.²⁹

²⁴ A. Thomas, *Les lettres à la cour des Papes*, Rome, 1884, pp. 56-59.

²⁵ *Romania*, xxvii, pp. 55-92. A. Piaget, *Le Chapel des fleurs de lis de Philippe de Vitry*.

²⁶ P. Paris, *Manuscripts français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, iii, 180-181.

²⁷ *Romania*, x, 455. B. Hauréau, *Mémoire sur un commentaire des métamorphoses d'Ovide in Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xxx, Part ii, pp. 52-53.

²⁸ *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900*, Paris, 1905, vol. i, pp. 515-517. For mention of Pre-Renaissance group, Jehan de Monstereul, Gontier Col, pp. 525-526; Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 541.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 518.

The systematic enriching of the language was also the end and aim of the Pléiade on the linguistic side, although theirs was a much broader programme than that of the translators of Charles V. It is also worth noting the fourteenth and fifteenth century opinion as to the rôle of the translator in developing literature, in view of the importance of the Renaissance translators, who can not be disregarded when the literature of the sixteenth century is studied. The results of the systematic vocabulary-building with Latin material are undeniable. Brunot says:⁸⁰ "Le nombre de mots latins introduits à cette époque ne saurait être déterminé, même par approximation" . . . "Dans l'ensemble toutefois il restera certainement acquis que l'importation s'est alors fait en masse." This is significant, for it shows certain of the aims and results obtained by the Pre-Renaissance on the linguistic side to have been shared by the Pléiade. Herein lies their importance for us.

The first two translators of the fourteenth century in point of time, Oresme and Berquière, seem to have had no connection with our group, but mention might be made of Laurent de Premierfait, who, it will be remembered, remonstrated with the Prévôt de Lille when that worthy had the laws of Lycurgus carved on the front of his house, and accused him of Paganism. Monstereul treated this charge with little seriousness. He thanked his friend for his good advice, but had no hesitation about stating that his interests leaned to mundane things rather than to sacred ones.⁸¹ This attitude is quite Renaissance in tone; it involves the "separation of Faith and Reason,"⁸² which was logically worked out in Pomponio Lato. Without, indeed, going quite so far afield, Monstereul's own contemporary, Coluccio Salutati, said that the Bible was only poetry, in parts, and he cited the poetic books of the Scriptures to defend his stand concerning the reading of the pagan poets.⁸³

This incident shows that Monstereul's point of view reflected some of the Paganism of the Italian Humanists. It will be noted that Col left no similar trace of incipient tendencies. The point has

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 518.

⁸¹ *Ampl. Col.*, vol. ii, col. 1409, No. xlvii.

⁸² *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, May 21, 1896, p. 447; Petit de Julleville, *Jean de Montreuil*.

⁸³ *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, Roma, 1896 (ed. Novati), vol. iii, pp. 541-542.

been raised by Hauvette as to whether the Laurent de Premierfait of the Lycurgus incident can be the one who translated Boccacio's *De casibus virorum illustribus*, and the *Decamerone* into French. He explains the problem by positing two distinct sides to Premierfait's nature,⁸⁴ interpreting him as an interesting type of a transitional man, with all the contradictions so frequently found in a transitional epoch, to wit, that of a member of the Church of Rome who did not hesitate to translate the *Decamerone*, and yet of one who called a friend to account for his fondness for Lycurgus, on the ground that it was too secular. Of course, this is a case of the mote and the beam, but it admirably illustrates the subsequent Renaissance struggle between love for divine and profane interests, and as such is of interest to us.

The first translator of the *Decamerone* into French is also an innovator in a small way, for he was one of the first to translate a book written in a modern tongue, although his method of doing so is mediaeval enough to warrant attention being drawn to it. As Laurent de Premierfait did not know Italian, he took a collaborator, an Italian monk, who translated the *Decamerone* into Latin, and Laurent translated the Latin version into French.⁸⁵ This probably did not seem at all questionable to a century that had translated a number of Greek texts, not from the original, but from the Latin translations and modern scholarship has been skeptical of the claims put forward that Guillaume Fillastre knew that language,⁸⁶ since not

⁸⁴ Hauvette, *De Laurentio de Primofato*, p. 29:

"Laurentium de Primofato cum Laurentio Joannis adversario aequari posse vix credibile arbitramur. Non tamen de duobus distinctis Laurentiis agi confiderenter asseverare audemus; hoc saltem confirmari posse nobis videtur: si Laurentius unus et idem est qui M. Tullii, Aristotelis et praesertim Boccacii opera transtulit, sacrorumque studiorum causam adversus paganae antiquitatis fautores oravit, fateri debemus duos homines, duas indoles, duas mentes in uno corpore exstitisse."

The only good argument against this theory is one brought forward by Hauvette himself, viz., that in view of the flippant tone of Jean de Monstereul's letter to Laurent de Premierfait, it is improbable that he (J. de M.) would let slip such an excellent "tu quoque" as that afforded by a mention of Laurent de Premierfait's translations of Boccacio.

⁸⁵ H. Hauvette, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

⁸⁶ Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82. L. Delaruelle, *G. Budé*, Paris, 1907, p. 5:

"On trouve en tête d'une traduction du Phédon, qui est à la bibliothèque de Rheims, une lettre de Filiastre au chapitre de Reims pour qui il avait fait exécuter le ms. (*Catalogue Général des Manuscrits*, xxxix, 1^{re} Partie, p. 171.)

a Greek MS. is found in this library of Rheims, which contains a number of his MSS. His interest in antiquity was pronounced, however, and that is what gave rise to the idea that he was a Hellenist. He had an inquiring turn of mind, and classical antiquity was not alone in holding his attention. He had an interest in the sciences of mathematics and geography, and his work in the last-named subject would have made its mark,⁸⁷ had it not been completely cast in the shade by the geographic works of his brilliant friend and contemporary, Pierre d'Ailly.

Passing mention may also be made of Jean Courtecuisse,⁸⁸ translator of the *Traité des Quatre Vertus*, who with Jacques de Novion took Monstereul's side in his quarrel with Ambrosius de Milliis.⁸⁹

When the Pre-Renaissance movement is viewed in its general aspects, it is interesting to note the number of points it has in common with the Renaissance proper. The most striking is the influence of Humanistic Italy through its well-known men, through the presence of its less well-known Humanists in Paris, and through trips into Italy undertaken by Frenchmen with scholarly training. To this may be added the rôle of the literary coterie in the development of both the Pre-Renaissance, and the Renaissance proper. In fact, the group to which Col belonged might well be compared without stretching a point to the literary groups of the sixteenth century. Other points common to the two movements are, the activity of the school of translators, and the movement for the conscious enrichment of the vocabulary. The writers on mysticism in the sixteenth century remind us that the Pre-Renaissance had Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson, while in an entirely different field Christine de Pisan's rôle in contemporary letters is a faint forecast of the rôle of the sixteenth century woman in literature.

To these purely literary resemblances between the Pre-Renaissance and the Renaissance proper might be added other points in common that are not primarily of a literary character. A case in

C'est là . . . ce qui a donné lieu à la tradition . . . qui constitue une erreur évidente. Parmi tous les livres de Filiastre qu'a recueillis la bibliothèque de Reims il n'y a pas un seul ms. grec."

⁸⁷ R. Thomassy, *Guillaume Fillastre considéré comme géographe*, Paris, 1842.

⁸⁸ A. Coville, *Recherches sur Jean Courtecuisse et ses œuvres oratoires*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, No. 65 (1904), pp. 469-529.

⁸⁹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

point would be the desire for reform within the fold of the Roman Catholic Church, set forth by such men as Nicolas de Clamanges and Jean Gerson in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a movement that had its parallel in the sixteenth century, and eventually led to the Reformation and the Counter-Reform. In still another field certain activities of the Pre-Renaissance foreshadow the real Renaissance. I refer to certain theoretical writings, such as those of Pierre d'Ailly, on various physical aspects of the earth, which were the *livre de chevet* of that master of experimental geography, Christopher Columbus.

It will be seen from the foregoing that traces of some of the dominant literary tendencies of the sixteenth century may be found in French literature at the end of the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth centuries.

VI.—THE RÔLE OF THE “NÉGOCIATEUR” IN THE EARLY RENAISSANCE

Gontier Col and Jehan de Monstereul were “négociateurs,” i. e., diplomatic agents, and by reason of their position came in contact with foreign life. It was while on a diplomatic mission to Avignon in 1395 and to Florence in 1396, that Col had an opportunity to come into personal contact with Italian thought. Monstereul also went to Italy in his official capacity about this time (1394–1395).¹ The imagination of both men was apparently fired by the new spirit that was permeating contemporary Transalpine thought. Col, in the course of his life, devoted his energies mainly to English embassies, and the fiscal matters of the kingdom; but Jehan de Monstereul went to Avignon in 1404, and to Rome in 1412. During the last-named trip he came to know the Early Renaissance Italian men of letters, such as Coluccio Salutati, Leonardo Aretino, Niccolo Niccoli.²

That Col and Monstereul were of such a cast of mind that they would have caught some spark of Humanism even if they had never come in personal contact with Italian life, seems improbable. It is Jean de Monstereul, the one of the two friends who had made a stay

¹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 and 89.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 10 and 12.

in Italy and had known the Italian men of letters, who was the real Humanist, for Col is left far behind by his friend on this score, and Col's importance is rather that of the "enlightened amateur," who encourages by his interest and by his discerning praise or criticism. Both his knowledge and that of Monstereul of matters Italian was brought about thru their diplomatic careers. The rôle of diplomacy in spreading the Humanistic spirit is therefore to be noted; the more so that Col and Monstereul were not primarily literary men, but intellectuals of the day, with minds alert to new ideas and a new outlook on life.

In this connection it might not be devoid of interest to note that diplomacy was responsible for Petrarch's visit to Paris in 1361, and although he had established friendly relations with Frenchmen during his stay at Vaucluse—notably with Berçuire³—it was after this embassy that Jean le Bon tried to induce the Italian poet to come to his court,⁴ and his stay apparently made an undeniable impression on the French court.⁵ Nor was this true only of France at this time. The same phenomenon may be observed in contemporary England where there were also men whose position as diplomats opened to them mental vistas that they might not have known otherwise. Chaucer is perhaps the most eminent example.

Altogether it seems plausible that these "négociateurs" played a rôle in bringing Humanism into France by reason of the life they led. Doors that would have been closed to the average foreign traveler were opened to them thru their official position, and men with their tastes and eagerness for antiquity were keenly alive to all the advantages that their profession threw in their way.

VII.—CONCLUSION

In the light of what has gone before concerning Col and the Pre-Renaissance group in France at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, the following salient points are conspicuous. Col, like some of the contemporary Italian Humanists and in contrast with the second generation of Humanists, was not first and foremost a professional man of letters. He was

³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴ Robinson, J. H., *Petrarch*, New York and London, 1914, pp. 125-126.

⁵ G. Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1912, p. 156.

an example of the "négociateur-amateur" and belonged by birth to the *bourgeoisie*, which had come to the fore in the fourteenth century. He was also typical of the laïcisation of learning—a field of human endeavor that had for centuries been confined to the clerical caste. A testimony to the breaking down of bars in this direction is seen in the semi-literary quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose*, in which a layman (Col) and a woman (Christine de Pisan) take part. Maître Gontier's attitude in this quarrel is dictated both by his bourgeois point of view, which was not particularly tolerant of the knightly attitude on the woman question, and by his defense of the individualistic moral code, which was peculiarly characteristic of the Renaissance.

As for the artistic side of the Pre-Renaissance, Col shows an interest in fine manuscripts, tapestries, relics of the Saints set in jewels—a taste which in all its phases was Mediaeval as well as Renaissance; and there is no documentary evidence to show that he had leanings towards the artistic interests of the early Italian Humanists.

Col's chief interest to us lies in that his was what may be called a pioneer mind: he was deeply interested in the contemporary quickening of intellectual interests, whether in the classics or the "sciences." In his case, the interest was in the classics, and his genuine love of books is pretty well established by contemporary evidence. The other point of interest for us lies in his relations with Monstereul, and the rôle he played in the latter's development along the lines of Humanism. In this case, Col taught better than he knew, for Monstereul, who called him his "praeceptor," surpassed him in his receptivity of the new spirit.

The connection between Col, Monstereul and Clamanges, and the rôle that they played as a group, in the early development of Humanism in France, must also be noted as well as the importance played by the diplomatic position of Col and Monstereul, in throwing them in contact with the Humanists. It seems fairly clear that the rôle of diplomatic missions must not be disregarded when tracing the introduction of Humanism into France.

As has been observed, Col has left little literary baggage, whether as regards descriptions of his missions or personal letters.

Yet enough can be gleaned from them and from contemporary documents to get a fair idea of the sturdy figure of the bourgeois of Sens, diplomatic agent and "carrier" of Humanism, who by his class, his affiliations, and his intellectual sympathies, foreshadows some of the dominant characteristics of the following literary age.

ALMA DE L. LE DUC

BARNARD COLLEGE

THE FRIENDSHIP OF JOSEPH SCALIGER AND FRANÇOIS VERTUNIEN

IV.—THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SCALIGER AND VERTUNIEN AFTER SCALIGER'S DEPARTURE FOR LEYDEN

(Continued from page 144)

IN 1591 Justus Lipsius, who for twelve years had occupied the chair of Roman history and antiquities in the University of Leyden, obtained a leave of absence in order to seek health at the baths in Germany. For some unknown reason he did not return to Leyden, as he had promised, and the authorities of the University were obliged to appoint his successor. Their choice fell upon Scaliger, "lequel s'est aisement acquis entre tous sçavants de ce temps le los de Phoenix de l'Europe."¹ A special envoy, Gerard Tuning, professor of civil law in the University of Leyden, was dispatched to France with letters for Henry IV from Count Maurice of Nassau and the States-General of the Netherlands, requesting the king to use his influence in persuading Scaliger to accept the call to Leyden, and with a letter to Scaliger from the States-General, beseeching him to "servir de flambeau et esperon aux etudes languissantes de la jeunesse par deçà, à l'avancement de la gloire de Dieu et service de la cause commune; assurons sa seigneurie qu'en tous endroits elle se trouvera rencontrée du faveur et respect que sa noble race et doctrine meritent."² Tuning delivered the letters to Henry IV, but was less fortunate with the letter addressed to Scaliger by the States-General. While on his way to the château of Preuilly, where Scaliger then was, he was robbed by the Leaguers of all the papers in his possession. Upon reaching Preuilly, he informed Scaliger of the contents of the letter from the States-General, and also told him that Henry IV had consented to his departure. Scaliger, who, as

¹ From the letter of the States-General of the Netherlands to Scaliger.

² Nisard, who cites these lines (*Le Triumvirat litt.*, p. 224), calls attention to the "français embarrassé" in which they are couched. The meaning of the expression "sa noble race" is made clear later in the present article.

I have said already, disliked lecturing, refused the offer of the University of Leyden, and recommended Jean Passerat for the place.³

As soon as it became known that the University of Leyden was seeking the services of Scaliger, an effort was made by Vertunien and others to keep him in France. To that end, he was offered a position then eagerly sought by eminent scholars and by nobles of high degree, the tutorship of Henry II of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, the posthumous son of Henry I of Bourbon and Charlotte-Catherine de la Trémoille.⁴ The Princess of Condé entrusted the negotiations to Du Plessis-Mornay,⁵ but, in order to influence Scaliger's decision, she herself wrote him the following letter :

Monsieur de l'Escale,

Encore que de long temps vos vertus aient illustré non seulement ceste France, ains toute l'Europe, si est ce qu'il semble que Dieu vous offre une occasion pour leur donner davantage de jour. Car bien qu'elles soyent espandues sur divers peuples, je tiens la plus part indigne de recevoir ceste lumiere; mais si vos labeurs s'employent à former un prince tel qu'est celuy que je desire qu'il preigne instruction de vous, ce sera faisant bien à un apporter de l'utilité à tout cest estat. La peine en sera moindre et la gloire plus grande. Ces considerations si importantes me font esperer qu'aurez tres agreable le desir que j'ay que vouliez accepter la charge d'instituer mon fils, lequel commence d'estre en aage pour recevoir vos belles impressions; son esprit est plus avancé que ses années.⁶ C'est pourquoy je croy qu'ayant les premiers fondemens de vous, l'œuvre en sera plus parfaite. L'esperance que l'on prent de luy⁷ merite d'estre augmenté par les enseignements d'un si digne personnage. Ne refusez donc, je vous prie, de servir au Roy mon Seigneur en

³ See a letter from Scaliger to Claude du Puy (Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 293).

⁴ Since Henry IV was still childless by his first marriage, Henry II, Prince of Condé, was heir presumptive to the throne of France.—Charlotte-Catherine de la Trémoille was suspected of poisoning her husband. Concerning her imprisonment at Saint-Jean-d'Angély, and also concerning the question of the legitimacy of Henry II, Prince of Condé, see Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des princes de Condé pendant les XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, II (1864), 179 ff. and 222 ff.

⁵ Cf. *Secunda Scaligerana*, article *Mornaëus*: "Monsieur Du Plessis pensoit faire beaucoup pour moy, et ne faisoit rien, quand il procura pour me faire estre precepteur du petit prince de Condé."

⁶ The Prince of Condé, born in 1588, was about five years old when this letter (undated) was written.

⁷ This child was to be the father of the Great Condé.

ceste occasion, lequel je sçay avoir ceste volonté,⁸ et d'obliger toute ceste France à vous. Pour mon particulier, j'estimeray atteindre au comble de ma plus grande felicité si je puisse acquerir ce thresor à mon fils; faisant peu d'estat de toutes les grandeurs du monde si elles ne sont accompagnées de la vertu. Le gentilhomme⁹ vous dira plus particulièrement mon intention sur ce subject. Auquel me remettant, je vous prieray le croire, et que je seray à perpetuité,

Vostre tres affectionnée et obligée amy

KAT. DE LA TREMOILLE.¹⁰

In the meantime Scaliger carried on a correspondence with Gerard Tuning, who had returned to Leyden, and gradually exhibited a willingness to accept the offer of the University of Leyden. The matter was soon arranged, and in the summer of 1593 Scaliger sailed from Dieppe for Holland, never to see France again.

Even after Scaliger's departure the Princess of Condé did not abandon hope of securing his services. In a letter to Louis de Chasteigner, Seigneur d'Abain,¹¹ she says that she envies the Netherlands for having won Scaliger, and remarks patriotically that the French ought to be ashamed for allowing him to be wrested from them. She adds that she still trusts that Scaliger will return to France and take charge of her son.

In a letter to Scaliger, written at Châtellerault on August 16 [1593], M. de la Bonnivière,¹² a gentleman of the Princess's household, said:

"Elle [the Princess of Condé] vous en escrit, et en a aussy escrit à Monsieur d'Abain pour le prier de vous persuader à prendre ceste charge, et oultre tout cela elle m'a commandé expressement

⁸ Such a statement from the Princess of Condé tends to disprove Nisard's assertion that Henry IV detested Scaliger. Compare the following words by Vertunien (Reves, *Epistres françoises*, p. 343): "Et m'a dict ledict Seigneur d'Alibous que certainement le Roy vous [Scaliger] eust faict tresbonne chere, et qu'il vous ayme fort" (March 9, 1593).

⁹ M. de la Bonnivière. Cf. *infra*.

¹⁰ Reves, p. 4. In the *Secunda Scaligerana*, article *Joseph Scaliger*, Scaliger says: "On m'escrivit pour estre precepteur ou superintendant du precepteur du prince de Condé, mais je ne l'ay pas voulu; je ne veux point estre courtisan. J'honore les grands, mais je n'aime point les grandeurs."—Jean de Vivonne, Marquis de Pisani, was finally chosen tutor of the young prince. He was assisted by Nicolas d'Aumale, Sieur d'Haucourt, and Nicolas Lefèvre.

¹¹ Reves, p. 358.

¹² Bounivière, according to Reves.

vous faire requeste de ne la vouloir refuser, avec charge de vous faire de si honnestes offres qu'eussiez eu occasion de vous en contenter."¹³

Up to the present time there has been a lacuna in the account of the efforts of the Princess of Condé to engage Scaliger as tutor for her son—the "honest offers" made by her have not been known. It has been my good fortune to discover in the Bibliothèque Nationale the following letter written by François Vertunien to Scaliger on September 24, 1593, in which these "honest" and, to say the least, most flattering offers are set forth in detail:

Monsieur,

Je vous ay par cy devant envoié lettres de Madame la Princesse de Condé, par lesquelles elle vous supplioit prendre la charge de l'institution de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, son filz, avec autres lettres que ladite Princesse en escrivoit à Monsieur d'Abain pour vous y induire, et outre deux autres lettres, l'une de Monsieur de La Croix,¹⁴ son ministre, et l'autre de Monsieur de la Bonniviere, gentilhomme de sa maison, que Madame la Princesse vous avoit envoié expres. Auquel depuis j'ay parlé et communiqué privement de cet affaire, estant allé ces jours veoir ma bonne femme de mere à Chasteleraud: et m'a fort prié vous faire entendre par lettres la creance qu'il avoit de Madame la Princesse pour vous dire à bouche, dont je me veux acquicter par la presente; apres vous avoir supplié me mander par vostre premiere depesche si vous aurez receu mon paquet, où estoient toutes les susdites lettres, et celle que Monsieur d'Abain vous escrivoit sur ce subject. Car si elles s'estoient perdues Madame d'Abain m'en a fait prendre une copie de toutes, que je vous enveroies. Or sa creance estoit telle, que vous aiant pres de monseigneur son filz elle penseroit avoir plus qu'un autre Aristote pres de son Alexandre. Et que pour obtenir ce grand bien elle estoit resoluë de n'espargner rien pour vostre entretien et honoraire. Elle vous offre donc bouche à court pour vous et tous voz serviteurs et chevaulz et vostre plat en vostre chambre, si bon vous semble, ou en celle de ses maistres d'hostel (lequel vous aymerez le mieulx) dont ledit Sieur de la Bonniviere est l'un. Que vous aurez 3. 4. et tant de chevaulx qu'il vous plaira entretenus en son escurie. Que jusqu'à ce que mondit seigneur son filz soit capable de voz doctes instructions et leçons elle vous baillera gens tels que vous choisirez pour luy apprendre à lire et escrire ausquelz vous commanderez, aiant l'œil seulement sur ses meurs jusqu'audit temps de plus grande

¹³ Reves, p. 31.

¹⁴ A. de La Croix's letter to Scaliger may be found in Reves, p. 388.

capacité. Et pour vostre pension et entretien elle vous offre douze cents escus par an, qui vous seront bien paieez de la pension que sa Majesté luy a ordonnée sur la recepte generale de St. Jan d'Angely : dont il a receu 8000 escus ceste année : et luy a esté ordonné par sadite Majesté 12000 escus pour l'année prochaine. Cependant que vous serez honoré, chery et servi de tous ses serviteurs comme elle mesme et monseigneur son filz. Voila la charge que j'avois de mondit Sieur de la Bonniviere. De laquelle plus particulièrement il vous escrira, s'il vous plaist luy bailler esperance, et à nous, que vous aurez ce party agreable. Chose que Messieurs de Tumery,¹⁵ Du Puy, et Gillot, conseillers de la court, m'ont dit desirer infiniment, et que si vous vous accordiez à ces conditions deux d'entre eux se resouldroient de vous y faire compaignie. Ilz m'ont prié tous trois de vous baiser humblement les mains et me pria arsoir mondit Sieur Du Puy vous dire que si tost que il saura qu'aurez stabile stabulum à Leidden, il vous escrira. Tous voz autres amys d'icy se portent bien : ausquelz *πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις* j'ay fait et feray voz recommandations, comme vous me commandiez par voz dernieres lettres du 10 Aoust, escrites à Dieppe. Monsieur d'Abain et Madame sont à Prully, et doivent bien tost venir icy trouver le Roy, qu'on y attend. Je leur ay fait entendre le regret qu'aviez d'avoir laissé vostre pauvre alumnus. . . .¹⁶ Je vey y a 20 jours Madame d'Abain à Chasteleraud, où elle estoit venue faire la cene, et avoit sceu la guerison parfaite de Monsieur de la Roche son filz, qu'on m'a dit pourtant estre recidivé à Nantheuil : mais je n'en say pas encor la verité. . . . Nous sommes attendans en patience, ou plus tost impatientement, nouvelles de vostre heureuse arrivée à Leidden. Dieu nous en doint de telles que nous desirons tous : vous baisant, avec toute la Republicque de ceans, savoir les deux Falaiseaux¹⁷ pere et filz, Monsieur Constans,¹⁸ moy et toutes noz familles, treshumblement les mains. Vale. Caesaroduni [Tours], xxiiii Septembris 1593. Ma bonne femme de mere vous baise treshumblement les mains, et se porte bien, graces à Dieu. . . .

Vostre treshumble disciple et tresobligé serviteur

VERTUNIEN.

[Address:] A Monsieur
Monsieur de Lescale
A Leidden.¹⁹

¹⁵ Jean de Thumery de Boissise. Cf. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 121, note 2.

¹⁶ One of the sons of Louis de Chasteigner, Seigneur d'Abain.

¹⁷ Compare ROMANIC REVIEW, VIII, 127.

¹⁸ Nephew of Scaliger's close friend, Jean Boiceau de La Borderie.

¹⁹ Autograph letter, Collection Du Puy, 395, fol. 176.

Scaliger reached Leyden towards the end of August, 1593. On September 6, in a letter to Pierre Pithou, he wrote:

"Je suis fort content de l'honneur et bon accueil qu'on m'a fait ici. Si cela se continue, je n'ai point de regret à la France."²⁰

In a letter of the same date to Claude du Puy, he said:

"Je suis arrivé ici il y a quinze jours, où j'ai reçu pareil accueil à celui qu'on me promettoit. Et n'ai de quoi jusques aujourd'hui me plaindre ni du pays, ni des hommes. L'Université commence à estre plus fréquentée. Mesmes sur mon advenement il y est arrivé de France plus de vingt escoliers."²¹

Scaliger's sojourn in Leyden was the first event that had separated him and Vertunien since the beginning of their friendship a quarter of a century before. During that period they had not been constantly together, it is true, but the greater part of the time they were both in Poitou, they saw each other, worked together, and when not in each other's company were separated by such short distances that correspondence was an easy matter. Now it was a most serious separation, and there is evidence that they felt keenly the loss of each other's society. The remainder of the present article will show that the bonds of affection between them continued undiminished during the fourteen years that Vertunien lived after Scaliger's departure for Holland.

In a letter written at Tours on September 25, 1594, Vertunien informed Scaliger of his safe return from the "eaux de Pougues,"²² where he spent eighteen days with a number of friends. He also acknowledged the receipt of two works by Scaliger:

"Et pouvez croire si j'ay reçu un grand contentement et de l'un et de l'autre, de celui, dis je, *de vetustate et splendore gentis Scaligeræ*,²³ qu'il y a douze ans que je vous priois mettre en lumière, et l'autre *Cyclometricon*,²⁴ pour lequel j'ay esté tant de fois de-

²⁰ Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 298, note 1.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 298, note 1.

²² A few kilometers north of Nevers (Nièvre).

²³ Concerning this epistle, see *infra*.

²⁴ *Cyclometrica elementa duo*, Leyden, 1594. It was in this work that Scaliger proclaimed his discovery of the quadrature of the circle. For the quarrels that Scaliger had with various mathematicians about his discovery, see Nisard, *Le Triumvirat litt.*, pp. 231 ff.

menty lorsque j'affermois que vous n'estiez ny venteur ny menteur, et partant qu'il ne falloit point doubter que n'eussiez faict ce que vous m'escriviez."

In the same letter Vertunien mentioned a new edition of Hippocrates's treatise on wounds of the head:

"Monsieur de Boissonade, medecin d'Agen, me dict . . . que Monsieur Mainald, medecin de Bourdeaux, avoit commenté le livre *De vulneribus capitis* d'Hippocrate,²⁵ et avoit repris vos corrections en quelques endroits."²⁶

On November 25, 1597, Scaliger gave Vertunien the following information concerning his health:

"Quant à moi, je suis tousjours gaillard, la grace à Dieu, sauf que je perds les meules pour moudre. Et n'i a que huict jours que j'en fis sauter une sans douleur. C'est un apprentissage de mourir, que de perdre les dents."²⁷

Among his numerous correspondents in both French and Latin, Scaliger esteemed none more highly than Claude du Puy,²⁸ one of the most brilliant scholars and magistrates that France has ever produced. After the death of Claude du Puy on December 1, 1594, Scaliger corresponded with Du Puy's four sons, Christophe, Pierre, Jacques, and Augustin, to whom in his letters he invariably made mention of the close bond of friendship that had existed between their father and him.²⁹

Vertunien, like Scaliger, after a warm friendship of many years with Claude du Puy,³⁰ corresponded with the latter's sons, or at least with two of them. In the Bibliothèque Nationale I discovered five inedited letters written by Vertunien to Pierre and one to Christophe du Puy, which are of importance for the biography of

²⁵ Mainald's edition was published in 1619.

²⁶ Reves, p. 344.

²⁷ Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 319, note 2. In a letter dated February 13, 1605, Vertunien wrote Scaliger: "Je suis fort fâché dont vous semblez estre resolu de finir vos jours en ce pays où vous estes, si mal propre à vostre santé et si éloigné du temperament de vostre Agennois" (Reves, p. 517).

²⁸ Claude, the son of Clément du Puy, studied under Turnèbe, Lambin, Daurat, and Cujas. In the *Lettres françaises*, Tamizey de Larroque published many letters from Scaliger to Claude du Puy.

²⁹ See, for example, the extract published by Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 379.

³⁰ It was through the medium of Scaliger that Vertunien became acquainted with Claude du Puy. Cf. *ROMANIC REVIEW*, VIII, 132.

Scaliger, since Vertunien's "Oracle, Monsieur de la Scala," his doings, and his literary work are virtually their sole topic. On account of Vertunien's intimate relations with Scaliger, these letters furnish several details that are not brought out by Scaliger's biographers or by Tamizey de Larroque's *Lettres françaises*. Three of the letters and the essential parts of the other three are reproduced below.

Monsieur,

Je congnois par vostre treshonneste et gracieuse lettre que non degenerem prognerant aquilae columbam, et que non seulement vous estes heritier des biens et du sang paternel et maternel,³¹ mais aussi des meurs et vertus de deux personnes si rares et si recommandables que je m'estime tresheureux d'estre continué en leur amitié: et mesme dont Madamoyselle du Puy vostre mere se daigne souvenir de moy, qui ne suis qu'un petit verm de terre. Que di je, souvenir? mais encor vous commender de m'aymer et renouveler ceste estroicte amitié qui estoit entre feu Monsieur du Puy et moy. . . . Quant aux Hymnes d'Orphée de la version de mon Oracle, Monsieur de la Scala,³² encor que ma copie, dont j'escrivois autrefois à feu monsieur vostre tresdocte pere, m'ait esté emportée à Leyden par le Sieur de Gourgues,³³ qui m'avoit solemnellement promis de me la rendre, et n'en a rien fait, toutesfois il y a un mien amy de la Rochelle qui m'a promis de nous la prester et faire copier: tellement que s'il vous plaist m'envoyer votre copie fautive, je mettray peine de la vous renvoyer corrigée sur ledit exemplaire. . . . Et pour le regard de la version du 7. livre *ἀνθολογίας*,³⁴ elle a couru la mesme fortune desdits Hymnes. Car pour l'avoir baillée audit Gourgues, quand il alla en Hollande avec mondit Sieur de la Scala,³⁵ à la charge de la faire imprimer avec congé de son autheur, et, à faulte de ce, me la rapporter, il m'a manqué de parole, et s'est mocqué de moy: qui pensois en trouver une autre copie à mon retour de Tours en ceste ville, avec tout plain d'autres opusculs Grecs et Latins de Monsieur de Lescale: mais la Ligue m'ayant tout dissipé et volé par un grand malheur, je suis privé d'un si cher thresor à

³¹ Pierre du Puy, to whom this letter was written, was the son of Claude du Puy and Claude Sanguin.

³² Scaliger's *Orphei Hymni Sacri* was published in the posthumous collections, *Jos. Justi Scaligeri . . . Opuscula*, 1610, and *Josephi Scaligeri . . . Poemata Omnia*, 1615.

³³ Concerning this person, see ROMANIC REVIEW, VIII, 131.

³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, VIII, 130.

³⁵ None of Scaliger's biographers mentions the fact that Gourgues accompanied Scaliger to Holland.

mon grand regret. Je m'asseure pourtant que ledit Sieur de Gourgues l'a, et qu'il n'y a que la haine mortelle qu'il porte à moy et à tous ceux de nostre religion qui l'empesche de me la rendre.⁸⁶ Car passant par ceste ville avant qu'il allast à Rome il me dist qu'il pensoit l'avoir, et qu'il la me feroit tenir. Si vous aviez quelqu'amy qui le gouvernast et congneust, peut estre pourriez vous l'obtenir de luy, et en aider voz amys. J'en paierois tresvolontiers la copie et fort cherement, tant j'ay de regret de ceste perte. Reste à vous remercier treshumblement, Monsieur, de l'offre que vous me faites de m'envoyer Notas Scaligeri in Guilandini lib. De Papyro,⁸⁷ que je copiy à Tours. Mais tous les doctes desireroient bien qu'un jour vous missiez en lumiere les doctes notes de deffunct monsieur vostre pere in Ovidium, qu'il avoit corrigé sur force manuscripts, à ce qu'on m'a dit, dont la posterité vous seroit fort obligée, moy particulièrement, qui avec ma femme vous baise humblement les mains et à Madamoyselle du Puy, et qui desire demourer à jamais, Monsieur, Vostre bien humble et tresaffectionné serviteur

VERTUNIEN.

A Poitiers ce V^e Fevrier 1602.

[Address:] A Monsieur
Monsieur du Puy
A Paris.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ An autograph letter written by Vertunien to Pierre du Puy on July 2, 1602 (Collection Du Puy, 712, fol. 38-39), contains further attacks on Gourgues: "... ledit Sieur de Gourgues, qui veult tant de mal à Monsieur de Lescale, à ce que j'entends, et desprise tant tout ce qui vient de sa main, qu'il voudroit qu'aucun n'en veist jamais rien: tant il est ingrat à son bienfaiteur: et non seulement cela, mais a rendu Monsieur d'Abain de son humeur envers ledit sieur. De quoy m'escrivant ce bon seigneur le 12 de Janvier dernier: Or c'est mon destin, dit il. Je suis filz de mon pere, qui ne fait oncques bien dont il n'eust occasion de se repentir. ... Si jamais le filz fut heritier du malheur de son pere, je le suis en cela. Apres son pere et sa mere, il n'y a homme à qui il soit plus tenu qu'à moy. J'en diray autant du satyrus de Bourdeaulx [that is, Gourgues], que j'amenay icy avec moy. Tous deux ont conjuré contre leur bienfaiteur." The Monsieur d'Abain mentioned was Henri Louis de Chasteigner, later bishop of Poitiers. He accompanied Scaliger to Holland in the character of pupil (see Mark Pattison, *Essays*, p. 139; Bernays, pp. 20 ff.). The same letter contains a few words about Vulcanius who, Vertunien rightly suspects, published in his edition of Agathias several epigrams of the seventh book of the *Anthology*, translated by Scaliger. This letter also contains Vertunien's description of the life of himself and Scaliger during the nine or ten months they were confined at Touffou; cf. *ROMANIC REVIEW*, VIII, 130.

⁸⁷ Scaliger's *Animadversiones in Melchioris Guilandini Commentarium in tria C. Plinii de Papyro capita libri XIII* was published in *Jos. Justi Scaligeri . . . Opuscula . . .*, Paris, 1610. The German naturalist, Guilandin, died at Padua in 1589.

⁸⁸ Autograph letter, Collection Du Puy, 712, fol. 34.

Monsieur,

On dit communement que les bons rendeurs font les bons presteurs: ce que vous m'avez fait trouver vray par la reddition de la copie des Hymnes d'Orphée, que j'ay receu il y a quelques jours. . . . J'ay envoyé à Monsieur de Lescale la propre lettre du Sieur de Gourgues, pour le prier de nous vouloir faire recouvrer des heritiers du feu F[rançois] Douza la piece que vous et moy desirons tant: chose à quoy je ne m'attends pas, croiant que ce qu'il me mandoit n'est qu'une pure desfaiecte et fourbe. Nil tamen tentasse nocerit. J'ay receu depuis peu encore lettres de ce grand homme du 14 Septembre dernier, qui me mande de sa bonne disposition, que je prie Dieu luy vouloir augmenter de plus en plus, pour servir au public et advancer sa gloire. Hier relisant une de sesdites lettres du 18 Novembre de l'an 1600, j'y leus un eloge dont voicy les propres mots: Comment doubtez vous du bien et profict du livre du Seigneur Philippe de Marnix de St. Aldegonde?³⁹ Ne voiez vous pas que c'est un tressuffisant auteur, et que jamais homme n'a si bien lavé la teste aux Sophistes que faict celuy là? Tenez ce livre là pour le meilleur et plus utile qui ait esté fait en ce temps sur ceste matiere.⁴⁰ On fera bien tost imprimer l'autre partie.⁴¹ Ledit sieur auteur du livre mourut l'an passé au mois de Decembre⁴² à mon grand regret. C'estoit un gentilhomme de qualité et tresdocte. Hactenus ille. Auquel j'ay souvent ouy dire et noté soubz luy tout ce qui est escrit en l'xi et xii chapitres de la iii partie dudit auteur au livre du Tableau des Differents de la religion:⁴³ et croy que tous deux avoient communiqué ensemble de ceste matiere. . . .⁴⁴

Vostre tresaffectionné et humble serviteur

VERTUNIEN.

A Poitiers ce 27 Novembre 1602.

[Address:] A Monsieur
Monsieur Chrestien [read: Christophe]
du Puy; au logis de Madamoyselle du
Puy, vefve de defunct Monsieur du Puy,
conseillier de la court
A Paris.⁴⁵

³⁹ *Tableau des differens de la religion*, first part, Leyden, 1599, a coarse and bitter satire against the Catholic Church.

⁴⁰ Compare De Thou's saner criticism of Sainte-Aldegonde's work (*Thuana*, 1740, p. 47): "Il a mis la religion en rabelaiserie, ce qui est très mal fait." Concerning Rabelais's influence on Sainte-Aldegonde, see A. Delboulle, *M. de Sainte-Aldegonde, plagiaire de Rabelais*, in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1896, pp. 440 ff.

⁴¹ The second part of Sainte-Aldegonde's satire was published at Leyden in 1605.

Monsieur,

Je ne sçay comment je me pourray jamais revancher de voz courtoisies et liberalités. Si vous eussiez receu la mienne dernière vous n'eussiez pas pris la peine de me copier De Apocryphis Bibliorum: car, comme je vous escrivois, mes Notae Scaligeri se sont trouvées:⁴⁶ desquelles j'ay fait quelques extraicts pour tascher à me revancher d'une partie de voz dites peines. Et si vous n'avez veu l'epigramme que mondit Sieur de Lescale fit à Abain en Grec d'action de graces à Dieu d'avoir trouvé la duplature du cube,⁴⁷ je le vous enverray avec la version qu'il m'en donna verbo ad verbum. Brief je n'ay rien ny de luy ny d'autre en ma puissance qui ne soit

⁴² Scaliger is slightly in error. Sainte-Aldegonde died on December 15, 1598, not 1599.

⁴³ Part III bears the following title: "Des conditions, vertus et propriétés de l'Eglise." In a note to Chapter XII, Sainte-Aldegonde speaks of the library of Sieur Joseph de la Scale.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Secunda Scaligerana*, article *Marnix*: "J'avois averty Monsieur de Marnix de beaucoup de belles choses, dont il a bien fait son profit, et les mespisoit lors que je les lui disois; tesmoin cela des Ellenistes . . ., et autres belles observations, qu'il a mises en son livre, et les a de moy. C'est un bel esprit, mais il estoit presumptueux . . . Sainte-Aldegonde s'est gouverné en novice à Anvers [a reference to Sainte-Aldegonde's surrender of the city to the Duke of Parma]. . . . Il n'avoit pas une trop belle librairie, c'estoit de vieux livres pillés en des monasteres . . . Marnixius a bien fait d'escire en gaussant; etiam interdum histriones plus praestant quam philosophi. . . ."

⁴⁵ Autograph letter, Collection Du Puy, 712, fol. 93.

⁴⁶ An autograph letter written by Vertunien to Pierre du Puy on December 10, 1605 (Collection Du Puy, 712, fol. 40-41), deals mainly with Scaliger's notes on certain words and passages in the New Testament. Vertunien concludes thus: "Et à propos de telles notes in novum Testamentum (que ce grand personnage m'asseure avoir jusqu'au nombre de 500) mondit Sieur De Thou est apres luy à le solliciter de les mettre en lumiere des que nous estions à Tours. Car luy faisant responce à une lettre qu'il luy en escrivoit à Preuilly, voicy ses propres mots: 'Je suys icy sans livres, je ne puis rien faire sur le nouveau Testament faulte d'outilz . . .' Or depuis vostre retour in patriam ce bon Seigneur De Thou m'a prié par deux fois de semondre mondit Sieur de Lescale de faire sortir en lumiere un oeuvre si fructueux que celuy là, et si digne de sa vieillesse: ce que j'ay fait. . . . Bien croy je pourtant que si nous avons son Eusebe, nous y verrons de belles choses." Concerning the posthumous editions of Scaliger's notes on the New Testament, see Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 179, note 4.

In another autograph letter written to Pierre du Puy on January 9, 1606 (Collection Du Puy, 712, fol. 37), Vertunien discusses various works by Scaliger; for example, his edition of Eusebius, his reply to Serarius, and his notes on the New Testament. He also expresses a desire to collect and publish Scaliger's scattered verse.

⁴⁷ Cf. note 24, above.

du tout vostre. D'une chose vous veulx je supplier d'excuser mon enfance aux discours quos excepi ex ore de ce grand homme.⁴⁸ Car vous y trouverez souvent de mon style rude, et non du sien, où il n'y a rien à redire, comme vous sçavez. Les epigrammes que vous m'avez envoyez de luy ont esté trouvez excellents par les doctes de ceste ville. J'ay esté le premier qui luy donnay avis de la faulseté de Guilandin,⁴⁹ et luy envoyay mesme la copie desdites faulses lettres. Ce sont de plaisans artifices pour noircir la splendeur de ces deux grands hommes Scaligers, pere et filz, qui sont plus que trop illustres quand ils seroient filz d'un savetier ou charbonnier.⁵⁰ Autrefois defunct Monsieur de la Trimouille,⁵¹ parlant de Monsieur de Lescale et de tels hommes venus de races illustres: "Telles extractions servent, dit il, à ces grands et doctes personnages ce que sert un beau buffet à faire mieux paroistre la belle vaisselle d'or ou d'argent y contenue." Il fault bien dire que ces gens là ont faulte de bonnes responce quand ils emploient telles fadese et calomnies en leurs livres. J'attends de jour à autre lettres de mondit Sieur de Lescale par Monsieur de Casaubon: aux bonnes graces duquel, si vous le veiez quelquesfois, je vous supplieray me recommander et me tenir tousjours, Monsieur,

Vostre serviteur tresobligé

VERTUNIEN LAVAU.

A Poitiers ce 26 Fevrier 1606.

[Address:] A Monsieur
Monsieur [Pierre] du Puy
A Paris.⁵²

It was during his stay in Leyden that Scaliger reached the height of his renown. The foremost men of Holland, aristocracy, statesmen, scholars, "every one strove to make his sojourn agreeable, and to soften the pains of exile. Here he tasted for the first time his own fame, and, what is better than fame, the silent recognition of superior knowledge."⁵³ His very success in Leyden, his winning of the literary dictatorship of Europe, made him a host of enemies and eventually resulted in his humiliation at the hands of as infamous a band of detractors as has ever leagued against a single

⁴⁸ Probably a reference to the manuscript of the *Prima Scaligerana*.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Secunda Scaligerana*: "Guilandin, c'est luy qui a controuvé que mon pere a esté passé Docteur en Medecine à Padoue." Concerning Melchior Guilandin, see note 37, above, and note 64, below.

⁵⁰ Concerning the ancestry of the Scaligers, see *infra*.

⁵¹ Claude de la Trémoille. Cf. note 70, below.

⁵² Autograph letter, Collection Du Puy, 712, fol. 35.

⁵³ Mark Pattison, *Quarterly Review*, 1860, p. 72.

person. "His enemies," says Christie,⁵⁴ "were not merely those whose errors he had exposed, and whose hostility he had excited by the violence of his language. The results of his system of historical criticism had been adverse to the Catholic controversialists, and to the authenticity of many of the documents upon which they had been accustomed to rely. The Jesuits, who aspired to be the expounders of antiquity, the source of all scholarship and criticism, perceived that the writings and authority of Scaliger were the most formidable barrier to their claims. . . . A determined attempt must be made, if not to answer his criticisms, or to disprove his statements, yet to attack him as a man, and to destroy his reputation. This was no easy task, for his moral character was absolutely spotless."⁵⁵

The first attacks on Scaliger, those by Martin Delrio (1601) and Nicholas Serarius (1604), were more or less of a controversial character, and, when compared with the assaults that followed, seem quite innocuous. In 1605 Carolus Scribanus, Rector of the Jesuit College of Antwerp, published his *Amphitheatrum Honoris*, a scatological work of the most appalling nature, in which the leading Calvinists, Scaliger included, were accused of every manner of turpitude. Finally, in 1607, appeared at Mainz the *Scaliger Hypobolimaeus* (the "Supposititious Scaliger") of Gaspar Scioppius,⁵⁶ a work couched in the most elegant Latinity, and the one which, through its general disregard for the truth, did most to discredit Scaliger in the eyes of posterity.⁵⁷

In the *Scaliger Hypobolimaeus*, Scioppius undertook to prove three points—namely, that Scaliger had stolen the name of Scaliger or de la Scala, that Scaliger was an atheist and a debauchee. Inasmuch as Scaliger was a firm believer in God, and was a man of the purest morals,⁵⁸ Scioppius was unable to prove the two points last

⁵⁴ *Selected Essays and Papers*, p. 219.

⁵⁵ Mark Pattison calls attention to the fact that none of Scaliger's assailants was French (*Quarterly Review*, 1860, p. 76).

⁵⁶ Concerning this literary bandit, see Nisard, *Le Triumvirat litt.*, pp. 265 ff. Scioppius later turned his pen against the Jesuits.

⁵⁷ Scioppius's work is a quarto volume of more than eight hundred pages.

⁵⁸ Cf. Nisard, *Le Triumvirat litt.*, p. 281: "En ce qui touche Scaliger, jamais ni dans ses écrits, ni par ses paroles, il n'avait seulement fait soupçonner qu'il ne crût pas en Dieu." *Ibid.*, p. 188: "On ne peut donc nier qu'il ne fût de mœurs austères et que son intérieur ne fût celui d'un sage chez lequel les regards de la foule pouvaient sans scandale pénétrer à toute heure."

mentioned. As regards the first charge, that is, that Scaliger had no legitimate right to bear the name de la Scala, he was more successful.

Since Scaliger was very sensitive about his ancestry, Scioppius exhibited great sagacity in choosing his point of attack. As will be remembered, Jules-César Scaliger, the father of Joseph, maintained that he, Jules-César, was a descendant of the noble house of La Scala, for a century and a half princes of Verona, and the direct lineage of Alanus, Prince of Carniola, the Tyrol, and adjacent regions. Jules-César further asserted that he had an elder brother Titus, from whom he was distinguished by the surname Burden, taken from an ancestral estate in Carnia. Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, in his *De Poetis Nostrorum Temporum* (Florence, 1551), applied the name Burdonius or de Burdon to Jules-César, and the fact that there had been in Verona a family named Burdone, whose forbears were barbers, schoolmasters, and sellers of bric-a-brac, led the enemies of the Scaligers to begin an investigation of the matter. As a result, the report was circulated that Jules-César, the self-styled scion of the princes of Verona, was in reality the son of Benedetto Burdone, a Veronese schoolmaster, who had taken the degree of doctor of medicine at Padua, and who "from Padua had gone to Venice, where he opened a bric-a-brac shop near the stairway (*scala*) of the church of Saint Mark,"⁵⁹ from which stairway he adopted the name Benedetto della Scala.

Unfortunately, Joseph Scaliger accepted too readily his father's claims to a noble origin.⁶⁰ In 1594 he addressed to Janus Douza his lengthy *Epistola de Vetustate et Splendore Gentis Scaligeræ et J. C. Scaligeri Vita*,⁶¹ a work, like the statements of Jules-César upon which it is based, "characterized by rhodomontade, exaggeration, or inaccuracy."⁶² It was as a reply to the *Epistola de Vetustate* . . . that Scioppius wrote his *Scaliger Hypobolimaëus*,

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁶⁰ Jules-César's story of his life and adventures before he took up his abode at Agen "is supported by no other evidence than his own statements, some of which are inconsistent with well-ascertained facts" (Christie, p. 210).

⁶¹ A translation of the part of the *Epistola* that deals with the life of Jules-César may be found in A. Magen's *Documents sur J.-C.S. et sa famille*, Agen, 1873.

⁶² Christie, p. 221.

in which he pledged himself to expose five hundred lies in Scaliger's epistle and to destroy the unsubstantiated claims of the Scaligers to a connection with the princely house of Verona. Scaliger replied to Scioppius in his *Confutatio Fabulae Burdonum* (1608), in which he showed clearly that the *Scaliger Hypobolimaeus* was only a mass of falsehoods, but in which he failed to prove either the truth of his claims to a noble ancestry or the accuracy of his father's account of his life before arriving at Agen.

Scaliger's state of mind in the middle of 1606, the year before the publication of the *Scaliger Hypobolimaeus*, is shown in a letter written at Leyden to Vertunien. His belief in the truth of his father's story appears in this letter, as elsewhere, unbounded. He is confident that he has received from Verona proofs that will silence his adversaries forever. His bitterness toward the Jesuits and his certainty that they will never leave him in peace are evident. His susceptibility and his pride, however, were so excessive that his assertion that he does not care about their attacks must be taken as mere bravado. Scaliger's letter follows:

Monsieur mon compere,

J'ai receu la vostre avec l'eschantillon du livre de Monsieur le Thresorier de S. Marthe.⁶³ Je le remercie par la lettre que je lui escri. Les Jesuites, les diables desenchainés, les monstres d'envie, taschent de me transformer en un Burdonius, au lieu que mon pere s'appelloit d'a Burden, qui est une seigneurie en Carnia appartenant aultrefois à Michael, cousin germain de mon pere. Melchior Guilandin avec le porc Antonio Riccobono ont forgé les lettres de doctorat,⁶⁴ que Superville⁶⁵ vous bailla. Mais nous refuterons bien

⁶³ The *Elogia* of Scévole de Sainte-Marthe. In a letter written to Scaliger on May 7, 1603 (Reves, p. 347), Vertunien says: "J'ay baillé à Monsieur de Sainte-Marthe le memoire de ce que vous m'escrivez de la naturalisation de monsieur votre tres-illustre pere, lequel je ne doubte point qu'il n'adjoute à ses Eloges, et ne sente bien honoré de louer un, si triplement grand personnage." In another letter written to Scaliger on June 14, 1604 (Reves, p. 354), Vertunien remarks concerning Sainte-Marthe's eulogy of Jules-César Scaliger: "De ma part je l'ay leu et le trouve fort bien fait."

⁶⁴ In a letter to Lipsius (Burmman, *Syll. Epist.*, I, 250), Scaliger wrote: [Melchior Guilandinus and Antonius Riccobonus] "fingunt codicillos Academiae Patavinae, quibus pater meus Iulius Burdonius in doctorem promovetur." Cf. *Secunda Scaligerana*: "Riccobonus finxit aliquid contra patrem: vocatur ibi porcus, quia nihil est illo sordidius; vivit adhuc in Italia." See also note 49, above.

⁶⁵ A common friend of Scaliger and Vertunien. He lived at La Rochelle (Reves, p. 353).

ceste trop lourde et grossiere bourde. J'ai receu ces jours passés les monumens de mes ancestres par le moien d'un honneste seigneur Verronnois mien parent, item une lettre d'un aultre Verronnois qui a esté jadis serviteur du feu bon evesque d'Agen Fregose:⁶⁶ laquelle je ferai imprimer. Nul de Veronne ne me cognoist pour Burdonius. Et n'y eust jamais aulcune famille Burdonius en Veronne: joint que mon pere, ni le sien, ne sont point nez à Veronne.⁶⁷ Somme toute que jamais on n'a veu un tel embrasement d'envie sur aultre qu'on voit sur moi: et si n'ont qu'alleguer à l'encontre de moi qu'un aveuglement de jalousie. Je vous dirai bien qu'il y en a autant parmi les nostres que parmi les Loiolites, qui ne peuvent cacher leur maltalent. Tous les livres doresnavant que les Jesuites produiront ou seront expressement contre moi ou pour le moins nul ne sera sans me donner quelque atteinte de dent. Et Dieu sait si je m'en soulcie. Ils n'ont que me reprocher, et moi, beaucoup que leur mettre en barbe. Or laissons ces trompes de guerre civile. Parlons de Madame d'Abain. Je ne sai rien de leurs affaires, et suis en peine comment ils y donneront ordre. *Tantum aes alienum esse intelligo, ut vix ex venditione praediorum redigi possit, quod luendo satis sit.* Je lui escri, et toutesfois je ne sai où ma lettre la doit trouver. Je suis infiniment marri de vostre indisposition. Je n'ai encores, par la grace de Dieu, rien que je puisse reprocher à ma vieillesse, qui dans un mois fournira soixante six ans. Il n'y a que mes dens, dont de sept qui me restoient, moi mesmes ces jours passés m'en arrachai deux, et en mange mieux à mon aise. Somme que j'ai tousjours bon appetit. Je prie Dieu vous maintenir en sa garde et toute vostre famille, ma commere, vostre gendre, vos filles. De Leyden. Ce 14 Juillet 1606. Vostre affectionné compere à vous servir

JOSEPH DELLA SCALA.

[Address:] A Monsieur
Monsieur de la Vau,
docteur en medecine, à Poitiers.⁶⁸

That Vertunien was deeply interested in Scaliger's controversies with the Jesuits, and that he regarded himself as one of Scaliger's chief advisers is shown by several of his letters published by Jacques de Reves. On October 30, 1604, he wrote to Scaliger:

⁶⁶ Jean Frégose. Tamizey de Larroque published a collection of Frégose's inedited letters in 1873.

⁶⁷ Jules-César Scaliger maintained that he was born at the Castle of La Rocca on the Lago di Garda.

⁶⁸ Archives Hist. du Département de l'Aube, L 497, dossier II, autograph letter.

"Or depuis mon retour [from the mineral springs at Barbotan], mandé par Monseigneur de la Trimouille pour le traicter avec Monsieur Milon⁶⁹ de sa maladie dont il mourut dimanche dernier à une heure apres minuict,⁷⁰ j'ay veu là Messieurs du Plessis Mornay, de la Noue, de Saint Germain, et d'Aubigny:⁷¹ qui tous m'ont prié vous advertir que Pere Cotton⁷² se vante que par ses promesses et menées il vous arrachera du lieu⁷³ où vous estes honoré et où on vous tient promesse, pour vous amener là⁷⁴ où vous ne recevrez ny honneur ny le vray de ce qu'on vous promettra. C'est vostre Eusebe⁷⁵ que l'on redoubte, et cecy se faict par un conseil Loyolitique. Tous les susdicts et autres gens de bien s'asseurent, et moy par sus tous . . . que vous voudrez deferer davantage à nostre conseil: non que nous ne desirassions tous infiniment de vous avoir en France, mais que ce fut pour un aultre subject, dont Monsieur Gillot, conseiller de la court, . . . m'entretient fort longtemps."⁷⁶

On December 22, 1604, Vertunien informed Scaliger that he was writing only to "vous reiterer la jactance que faict le Pere Cotton de vous gagner par vaines promesses, et attirer à Paris, pour vous faire revolter. . . .⁷⁷ C'estoit la crainte qu'avoyent les Jesuites que vostre Eusebe descouvre le pot aux roses. . . . De ma part je dis à tous ces Messieurs là qu'ils ne craignissent point cela, et que sur tous les moines du monde vous estiez ennemy juré de ceux là."⁷⁸

At this time the Church was making many converts from the ranks of the foremost Protestant scholars. On June 12, 1605, Isaac

⁶⁹ A physician of Poitiers.

⁷⁰ Claude de la Trémoille, who married the daughter of William the Silent, died on October 25, 1604. He became a Protestant in 1586.

⁷¹ Leaders of the Protestant party.

⁷² Pierre Coton, the celebrated Jesuit, who became confessor of Henry IV in 1608.

⁷³ That is, Leyden.

⁷⁴ Paris.

⁷⁵ Scaliger's reconstruction of the lost *Chronicle* of Eusebius was published in 1606.

⁷⁶ Reves, p. 350.

⁷⁷ That is, become a Catholic. Cf. *Secunda Scaligerana*, article *Cotton*: "Pere Cotton se vante de me tirer d'icy et de me faire venir à Paris, et que là je n'auray l'honneur que je penserois y avoir. . . . Il n'y a roy, ni empereur qui me tire d'icy: quand bien mesme les Estats m'osteroient mon honoraire, et me chasseroient hors de leurs pays, si n'irois-je pas à Paris."

⁷⁸ Reves, p. 352.

Casaubon, a warm friend of both Scaliger and Vertunien, wrote Vertunien that the Jesuits were endeavoring to win over not only himself, but even Scaliger, and that Henry IV had signified a willingness to recall Scaliger from Leyden, provided he would return to the Catholic faith. Casaubon said in part:

"Si j'eusse sceu le subject duquel luy [Scaliger] escriviez, je luy eusse escrit aussi de beaux contes sur ce propos. Car la partie a esté dressée pour luy et pour moy ensemble, et pour ce que j'estoy sur les lieux, on m'a attaqué le premier, comme pour sonder quelle esperance il y auroit. Un des Loyolites vint à moy, il y a plus d'un an, me dit qu'il avoit proposé à sa Majesté de rappeler mondit Sieur, et qu'il estoit facile, pourveu qu'il creut conseil et conclust se faire Chrestien."⁷⁹

Although Casaubon wavered to such an extent that he was characterized by his contemporaries as Catholic, Protestant, and atheist, there was never any doubt about Scaliger's religious attitude. To the end he remained a Protestant, moderate, it is true, in so far as religion itself was concerned, and rabid only when the Catholics sought to deny his noble origin or to question his philological and chronological learning.

In 1604, perhaps earlier, Vertunien's health began to decline. In a letter written to Scaliger on May 24, 1604, he complained of the gout and declared his intention to return to Barbotan in the following August.⁸⁰ On October 30, 1604, he informed Scaliger that he had been to Barbotan, "tant pour ma santé et pour fortifier mes jointures fort debilitées de la goutte que j'avois eue deux fois l'année presente, que pour y conduire M^{me} de Sainte Croix et le fils de Monsieur Du Bellay."⁸¹

On August 21, 1607, François Le Coq, Vertunien's son-in-law,⁸² wrote Scaliger a letter giving details of Vertunien's death, which occurred on August 3, 1607. Vertunien, as will be observed from Le Coq's account, died as a result of over-exertion in the per-

⁷⁹ *Isaaci Casauboni Epistolae*, Rotterdam, 1709, II, 241.

⁸⁰ Reves, p. 353.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

⁸² In a letter written to Scaliger on May 23, 1605, Vertunien said (Reves, p. 519): "Toute ma famille se porte tres bien, qui a esté augmentée d'un beau fils François Le Coq." Le Coq, like Vertunien, was a physician.

formance of his professional duties. A severe pain in the ear, aggravated by the hot weather and by the fatigue of journeys to La Rochelle and Preuilly, was followed by an intermittent fever which developed into a continued fever, the immediate cause of his death. Le Coq's letter attests Vertunien's deep affection for Scaliger, "which was indeed such that it could be no greater." Only five days before he died his greatest consolation was the last letter that he ever received from the illustrious man who for so many years had been his friend and companion, his oracle and his idol. Le Coq's letter follows:

Monsieur,

Je ne doute pas que ne regretiez beaucoup le deces de feu Monsieur de la Vau, veu la syncere affection qu'il vous portoit, qui estoit certes telle qu'elle ne pouvoit estre plus grande. Celle qu'il vous pleut luy escrire le troisieme du mois passé luy fut rendue, avec le Panegyric de Monsieur Heinsius⁸³ et vos effigies cinq jours avant son deces, et a esté la derniere qu'il aye receu de ses amys. Vous ne sçauriez croire avec quel contentement et consolation il se la fit lire par plusieurs fois, et combien il admira le susdict Panegyric, qui aussi a esté trouvé par Monsieur le Thresorier de Sainte-Marthe et aultres digne de l'eloge que luy donniez par vostre susdicte lettre, et une des plus belles pieces qu'on sçauroit voir, tresagreable, dis je, pour la matiere, et divine pour la forme. Or, Monsieur, puisque Dieu n'a pas permis que le defunct vous remerciasse de ce present, je le fais pour luy. . . . Apres que ledict Sieur de la Vau fut tourmenté de sa douleur d'oreille, qui se reveilla par l'excessive chaleur qu'il endura en un voyage qu'il fist pres la Rochelle au traictement d'un gentilhomme au mois de Juin dernier, et qui s'augmenta par un aultre qu'il fit à Pruilly pour traicter l'aisnée de Madame d'Abain en tres grande chaleur aussi, il fut saisi en ceste ville d'une fièvre double tierce qui se changea en continue, et nous l'osta au vingtiesme jour de son arrest, le troisieme du present, non sine manifestis abscessus in capite indiciis, et cum incredibile totius Reip. luctu, maximo vero nostro damno. Mais il n'y a remede: Dieu luy a faict la grace d'aussi bien mourir comme il avoit vescu, et de laisser sa famille en bonne paix et estat, ne restant que sa derniere fille Helene à pourvoir. . . .

Vostre treshumble serviteur

LE COQ.

A Poictiers ce 21 Aougst 1617 [*read*: 1607].⁸⁴

⁸³ See *D. Heinsii Orationes*, Leyden, 1627, pp. 455-470. Daniel Heinsius, intimate friend and favorite disciple of Scaliger, was only twenty-seven years old in 1607, the date of Le Coq's letter.

⁸⁴ Reves, p. 232.

In an undated letter to Scaliger, François Castrin speaks of his sorrow at the death of Vertunien :

"Nous et le public y avons fait une grande perte. Mais ce sont des années trop bonnes et trop genereuses pour ce siecle icy, c'est pourquoy elles nous sont enviées des celestielles et eternelles, où elles jouissent de la felicité promise et bien heureuse."⁸⁵

On October 13, 1607, Scaliger replied to Castrin :

"Avant la reception de la vostre, j'avoï esté adverti de la maladie de nostre bon ami M. de la Vau, voire assuré de sa mort, veu qu'il avoit esté abandonné des medecins. J'ai fait une perte d'un des plus grands amis que j'eusse. . . ."⁸⁶

Scaliger survived Vertunien only sixteen months. At the age of sixty-nine, after a life of ceaseless activity, the last days of which were embittered by the humiliation brought upon him by the venomous attacks of Scioppius⁸⁷ and others, "on the 21st of January, 1609, at four in the morning, he fell asleep in Heinsius's arms. The aspiring spirit ascended before the Infinite. The most richly stored intellect which ever spent itself in acquiring knowledge was in the presence of the Omniscient."⁸⁸

Such was the friendship of Joseph Scaliger and François Vertunien de Lavau, a disinterested friendship between "the greatest scholar of modern times"⁸⁹ and an unassuming, studious provincial physician. For two score years they kept up their intercourse as master and disciple, as physician and patient, as collaborators, as co-religionists, and as friends, and during these years not a single incident arose, in so far as may be judged from existing documents, to mar the serenity of their relations. Had Nisard dealt with the friendship of Scaliger and Vertunien, he would doubtless have explained Scaliger's affection for Vertunien as he explained Scaliger's affection for Casaubon, that is, he would have said that Vertunien "tenait Scaliger pour un demi-dieu et déférait à son sentiment avec l'obéissance passive d'un séide."⁹⁰ Such an ex-

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, I, xxx.

⁸⁶ Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 361, note 1.

⁸⁷ "Scioppius was wont to boast that his book had killed Scaliger" (Christie, p. 221).

⁸⁸ Mark Pattison, *Quarterly Review*, 1860, p. 81.

⁸⁹ Christie, p. 213.

⁹⁰ *Le Triumvirat litt.*, p. 292.

planation would be unfair to both Scaliger and Vertunien. In no instance in his correspondence with Scaliger did Vertunien renounce his self-respect by heaping upon Scaliger the servile flattery the latter had come to expect from everybody.⁹¹ On the other hand, not once did Scaliger address Vertunien in the arrogant, patronizing manner into which he dropped only too often in his correspondence with other scholars. From the beginning to the end of their acquaintance the attitude of the two men towards each other remained unchanged: each regarded the other on a footing of perfect equality as a true and valued friend, in whom the most implicit trust could be placed. Nisard, Scaliger-hater as he was, owned that upon a foundation of mutual respect and admiration was based the friendship that existed between Scaliger and Jacques-Auguste de Thou. Upon the same foundation must be placed the friendship of Scaliger and Vertunien.

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⁹¹ In letters to common friends, the Du Puys, for example, Vertunien did praise Scaliger immoderately, but that was permissible, since Scaliger never saw the letters.

MISCELLANEOUS

ADVANCED DEGREES AND DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. A SURVEY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

IN view of the changes that have taken place recently in the Department of Romance Languages of the Johns Hopkins University, the writer of the present lines thinks the moment opportune to make an inventory of the doctoral dissertations that have been produced by that coterie of brilliant scholars. It was the first Department of Romance Languages in America to grant the degree, and today the number of its alumni is no doubt greater than that of any similar Department on this side of the Atlantic. Nor should it be inferred that quantity has been favored at the expense of quality, for on the contrary from its incipience the Department set up a high standard of scholarly training and attainment, and that standard has always been maintained with rigor.

It not infrequently happens that a scholar of great productivity is inclined either to neglect his students or, on the other hand, to compel them to reproduce, often by rote, his own methods or even his own knowledge to such an extent that they become pale reflections of a not always desirable original. In such cases the pattern is almost invariably of inferior quality: the scholarship of these students is apt to be limited to high-sounding phrases borrowed from the class-room note-book. Any suppression of the individuality of the student is naturally detrimental to the spirit of original research. In this respect the Department of Romance Languages of the Johns Hopkins University was not culpable. When Professor Elliott first instituted the courses leading to the Ph.D. degree, he was fully conscious of the insufficiency of the equipment of the average teacher of modern languages in America. In order to obviate this defect he laid out the severest schemes of study, but, at

the same time, unwilling that the individuality of the student should suffer as a consequence, he permitted the full independence of the candidate to assert itself in the preparation of the doctoral dissertation. It was thus that the pupil acquired a knowledge that was at once thorough and broad, original and vigorous. Thanks to this liberal method it was not impossible for him to attain to an erudition, if not superior, at least equal to that of the instructor. And in this manner Professor Elliott and his Department, by producing scholars of the highest rank, built a monument of enduring importance.

It was in 1881 that the Johns Hopkins University conferred its first Ph.D. degrees in Romance languages upon Edward Allen Fay and Samuel Garner. Since that date the degree has been granted to sixty-six men, of whom four are deceased. To give an indication of the broad influence exerted by this Department upon education in America it is important to note the positions occupied at present by the various recipients of the degree. The list includes one college president, one college vice-president, one college dean, one school superintendent, nine professional and business men, one school inspector, one professor of German, three professors of Romance philology, twenty-one professors of Romance languages (of whom nineteen are heads of Departments), two professors of Spanish, one librarian, one professor of Italian, five associate professors of Romance languages, eight assistant professors, one associate, and five instructors. In other words about fifty of the original sixty-six are actively engaged in teaching the Romance languages and literatures. The four deceased are Thomas McCabe, instructor in Bryn Mawr College, in 1891; Louis Emil Menger, professor in Bryn Mawr College, in 1903; John E. Matzke, professor and head of the Department of Romance languages and literatures in Leland Stanford Junior University, in 1910; and A. F. Kuersteiner, professor and head of the Department of Romance languages and literatures in the University of Indiana, who recently passed away (June 9, 1917).¹ The following institutions, extending over the entire country, are represented (the figure in parenthesis indicating the number of doctors of philosophy of the Johns Hopkins Romance

¹ For obituary notice of Dr. Kuersteiner cf. p. 240.

Department on the teaching staff of each institution): Allegheny College (1); Amherst College (3); Bryn Mawr College (1); Colby College (1); Columbia University (1); Cornell University (1); Daughters College (1); Gallaudet College (1); Goucher College (1); Harvard University (1); Johns Hopkins University (4); Leland Stanford Junior University (1); Millsaps College (1); Oberlin College (1); Ohio State University (3); Princeton University (4); Randolph-Macon College (1); University of Alabama (1); University of California (1); University of Chicago (5); University of Cincinnati (1); University of Indiana (2); University of Michigan (2); University of Minnesota (1); University of North Carolina (1); University of Toronto (1); University of Virginia (1); University of Washington (1); University of Wisconsin (1); Washington and Jefferson College (1); Washington and Lee University (1); Western Maryland College (1); Yale University (3)—a total of thirty-three separate institutions.

Of the dissertations forty-five have been published—the largest number, in the opinion of the undersigned, to the credit of any Romance Department in the United States—five are in press, and sixteen remain unpublished, but MS. copies of these are deposited in the Library of the Johns Hopkins University. The average length of the published dissertations is 88 pages—the longest containing 237 pages and the shortest 32 pages. During the thirty years from the conferring of the first degree under Professor Elliott to his death in 1910, fifty doctoral dissertations were accepted, thirteen of them in the first, nineteen in the second, and eighteen in the third decade; from 1911 to 1917, while the Department was under the direction of Professor Armstrong, sixteen. The record is strikingly uniform, varying from slightly under two per year in the earlier administration to slightly over two per year in the past seven years. To this latter period belong also the seven masters of arts in the appended list. The character and quality of the essays offered for this degree deserve special mention.

As an indication of the wide range of subjects exhibited by the doctoral dissertations, the following loose classification may be made: Fourteen dissertations deal with modern French literature; twelve with Old French literature; eleven with French syntax;

eleven with French or Romance philology; two with folk-lore; two with Spanish literature; four with Spanish philology; three with Italian literature; and eight with Italian syntax or philology. A note regarding the publication of the dissertations may be of further interest: Twenty-nine were privately printed, while the remainder appeared in the following series or reviews (the figure in parenthesis representing the number of dissertations appearing in that publication): *Elliott Monographs* (5); *Modern Philology* (1); *Publications* of the Modern Language Association of America (6); *Revue Hispanique* (2); *Romania* (1); *Studi Medievali* (1); *Studies* of the University of Cincinnati (1); and *Studies* of the University of Nebraska (1). The first foreigner who had the honor of issuing a text in the series of the *Société des Anciens Textes* of Paris was Professor H. A. Todd, and the text he published was the doctoral dissertation that he had just presented at the Johns Hopkins University.

It is obvious, therefore, to even the casual reader that the Department of Romance Languages of the Johns Hopkins University blazed the trail which it has pleased departments in other institutions to follow more or less closely. As a great creative force the influence of this group of scholars has made itself felt in practically all the important universities and colleges in the country.²

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

1881. Fay, Edward Allen, Ph.D.

On the Conditional Relations in the Romance Languages.
(Unpublished.)

Vice-President, Gallaudet College.

1881. Garner, Samuel, Ph.D.

² In addition to the above statistics may be included the four professors, two instructors, and one fellow who have taken the M.A. degree, representing six different institutions of which only two are on the list given. In the statistics as above compiled, no note has been taken of graduate students in the Department who went into teaching without completing the work for an advanced degree. Among them are to be found ten professors, three assistant professors, and ten instructors now connected with universities or colleges, and a large number of teachers in preparatory or high schools.—The author of these lines desires to acknowledge the coöperation of the Johns Hopkins University and the assistance of Professor E. J. Fortier in the preparation of this list.

- The Gerundial Construction in the Romance Languages.
(Unpublished.)
County School Supt., Annapolis, Md.
1883. O'Connor, Bernard Francis, Ph.D.
The Syntax of Villehardouin. (Unpublished.)
New York City.
1884. Jagemann, Hans Carl G. von, Ph.D.
Anglo-Norman Vowel System in its Relations to the Norman Words in English. (Unpublished.)
Professor Germanic Philology, Harvard.
1885. Todd, Henry Alfred, Ph.D.
Le Dit de la Panthère d'Amours par Nicole de Margival.
publié par —. Paris, 1883, XXXIX, 117 pp. (SATFr.).
Professor Romance Philology, Columbia.
1886. Fontaine, Joseph Auguste, Ph.D.
On the History of the Auxiliary Verbs in the Romance Languages. Studies of the University of Nebraska, Vol. 1, no. 1. 1888, 66 pp.
Bué, France.
1887. Warren, Frederick Morris, Ph.D.
The World of Corneille. A Study of Popular Movements and Notions as seen in his Works. (Unpublished.)
Professor Modern Languages, Yale.
1888. Bowen, Benjamin Lester, Ph.D.
Contributions to Periphrasis in the Romance Languages.
(Unpublished.)
Professor Romance Languages, Ohio State University.
1888. †McCabe, Thomas, Ph.D.
The Morphology in Francesco Petrarca's Canzoniere, accompanied by a general introduction and a critical glossary. (Unpublished.)
Deceased.
1888. †Matzke, John Ernst, Ph.D.
Dialektische Eigentümlichkeiten in der Entwicklung des mouillierten L im Altfranzösischen. Baltimore, 1888, 56 pp. Reprinted from the PMLA., Vol. V, no. 2.
Deceased.

1888. Wightman, John Roaf, Ph.D.
The French Language in Canada. (Unpublished.)
Professor Romance Languages, Oberlin.
1890. Logie, Thomas, Ph.D.
Phonology of the Patois of Cachy (Somme). Baltimore,
1892, 73 pp. (Reprinted from the PMLA., Vol. VII,
no. 4.)
Inspector Schools for Cape Colony.
1890. Sheffloe, Joseph Samuel, Ph.D.
Observations on the Phonology and Inflections of the Jersey
French Dialect. (Unpublished.)
Professor Romance Languages, Goucher.
1892. Lewis, Edwin Seelye, Ph.D.
Guernsey: Its People and Dialect. Baltimore, 1895, 82 pp.
(Reprinted from the PMLA., Vol. X, no. 1.)
Atty. at Law, New York City.
1893. †Menger, Louis Emil, Ph.D.
The Historical Development of the Possessive Pronouns in
Italian. Baltimore, 1893, VI, 69 pp. (Reprinted from
the PMLA., Vol. VIII, no. 2.)
Deceased.
1894. Bruner, James Dowden, Ph.D.
The Phonology of the Pistojesse Dialect. Baltimore, 1894,
VI, 88 pp. (Reprinted from the PMLA., Vol. IX, no. 4.)
President Daughters College, Ky.
1894. Jenkins, Thomas Atkinson, Ph.D.
L'Espurgatoire Seint Patriz of Marie de France: An Old-
French Poem of the Twelfth Century. Published with
an Introduction and a Study of the Language of the
Author. Philadelphia, A. J. Ferris, 1894, 149 pp.
Professor French Philology, Chicago.
1894. Marden, Charles Carroll, Ph.D.
The Phonology of the Spanish Dialect of Mexico City.
Baltimore, 1896, 66 pp. (Reprinted from the PMLA.,
Vol. XI, no. 1.)
Professor Spanish, Princeton.
1895. De Haan, Fonger, Ph.D.

- An Outline of the History of the Novela Picaresca in Spain.
The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1903, xii, 125 pp.
Professor Spanish, Bryn Mawr.
1895. Keidel, George Charles, Ph.D.
Évangile aux Femmes—An Old-French Satire on Women.
Edited with Introduction and Notes. Baltimore, 1895,
93 pp.
Library of Congress.
1895. Symington, William Stuart, Ph.D.
The Folk-Lore of May-day in France. (Unpublished.)
Atty. at Law, Baltimore.
1896. Bonnotte, Ferdinand, Ph.D.
Phonologie et Morphologie du dialecte picard dans le
Laonnais et le Soissonnais. (Unpublished.)
Professor French, Western Maryland College.
1896. Johnston, Oliver Martin, Ph.D.
The Historical Syntax of the Atonic Personal Pronouns in
Italian. Toronto, 1898, xii, 67 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Leland Stanford.
1897. Armstrong, Edward Cooke, Ph.D.
Le Chevalier à l'Épée—An Old-French Poem. Baltimore,
1900, 72 pp.
Professor French Language, Princeton.
1897. Ogden, Philip, Ph.D.
A Comparative Study of the Poem Guillaume d'Angleterre,
with a Dialectic Treatment of the Manuscripts. Balti-
more, 1900, vii, 33 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Cincinnati.
1897. Thieme, Hugo Paul, Ph.D.
The Technique of the French Alexandrine. A Study of the
Works of Leconte de Lisle, José-Maria de Heredia, Fran-
çois Coppée, Sully-Prudhomme, and Paul Verlaine. Ann
Arbor, 1897, 68 pp.
Professor French, Michigan.
1898. Baxter, Arthur Henry, Ph.D.
The Introduction of Classical Metres into Italian Poetry and
their Development to the Beginning of the Nineteenth

- Century. Baltimore, 1901, 33 pp.
Associate Professor, Amherst.
1898. Brush, Murray Peabody, Ph.D.
The Isopo Laurenziano, Edited with Notes and an Introduction treating of the Interrelation of Italian Fable Collections. Columbus, 1899, viii, 186 pp.
Collegiate Professor and Dean, Johns Hopkins.
1898. Wilson, Richard Henry, Ph.D.
The Preposition *à*. The Relation of its Meanings studied in Old-French. Part I. Situation. Baltimore, 1902, viii, 77 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Virginia.
1899. Frein, Pierre Joseph, Ph.D.
Phonology of the Patois of Pleigne (Canton de Berne). (Unpublished.)
Professor French, University of Washington.
1899. Nitze, William Albert, Ph.D.
The Old-French Grail Romance Perlesvaus. A Study of its Principal Sources. Baltimore, 1902, 113 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Chicago.
1900. Shaw, James Eustace, Ph.D.
The Use of *Venire* and *Andare* as Auxiliary Verbs in Early Florentine Prose. Part I. Baltimore, 1903, 42 pp.
Professor Italian, Toronto.
1901. Frost, Francis LeJau, Ph.D.
The "Art de Contemplacio" of Ramon Lull. Published with an Introduction and a Study of the Language of the Author. Baltimore, 1903, 51 pp.
Clergyman, West New Brighton, N. Y.
1902. Curdy, Albert Eugene, Ph.D.
La Folie Tristan. An Anglo-Norman Poem. Part I. Baltimore, 1903, 40 pp.
Assistant Professor, Yale.
1903. Critchlow, F. L., Ph.D.
On the Forms of Betrothal and Wedding Ceremonies in the Old-French Romans d'Aventure. Chicago, 1905, 41 pp.
(Reprinted from Modern Philology, Vol. 11.)
Assistant Professor, Princeton.

1903. Gould, William Elford, Ph.D.
The Subjunctive Mood in Don Quijote de La Mancha. Baltimore, 1905, 37 pp.
New York City.
1903. Harry, Philip Warner, Ph.D.
A Comparative Study of the Aesopic Fable in Nicole Bozon. Cincinnati, 1905, 86 pp. (Reprinted from University of Cincinnati Studies, 2d Series, Vol. 1.)
Professor Romance Languages, Colby.
1903. Morrison, Alfred James, Ph.D.
Character-Study in Old-French Romans d'Aventure: The Heroine. (Unpublished.)
Hampden-Sidney, Va.
1904. Brownell, George Griffin, Ph.D.
The Position of the Attributive Adjective in the Don Quixote. Paris, 1908, 35 pp. (Reprinted from the Revue Hispanique, Vol. XIX.)
Professor Romance Languages, Alabama.
1904. Buffum, Douglas Labaree, Ph.D.
Le Roman de la Violette: A Study of the Manuscripts and the Original Dialect. Baltimore, 1904, 84 pp.
Professor French, Princeton.
1904. †Kuersteiner, Albert Frederick, Ph.D.
The Use of the Relative Pronoun in the Rimado de Palacio. Paris, 1911, 125 pp. (Reprinted from the Revue Hispanique, Vol. XXIV.)
Professor Romance Languages, Indiana.
Deceased.
1905. Easter, De la Warr Benjamin, Ph.D.
A Study of the Magic Elements in the Romans d'Aventure and the Romans Bretons. Part I. Baltimore, 1906, 56 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Washington and Lee.
1906. Dargan, Edwin Preston, Ph.D.
The Aesthetic Doctrine of Montesquieu; its Application in his Writings. Baltimore, 1907, 203 pp.
Associate Professor, Chicago.

1906. Peirce, Walter Thomson, Ph.D.
The Bourgeois from Molière to Beaumarchais. The Study of a Dramatic Type. Columbus, 1907, 88 pp.
Assistant Professor, Ohio State University.
1907. Lancaster, Henry Carrington, Ph.D.
The French Tragi-Comedy. Its Origin and Development from 1552 to 1628. Baltimore, 1907, xxiv, 189 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Amherst.
1908. Mathews, Charles Eugley, Ph.D.
Cist and Cil; A Syntactical Study. Baltimore, 1907, x, 117 pp.
Providence, R. I.
1908. Snavely, Guy Everett, Ph.D.
The Aesopic Fables in the Mireoir Historial of Jehan de Vignay. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Bibliography. Baltimore, 1908, 47 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Allegheny.
1908. Stowell, William Averill, Ph.D.
Old-French Titles of Respect in Direct Address. Baltimore, 1908, xiv, 237 pp.
Associate Professor, Amherst.
1909. Laubscher, Gustav George, Ph.D.
The Past Tenses in French. Baltimore, 1909, 60 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Randolph-Macon Woman's College.
1910. Blondheim, David Simon, Ph.D.
Contribution à la Lexicographie française d'après des sources rabbiniques. Paris, 1910, 55 pp. (Reprinted from Romania, Vol. XXXIX.)
Associate Professor, Johns Hopkins.
1911. Austin, Herbert Douglas, Ph.D.
Accredited Citations in Ristoro d'Arezzo's *Composizione del Mondo*. A Study of Sources. Torino, 1911, 51 pp. (Reprinted from *Studi Medievali*, Vol. IV.)
Assistant Professor, Michigan.
1911. Mason, James Frederick, Ph.D.
The Melodrama in France from the Revolution to the

- Beginning of Romantic Drama, 1791-1830. Baltimore, 1912, XV, 39 pp.
Professor French, Cornell.
1912. Fay, Percival Bradshaw, Ph.D.
Elliptical Partitiv Usage in Affirmativ Clauses, in French Prose of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. Paris, 1912, viii, 87 pp.
Assistant Professor, California.
1912. Gruenbaum, Gustav, Ph.D.
The Italian Partitive Construction in the Function of Direct Object. (In press.)
Associate, Johns Hopkins.
1912. Smith, Horatio Elwin, Ph.D.
The Literary Criticism of Pierre Bayle. Albany, 1912, 135 pp.
Assistant Professor, Yale.
1912. Towles, Oliver, Ph.D.
Prepositional Phrases of Asseveration and Adjuration. (In press.)
Associate Professor, North Carolina.
1913. Coleman, A., Ph.D.
Flaubert's Literary Development in the Light of his Mémoires d'un Fou, Novembre and Education Sentimentale (version of 1845). Baltimore, 1915, 31 pp. (Incomplete reprint; published in full in the Elliott Monographs, No. 1, XV, 154 pp.)
Assistant Professor, Chicago.
1914. Blossom, F. A., Ph.D.
La Composition de Salammbô d'après la correspondance de Flaubert (1857-1862), avec un essai de classement chronologique des lettres. Baltimore, 1915, 54 pp. (Incomplete reprint; published in full in the Elliott Monographs, No. 3, IX, 104 pp.)
New York City.
1914. Hamilton, Arthur, Ph.D.
Sources of the Religious Element in Flaubert's Salammbô. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1917, 32 pp. (In-

complete reprint; published in full in the Elliott Monographs, No. 4, XI, 123 pp.)

Instructor, Wisconsin.

1914. Sirich, Edward Hinman, Ph.D.

A Study in the Syntax of Alexandre Hardy. Baltimore, 1915, 32 pp.

Assistant Professor, Minnesota.

1915. Moseley, Thomas Addis Emmet, Ph.D.

The "Lady" in Comparisons from the Poetry of the "Dolce Stil Nuovo." Menasha, Wisconsin, 1916, 65 pp.

Professor Romance Languages, Washington and Jefferson.

1916. Burton, John Marvin, Ph.D.

Honoré de Balzac and his Figures of Speech. (To be published in the Elliott Monographs.)

Professor Romance Languages, Millsaps.

1917. Child, John Allan, Ph.D.

The Subjunctive in the Decameron: Primary and Concessive Clauses. (Unpublished.)

Instructor, Chicago.

1917. Hastings, Walter Scott, Ph.D.

The Drama of Honoré de Balzac. (Unpublished.)

Instructor, Johns Hopkins.

1917. Havens, George Remington, Ph.D.

The Abbé Prévost and English Literature. (To be published in the Elliott Monographs.)

Instructor, Indiana.

1917. Williams, Ralph Coplestone, Ph.D.

The Theory of the Heroic Epic in Italian Criticism of the Sixteenth Century. (Unpublished.)

Instructor, Ohio State University.

ESSAYS OFFERED FOR THE M.A. DEGREE

1911. Riddle, Lawrence Melville, M.A.

"Baccalarius" in the Cartulary of St. Victor and in Cartularies of South France, Departments of the East and West. (Unpublished.)

Professor Romance Languages, University of Southern California.

1911. Ware, John Nottingham, M.A.
Daudet and Dickens. (Unpublished.)
Professor Romance Languages, Sewanee.
1911. Wisewell, George Ellas, M.A.
Examples of "Bouvier," "Pâtre" and "Vacher" in Old-French. (Unpublished.)
Instructor, Beloit.
1916. Hill, Hinda Teague, M.A.
A Study of Rhyme Words in the Roman de la Rose. (Unpublished.)
Professor French, North Carolina State Normal College.
1916. Withers, Alfred Miles, M.A.
The Influence of Seneca's Hippolytus on the Phèdre of Racine. (Unpublished.)
Professor Modern Languages, Davidson.
1917. Tarr, Frederick Courtney, M.A.
Substantive Clauses Governed by a Preposition in the Novels of Benito Pérez Galdos. (Unpublished.)
Procter Fellow, Princeton.
1917. Wilcox, Jean Curley, M.A.
L'Idéal domestique de J.-J. Rousseau, d'après la Nouvelle Héloïse. (Unpublished.)
Instructor, Goucher.

JOHN L. GERIG

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REVIEWS

Préréforme et humanisme à Paris, pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517). Paris, Librairie ancienne André Champion, 1916, in-8, xlviii-739 pp.
Par A. RENAUDET, ancien élève de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure, Docteur ès lettres. Bibliothèque de l'Institut de Florence (Université de Grenoble), 1^{re} série.

Ce travail considérable, remarquable par l'abondance et la précision de l'érudition, par la sûreté de la critique, par la ferme impartialité, et par l'intérêt des idées qui se dégagent de l'exposition des faits, sera utile aux historiens de la littérature autant qu'aux historiens de la vie politique et religieuse de la France; il éclaire pour nous une des périodes les plus obscures, les plus confuses, et jusqu'ici les plus négligées du développement de la pensée française.

Le livre de M. Renaudet nous fait assister, année par année, presque jour par jour, à la vie de l'Université et de l'Eglise Gallicane pendant une vingtaine d'années (1494-1517). Dans les révolutions de quelques grandes communautés, dans le développement de l'enseignement, de la prédication et de l'imprimerie, dans les troubles de la discipline ecclésiastique et les rapports souvent difficiles du clergé avec le pape et le roi, nous observons une effervescence et une activité des esprits qui préparent les deux grands mouvements, d'abord conjoints et inséparables, de la Réforme et de la Renaissance.

Après nous avoir exposé dans son *Introduction* et son premier chapitre le désordre de l'Eglise, M. Renaudet, dans une 1^{re} partie, nous fait distinguer, à travers ce désordre, les éléments de renouvellement et de réforme qui existaient en 1494; dans la 2^e et la 3^e parties, il nous conduit de 1494 à 1504, et de 1504 à 1517. Dans chaque partie se succèdent et alternent les chapitres consacrés aux réformateurs et à leurs tentatives de réforme, et les chapitres consacrés à l'expression des doctrines. Au cours de ces chapitres, nous rencontrons d'abondants renseignements sur la vie et l'activité de tous les personnages notables de ce temps, de ceux du moins qui intéressent l'histoire des idées: G. Fichtet et R. Gaguin, O. Maillard et Raulin, J. Standonck et Josse Bade, Erasme et Lefèvre d'Etaples, etc. Sur tous ces hommes et sur bien d'autres encore, ce livre est un répertoire précieux, et qui renvoie aux meilleures sources où l'on peut trouver de quoi ajouter l'information qu'il fournit.

L'intérêt principal de l'ouvrage est de jeter une vive lumière sur le mouvement d'idées antérieur et préparatoire à la Réforme et la Renaissance. M. Renaudet marque fortement les conditions fâcheuses créées par le triomphe du nominalisme; si la philosophie rationnelle est impossible, si la science humaine est incertaine et vaine, il n'y a plus rien que la dialectique stérile, la dispute sans fin et sans résultat, le moulin de la logique tournant toujours à vide. La spéculation théologique elle-même s'arrête et fait place à la soumission sèche, inerte et sans idéal, au dogme incompréhensible.

On ne peut vivre dans ce vide intellectuel. On essaie de sortir de ce néant par le mysticisme qui saisit immédiatement la réalité divine, et par l'humanisme

qui, guidé par les anciens, ressaisit, à l'aide de l'intuition et de l'observation, la réalité morale, et retrouve la possibilité d'un rationalisme.

Le mysticisme, où aspiraient bien des âmes françaises, leur est rapporté de Flandre par les frères de la Vie Commune, et par des religieux de la maison de Windersheim. A leur direction viendront s'ajouter ensuite les influences de Raymond Lulle et de Nicolas de Cuse. Dès lors, la vie religieuse redevient possible: la vraie vie religieuse qui est la vie intérieure, et qui s'épanouit dans la floraison d'une ardente spiritualité.

Mais parallèlement à ce mouvement, et pour les natures qui sont plus intellectuelles que mystiques, et qui ont besoin de vérité plus que d'amour, se développe, grâce à l'imprimerie, et d'abord sous des influences italiennes, un mouvement érudit et littéraire qui ramène les curiosités vers l'antiquité grecque et romaine. Une sorte de renaissance aristotélicienne est suivie bientôt d'une renaissance du platonisme.

Les deux courants du mysticisme et de l'humanisme tendent souvent à se confondre; de là le succès et la force du platonisme dans lequel se fait pour la Renaissance la synthèse du christianisme et de l'hellénisme.

Deux grands esprits sont à la tête du mouvement de l'humanisme: Erasme et Lefèvre d'Etaples. Il est curieux de voir qu'ils ont parcouru les mêmes voies en sens inverse. Erasme, un moment touché par le mysticisme flamand, s'en libère, et se donne tout entier à l'hellénisme, au rationalisme. Lefèvre d'Etaples, qui commence par Aristote, subit l'attrait de R. Lulle et de Nicolas de Cuse, qui le font passer d'Aristote à Platon, et noyer de plus en plus l'humanisme dans le mysticisme. L'un, au moment où M. Renaudet nous laisse, est devenu l'homme de la Renaissance; l'autre, l'homme de la Réforme. Les deux mouvements, sans s'opposer encore, tendent à se séparer.

Ce livre si solide et si riche illumine pour l'historien littéraire les origines de la Renaissance française: il nous fait comprendre Marot et Rabelais, leur idéal, leurs haines, ce que représentent leurs attaques contre la Sorbonne, la scolastique, les sophistes et la barbarie gothique. Il donne les cadres d'idées générales où pourront se loger et prendre sens beaucoup d'utiles monographies sur des personnages de second rang.

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Le Latin mystique; les Poètes de l'Antiphonaire et la symbolique au moyen-âge. Préface inédite de l'Auteur. Par RÉMY DE GOURMONT. Paris, Georges Crès & C^{ie}, 1913. Second edition. 8vo, pp. xi, 423.

I shall try to present as briefly as possible an outline of the influences which seem to have presided over the making of this most interesting study, some idea of its contents, a list of accessible sources and other references for anyone who may be tempted to use it as an initiation into mediaeval Latin poetry, and a few points illustrating the relations of that older literature with the modern one of the Decadents and Symbolists.

The present volume is a reprint of the study almost as it was first published in 1892 by the *Mercure de France*. The textual changes, says the author in a foreword dated 1912, are few and insignificant. The *préface* did not appear in the older edition.

We are not informed what type of readers may have requested this reprint, which comes very near being an *édition de luxe*. In any case, it seems probable that the works of Huysmans have prompted much of the interest among present-day laymen in the art, the ritual, and the early literature of the church. To be sure, the contemporary strengthening of Catholicism in France has roots far more profound than the literary impulse of the '90's typified later in Jules Lemaitre, in Huysmans, in the *Discours de combat* of Ferdinand Brunetière. Huysmans' *En Route* appeared three years after *Le Latin mystique*, *La Cathédrale* six years after, and *L'Oblat* as late as 1903. Gourmont intended his study to be literary. Certainly he was captivated by the poetry of renunciation and of exaltation—eminently Christian themes; but he has no intention of turning the magnificent citations to propagandist use. Huysmans' series of studies in Catholic music, art, and liturgy were, however, from 1895 on, gaining a tremendous popularity, so that everything illustrating the history and archeology of the Church was sure to find an increasingly interested public. The earlier history of this modern Catholic Reaction, and the contemporary opposition on the part of those who believed in the destinies of science and of criticism, including a consideration of such works as C.-F.-R. de Montalembert's *Sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie* (1836) and *Les Moines d'Occident* (1860-67), on the one hand, and of such as Renan's *Histoire des origines du christianisme* (1863-83) on the other, must, of course, be dealt with to obtain a right understanding of the movement as continued in the '90's; but the mere hint is doubtless more than sufficient here.

The subject of Gourmont's study has attracted surprisingly little attention from literary critics, and yet it cannot but be evident to anyone reading a number of these poems that they have a very high average of lyric excellence. Strangely enough, they have generally been put in a place apart as belonging to the special province of the Church. Whether this has been due to a particular respect accorded them as being religious, or, on the other hand, to the prevalent anti-religious sentiment of the middle of the last century, it is futile to discuss. Perhaps both causes have been present. In addition, the discredit attached to the clerkly Latin has doubtless been to the prejudice, as well, of all expression in that guise. In any case, it is no derogation to them to be thought of and enjoyed as literature; furthermore, one can state with assurance that the history of European lyric poetry will never be satisfactorily written until the mediaeval Latin works are given greater importance than is now done.¹

The period represented by the poems cited in Gourmont's collection is that which extends from the third century A.D. to the fifteenth, from Commodian of Gaza to Thomas à Kempis. The treatment of mediaeval poems with a view to adapting them to the Breviary is illustrated by further chapters on the work undertaken under Pius V, Clement VIII, and Urban VIII, and, in Paris, by Harlay and by the Abbé Coffin. These later chapters furnish a concise résumé of the vicissitudes of the poems in the Breviary, a disheartening record of deformation due to the lack of critical loyalty to the old texts, as well as to the admission of new matter.

¹ An illustration of the excellent results to be obtained from a consideration of them is at hand in a recent study and anthology by Professor Frank A. Patterson, *The Middle English Penitential Lyric*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1911.

Gourmont professes no other intention than that of furnishing representative selections, particularly from the fourth to the fifteenth century, accompanying them with French prose versions according to the method which he describes as *littéraire-littérale*. These translations, being from his pen, are indeed of the first interest and they are often helpful for a better understanding of the sometimes arbitrary syntax and vocabulary of the old poets. Yet the judgment shown in the selection of the poems is a still greater merit; it is fair to say that this is the first anthology to offer in small space and with sufficient explanation a really convincing array of Latin religious lyrics. It supplements the collections of Pontus Edélestand du Ménil, to be mentioned further on.

It has been objected to the Latin religious poems that their subjects are almost unvarying, and the conclusion has been drawn that they were no better than set themes, an exercise for rhetorically-inclined monks. The themes may indeed be set themes, for the Middle Ages were filled with two great ideas, first that of penance, with its lurid shadow of the Last Judgment, and second that of a wondering and tender adoration of the Virgin. These ideas became sentiments, and even passions; and this passion and this feeling pierce through all the rhetorical devices with which the language was encumbered. An illustration of this is to be found in a citation from Commodian of Gaza, a convert who was suspected, much as was Huysmans himself, by the Church that received him. Commodian had the distinction of figuring in the list of forbidden authors drawn up at Rome in the year 496. But at that time he was already two centuries dead. After a lapse of some thirteen additional centuries he appears—if we are to judge from the fact that his works were then edited by Cardinal Pitra—to have attained among prelates a somewhat more savory renown. Here, at any rate, we find it interesting to cite a few verses from that astonishing acrostic of his wherein the initial letters of the lines give the title: *De saeculi istius fine*. And astonishing it is, not because of the difficulties overcome in the acrostic form (they are as nothing compared with other frequent *tours de force*), but because the terror of the Last Judgment breathes in these verses, contorted as they must be to suit the exigencies of the form. What we might consider idle affectation was then a worthy effort to the greater praise of the Divinity:

Conclamant pariter plangentes sero gementes,
Ululatur, ploratur, nec spatium datur iniquis.
Lactanti quid faciet mater, cum ipsa crematur?
In flamma ignis Dominus judicabit iniquos.

As Gourmont suggests, here is the theme of the definitive *Dies Irae* of Thomas of Celano—a theme that re-echoes along all the thousand years that separate the two poems.

In general, however, it may be said that the examples furnished by Gourmont show that in the earlier period, embracing Commodian of Gaza, Prudentius, Sidonius Apollinarius, the lyric quality is less pronounced than later. Even the powerful *Pange lingua* of Claudian Mamertus, or perhaps of Fortunatus (fifth century), is first and foremost a theological exposition, for all the lyric impression it so certainly conveys. But the glory of the coming of God is a theme of enthusiasm which no theological formalism can entirely cover. And in the section illustrating the Carolingian renaissance we encounter the representative poem of the fairer aspect of the Last Judgment—love rather than terror.

Veni, creator Spiritus,
Mentes tuorum visita,
Imple superna gratia
Quae tu creasti pectora . . .

Accende lumen sensibus
Infunde amorem cordibus,
Infirma nostri corporis
Virtute firmans perpeti.

Next follows a résumé of the history of the *sequence*, a poetic form, says Gourmont, peculiar to the tenth and eleventh centuries, but found again later in Thomas à Kempis.² It hardly seems, however, that in this section he has presented the most fortunate examples; certainly more beautiful sequences have been reprinted by other editors.

The poems addressed to the Virgin with the appellation *Stella maris* find some place in the following sections; the first citation of the kind is in the form of a sequence by Albertus Magnus.³ The example of the *Ave maris stella* given later is notable in prosody as an early example of the so-called *regular* sequence, that wherein the uneven syllable was long:

Ave, maris stella
Dei mater alma
Atque semper virgo
Felix coeli porta.

Sumens illud Ave
Gabrielis ore,
Funda nos in pace,
Mutans nomen Evae.

The play upon words, as was mentioned, had then no light or facetious connotation.

Other sections deal with the poetical disquisitions on gems and their symbolic use in poetry. This symbolism of gems has been interestingly treated by Huysmans in Section VII of *La Cathédrale*. A most useful monograph by Frédéric Portal entitled *Les Couleurs symboliques dans l'antiquité, le moyen-âge et les temps modernes*⁴ should, however, be consulted for a better understanding of the passage in Gourmont. According to Portal, not only did the various colors suggest different conceptions, but each color was to be considered in one of three relations, according as it was the hue of the air, that of transparent stones, or that of opaque bodies. The first category of color-representations had reference to life itself (the divinity), the second, that of gems, to the mani-

² In Latin, he says: "C'est un psaume de dix à trente versets, le plus souvent, auquel des allitérations, des recherches de mots, des rimes et des assonances finales ou intérieures donnent seules un air de poème. Mode si exceptionnel et si simple qu'il n'a pas été compris, art si spontanément nouveau qu'il a été méprisé . . ." p. 109). On the following pages he explains the origin of the *sequence* and its use, according to the results of the studies of Léon Gautier. For the *trope* and *prose* see pp. 110-11 and 164-65.

³ The reading of these poems may well be supplemented by that of the chapter entitled *The Star of the Sea* in Mr. Harold Bayley's *Lost Language of Symbolism* (London, Williams & Norgate, 1912, 2 vols.), vol. i, p. 232. The goddess known as the "Star of the Sea" was pagan, and her name was given to the Virgin not without some opposition from scrupulous churchmen. The *sequence* of Albertus Magnus is given on p. 130. The next, the *regular* sequence cited, is on p. 164.

⁴ Paris, Treuttel & Würtz, 1837.

festations of that life in men, and the third class, finally, signified the act resulting from the human reception of the supernal influence. Further most interesting details regarding this mediaeval symbolism are furnished by Gourmont in Section XII, apropos of Marbodius and his treatise on gems.

An apology for Saint Bernard as a poet, a study of the mysticism of the twelfth century as found in Reinerus and others, a criticism of Adam de Saint Victor—whom he terms “un authentique grand poète”—are chapters of more purely literary interest. Then, too, there are useful and sympathetic pages on these two great monuments of mediaeval Latin poetry, the *Dies Irae* and the *Stabat Mater*, wherein he shows that they were not the creations of Thomas of Celano and of Jacopone da Todi—admitting these to have been the authors—but slow growths, containing suggestions from many poets. And finally there is a brief record of the growth and transformation of the Roman Breviary.

From the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when there were published numerous collections of Church hymns, up to the nineteenth, almost all investigation into the subject of mediaeval Latin poetry was liturgic or otherwise religious in its interest.

Notwithstanding a great advance in the utilization of material for the study of the Middle Ages, typified in the seventeenth-century labors of Du Cange (author of the *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*), the well-nigh universal literary antipathy, from the time of the *Pléiade* to Voltaire, for all that was mediaeval, was in itself enough to preclude any appreciation of the Latin hymns as poetry.

The romantic rehabilitation of the Middle Ages was doubtless responsible for a certain amount of the interest manifested in the first half of the last century. But the epoch of Thierry's *Conquête de l'Angleterre* and of Fauriel's *Histoire de la Gaule méridionale* was of a nature to produce works and collections imbued not only with a spirit of romantically conceived patriotism but with the no less considerable impulse of a true appreciation for scholarship. Such are the collections of Jacob Grimm and A. Schmeller, Pontus Edéstand du Méril, and Thomas Wright. The more strictly religious interest prevails in the anthologies of Daniel, of Mone, and of Morel.⁵

Cassander: *Hymni ecclesiastici*, Cologne, 1556 (2d ed., Paris, 1616); Fabricius (Georgius), *Poetarum veterum ecclesiasticorum opera*, Basel, 1564; Siber, *Psalterium Davidis*, Leipzig, 1577; Ellingerus, *Hymnorum ecclesiasticorum libri III*, Frankfort/a/M, 1578; Schulting (Cornelius), *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica*, Cologne, 1592; Marrier, *Bibliotheca cluniacensis*, Paris, 1614; Balingem, *Flos hymnorum de SS. Virgine*, Douai, 1624; Secchi (Anaclet), *Hymnodia ecclesiastica*, Antwerp, 1634; Rivinus, *Carmina sacra*, Leipzig, 1652; Fabricius (J. A.), *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, Hamburg, 1734-46; Walchius (C.

⁵ As there is no readily accessible bibliography of these collections, it may be of service to reproduce here a number of titles which contain representative poems from the Middle Ages. The editions of individual poets may be omitted, however, since library catalogues readily give such titles under the authors' names. It is less simple to find the names and titles of collective editions. The following list is purposely incomplete; the volumes cited will furnish many additional titles, and for the sixteenth century, notably, Daniel's *Thesaurus hymnologicus* (1841-56) is useful.

W. F.), *Monimenta medii aevi*, Goettingen, 1757-60; Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca ritualis*, Rome, 1776-81; Gerbert (Martin), *Monimenta veteris liturgiae alemanicae*, Saint Blaise and Ulm, 1777-79; Arevali, *Hymnodia hispanica*, Rome, 1786; Walraffius, *Corolla hymnorum sacrorum*, Cologne, 1806; Rambach, *Christliche Anthologie*, Altona & Leipzig, 1817; Bjørn, *Hymni veterum poetarum christianorum*, Copenhagen, 1818; Roth, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Augsburg, 1837; Haupt, *Exempla poesis latinae medii aevi* (for this volume, which I have not seen, v. Pontus Edélestand du Ménil, *Poésies populaires latines*, 1847, p. 196, note 4); Wright (Thomas), *Early Mysteries and other Latin Poems of the 12th and 13th Centuries*, London, 1838; Grimm (Jacob) & J. A. Schmeller, *Lateinische Gedichte des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts*, Goettingen, 1838; Kehrein (Joseph), *Lateinische Anthologie aus den christlichen Dichtern des Mittelalters*, Frankfort, 1840; Wright (Thomas), *Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, London, 1841; Du Ménil (Pontus Edélestand), *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au XII^e siècle*, Paris, 1843; Migne (J. P.), *Patrologiae cursus completus; Series latina*, Paris, 1844-80; Wright (Thomas), *Biographia britannica literaria; Anglo-Norman Period*, London, 1846; Du Ménil (Pontus Edélestand), *Poésies populaires latines du moyen-âge*, Paris & Leipzig, 1847; Kehrein (Joseph), *Kirchen- und religiöse Lieder (12. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, Paderborn, 1853; Mone (F. J.), *Hymni latini medii aevi*, Freiburg, 1853-55; Du Ménil (Pontus Edélestand), *Poésies inédites du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1854; Daniel (Hermann A.), *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, Leipzig, 1855-62; Wright (Thomas), *Political Poems and Songs relative to English History, 1327-1483*, London, 1859-61; Morel (B.), *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (complete in the so-called *Erste Hälfte*), Einsiedeln, 1866; Hubatsch, *Die lateinische Vagantenlieder des Mittelalters*, Goerlitz, 1870; Wright (Thomas), *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the 12th Century*, London, 1872; Kehrein (Joseph), *Lateinische Sequenzen*, Mainz, 1873; Hagenus (Hermann), *Carmina medii aevi*, Bern, 1877; Ozanam (A. F.), *Les Poètes franciscains en Italie au XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1882; Schmeller (J. A.), *Carmina burana*, 2d ed., Breslau, 1883; Novati (Francesco), *Carmina medii aevi*, Florence, 1883; Ellinger (Georg), *Deutsche Lyriker des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *Lateinische Literaturdenkmäler des 15. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, No. 7, Berlin, 1893.

The critical works appearing during the last quarter of the century, such as those of Novati, Ebert, Gautier, Ronca, Chevalier, have been particularly devoted to what we may call the materials of literary study rather than to that study itself. For the most part the stress has fallen on matters of language, of prosody, or of bibliographical or liturgic interest. Ebert, who dealt with the matter as literature, seems to have given the hymns, the sequences, and the Goliard songs too little study in their relation to the destinies of lyricism.⁶

Bale (John), *Scriptorum illustrium Majoris Brytanniae Catalogus*, Ipswich,

⁶ The following works of criticism will prove useful; some are little more than catalogues of names and editions, but almost all are critical; mediaeval Latin poetry has not attracted the dilettante. Numerous works on the liturgy and the Church ceremonies have been omitted, although such are rather necessary aids to a right understanding of the texts as they now exist, the exigencies of the service having brought about numerous changes. No periodical references are attempted.

1548 (a later edition is that of Basel, 1557-59; Leyser (Polycarp), *Dissertatio de de ficta medii aevi barbarie imprimis circa poesin latinam speciminibus carminum*, Helmstadt, 1719, and *Historia poetarum et poematum medii aevi*, Halle, 1721; Grancolas (J.), *Commentaire historique sur le Bréviaire romain*, Paris, 1727; Quadrio (F. S.), *Ragione di ogni poesia*, Bologna & Milan, 1739-52; Lebeuf (Jean), *Traité historique sur le chant ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1741; Martène (Edmund), *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Antwerp, 1763-64; Peerlkamp (Pieter), *Expositio de vita ac doctrina Belgarum qui latina carmina composuerunt*, Brussels, 1822 (2d ed., 1838); Croke (Sir Alexander), *Essay on the Origin, Progress and Decline of Rhyming Latin Verse*, Oxford, 1828; Mohnike (G. C. F.), *Hymnologische Forschungen*, Stralsund, 1831-32; Ampère (J.-J.), *Histoire littéraire de la France avant le XII^e siècle*, Paris, 1840; Berington (Joseph), *Literary History of the Middle Ages* (2d ed.), London, 1846; Gautier (Léon), *Histoire abrégée des proses jusqu'à la fin du XII^e siècle*, Paris, 1858; Masing (Woldemar), *Ueber Ursprung und Verbreitung des Reimes*, Dorpat, 1866; Paris (Gaston), *Lettre à M. Gautier sur la versification latine rythmique*, Paris, 1866; Bartsch (Carl), *Die lateinischen Sequenzen des Mittelalters in musikalischer und rhythmischer Beziehung*, Rostock, 1868; Zingerle (A. R.), *Zu spätern lateinischen Dichtern*, Innsbruck, 1873; Bartoli (Adolfo), *I Precursori del Rinascimento*, Florence, 1876; Francke (Kuno), *Die Quellen der Alexandreis* (with an appendix, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Schulpoesie der XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderten*), Munich, 1879; Gautier (Léon), *Histoire de la poésie latine au moyen-âge: Versification, rythmique, hymnes, proses, tropes, mystères*, Paris, 1879; Straccali (Alfredo), *I Goliardi ovvero i Clerici Vagantes delle università medievali*, Florence, 1880; Ebert (A.), *Histoire générale de la littérature du moyen-âge en Occident* (translation by Aymeric & Condamin), Paris, 1883-89; Simcox (G. A.), *A History of Latin Literature from Ennius to Boethius*, London, 1883; Hervieux (Léopold), *Les Fabulistes latins depuis Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1884; Pimont (L'abbé), *Les Hymnes du Bréviaire romain*, Paris, 1884; Dreves (G. M.) & C. Blume, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, Leipzig, 1886 and ff.; Kayser (J.), *Studien zur Geschichte der ältesten religiösen Hymnen*, Paderborn, 1886; Gühr (N.), *Die Sequenzen des romanischen Missels*, Freiburg/i/B., 1887; Duffield (S. A. W.), *The Latin Hymn-Writers and their Hymns*, New York, 1889; Ronca (Umberto), *Metrica e ritmica latina nel medio evo*, Rome, 1890; Boissier (Gaston), *La Fin du Paganisme*, Paris, 1891; Chevalier (L'abbé Cyr-Ulysse-Joseph), *Bibliographie des Hymnes et Proses de l'Église*, Lyons, 1892; also *Poésie liturgique du moyen-âge* (t. 1^{er} of the *Bibliothèque liturgique*, Paris, 1893); or, *Repertorium hymnologicum; Catalogue des chants, hymnes . . . en usage dans l'Église latine*, Louvain, 1892-97; Mazzoni (Guido) (editor), *Eserciziazioni sulla letteratura religiosa in Italia nei secoli XIII e XIV*, Florence, 1905; Delehaye (H.), *Le Leggende agiografiche; con appendice da W. Meyer* (tr. from the French), Florence, 1906; Novati (Francesco), *I Goliardi e la Poesia latina medievale* (vol. 9, ser. 2^a, no. 1 of the *Biblioteca delle Scuole italiane*).

The more particularly philological study of the last fifty years, resulting in the elucidation of so much in the realm of the divers national literatures, has touched upon the mediaeval Latin literature, as such, but lightly. And yet it is entirely evident that from the standpoint of the lyric no study of Provençal

Italian, French, English or German can be satisfactory without a realization of the older vulgar Latin influence exercised not only through the liturgy, but through independent lyrics of religious inspiration, and, on the other hand, through the profane poems such as the Goliard and other political songs. The Italian poems of Jacopone da Todi, for all the large place which they rightly occupy in the thirteenth-century poetry in the vernacular, are nevertheless as truly Latin in their traditions as is the final *Stabat Mater* itself. The Romanic tongues have been termed varieties of modern Latin. In like manner, the literature in the clerkly neo-Latin furnishes the earliest articulation of mediaeval thought.

The idea that the mediaeval Latin used for writing was a truly living tongue not at all in "decadence," is perhaps the most novel conception in Gourmont's hitherto unpublished preface. The language used by these poets and theologians was certainly, for them, altogether alive. The miserable latinity with which they have been reproached was doubtless for them a matter of almost complete indifference; they wished to be intelligible, and they made themselves so by a frank use of the Latin tongue as it was employed to meet ordinary needs. That this tongue, in the earlier part of the Middle Ages, was more or less a *conscious* idiom among the clerks, is easily conceivable: the truly "vulgar" Latin must already at that time have been turning visibly—or, rather, audibly—into French, and Spanish, and Italian. Later, it is hardly conceivable that there was any such feeling: the clerkly Latin was learned at a very early age by all who entered the Church or who made profession of the law, and must have been for every scholar in Europe more genuinely a mother tongue than was the learned Latin of the Renaissance for Erasmus. That the mediaeval Latin is less elegant may be admitted, but its corrupt state is the best proof that it was used without affectation. The poems are ample proof that it was used with feeling.

The following lines, first published in 1892, resume Gourmont's justification of the term "popular" as applied to this language; they also connect the literature with the modern one of the Symbolists:

Plus d'un trait de la figure caractéristique des poètes latins du christianisme se retrouve en la présente poésie française,—et deux sont frappants: la quête d'un idéal différent des postulats officiels de la nation résumés en une vocifération vers un paganisme scientifique et confortable . . . et, pour ce qui est des normes prosodiques, un grand dédain. A cause, sans doute, de ces semblances vaguement perçues, le nom nous fut donné de décadents; il ne peut convenir. La décadence d'une langue c'est sa mort lente; elle ne peut être perçue qu'après son extinction totale. Décadents furent relativement les poètes qui sculptèrent en un bois vermineux; . . . pour en référer encore, par exemple, au "*Stabat Mater*," quels signes de décadence reconnaître en ce poème œuvre par une main douloureuse mais sûre, selon des lignes très nobles, des voiles raidis comme par des larmes de sang, en cette robe de deuil mais frangée d'or vert, mais stellée d'améthystes?

Ne furent-ils pas bien plutôt les décadents, les Italiens qui alors, ou plus tard un peu, ovidiaient de mythologiques lamentations? (pp. 8-9).

As a matter of fact, although the word "decadent" was indeed used to damn the productions of the symbolist school—properly an off-shoot from the "decadents"—it probably had no reference in the minds of most to the writers of Latin poems in the Middle Ages. "Etre décadent, c'est être sceptique, c'est

accepter tous les progrès de la civilisation," says A. Baju in *Le Décadent*, in 1888 (cited by A. Barre in *Le Symbolisme*, p. 97). Thus, the parallel so strikingly instituted by Gourmont was not only not generally realized, but appears, on the whole, to have extremely little justification in fact. For if the mediaeval hymnologists had little trust in the things of this world, at the same time they expressed themselves constantly in all the truest orthodoxy of ascetic doctrine; the verse of Commodian of Gaza cited by Gourmont:

Discite quaeso bonum, cives, simulacra cavete,

is no parallel to the sentence of Baju.

As for the disregard of accepted prosody, the school of the Symbolists and the mediaeval Latin poets were simply opposites in tendency. The trend of the Symbolists has been towards "free" verse and a poetry implying an entirely new arrangement of literary values: the mediaeval Latin, in spite of all its "proses" and "sequences"—free forms often necessary when adapted to the antiphonal service—was to pass through the *préciosité* of such as Adam de Saint-Victor to bring forth, in its vernacular descendents, the ultra-formalism of the *puy*s and of the *jeux floraux*—the Grands Rhétoriciens, in short, and the Mastersingers. Hermann Hagenus' *Carmina medii aevi* contains some verses showing most minutely sought-out acrostic designs, and the Hebrew tradition of the *abecedarian* is perpetuated in more than a few religious poems.

But a better development of his thesis that vulgar Latin was not truly decadent, any more than the works of the Symbolists were so, might be made out of the astounding facility of both periods of literature in the making or re-forming of words. It is a point indeed suggested by Gourmont but not followed to its conclusions. Doubtless, of the two, vulgar Latin showed the more normal development, and modern French Symbolism the more artificial one.

With the exception, at times, of a rather deliberate latinization of Greek terms, the mediaeval poems show only a normal adaptation of words to supply those not at hand, or else not remembered from the classical Latin. Rarely is there such a seeking for exoticism as in a sequence of Hermanus Contractus, *De Sancta Cruce*, written in the first half of the eleventh century, and beginning thus:

Grates, honos, hierarchia et euphonizans tibi, interminabiliter hymnologia,
Sacrosancta tu patris hostia, Sancte Christe, rex monarchos, omnium antistes
et eulogumene.

A page of Jules Laforgue is no more easily comprehensible to the French reader nurtured on the classics of the "grand siècle" than the *Dies irae* would have been to Horace. Both the problematic Horace and the admirer of the French of Racine might be justly aggrieved in their respective susceptibilities; yet Jules Laforgue, like Walter Pater in another sense, is refreshing, and the mediaeval Latin poets how much more so to the ear jaded with harmonies already archaic!

Gourmont intended his book, he states, to be especially useful as an anthology. As such it is indeed valuable, since so many of the older collections are hard to come at. Yet *Le Latin mystique* is not of great value as an anthology, when compared with the great collections, since it is really only a sort of Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* of lyrical mystic poems—very slender, after all, were

it stripped of its translations and the author's admittedly popular text. And there is no pretention to any addition of unedited material. Yet the hitherto unpublished preface and the remarks on the Decadents are destined to form more converts to the idea of a mediaeval vulgar Latin literature than perhaps any single work so far published. Certainly Ebert, in his comprehensive history of mediaeval Latin literature (including also the origins of the national literatures), has furnished an impressive array of titles which none who have followed him could wish to ignore. But there is little doubt that he left room for another, perhaps more exhaustive, and certainly more sympathetic treatment from the aesthetic side. The interesting notes intercalated with the examples printed by Edélestand du Méril would seem to form, in a sense, a more useful introduction to the lyric poetry.

As a handbook for the beginning of a study of mediaeval Latin poetry, Gourmont's book is incomplete, although purposely so, in its omission of other than religious popular poems. This lacuna is bridged, in part, by du Méril's collections and in part by Wright and by several more recent compilations of Goliard and other political songs—for the Goliard songs, no less than the penitential and other religious lyrics, must occupy an important place among the sources of the later vernacular literature, since they are often subjective and as such tend to drift away from the classic Latin poetry. Certain of the Goliard songs, indeed, beneath their loud gayety, come very close to the melancholy that knows nothing of the redemption of the soul through penitence, which takes on the aspect of pessimism, sometimes even of that brutal variety of pessimism which we call cynicism.

On the whole, it seems that this edition, with its translations, indices, serviceable bibliography, and chronological arrangement of poets from Commodian of Gaza to Thomas à Kempis, constitutes one of the most useful handbooks available for those beginning the study of mediaeval Latin poetry. What is of still more importance is that it is at the same time a really interesting handbook—one of the very rare treatments since that of Edélestand du Méril to succeed in putting the Latin Middle Ages into an intimate relationship with the history of lyricism. It is a subject certainly destined to be productive of further interesting study.

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OBITUARY

PAUL MEYER, 1840-1917

Romance scholarship has sustained a unique loss in the death of Paul Meyer, for with him closes an epoch. To feel this, one need only examine the critical work done previous to 1860. With the arrival at maturity of Paul Meyer and his intimate and life-long friend, Gaston Paris, commences for France the glorious period of the application of scientific principles to Romance philology and to the early history of the Romance literatures.

Paul Meyer enjoyed the advantages of study at the Ecole des Chartes, and thus became and remained one of the most remarkable paleographers of his generation. He was for a while archivist at Tarascon, then in the department of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, where thruout his life he was one of the familiar figures. He showed such ability and judgment in the matter of manuscripts that he was many times sent on paleographic visits, especially to England. He served as garde mobile in the war of 1870, became secretary to the Ecole des Chartes and later, in 1882, succeeded Guessard as director of this institution, a position which he held until his death. In 1876 he succeeded E. Quinet at the Collège de France. He received in 1883 the biennial prize of 20,000 francs, awarded by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, of which he became a member the following year. He was a commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur.

In countries outside of France, Paul Meyer was best known as the founder, with Gaston Paris, of the *Romania*, in 1872. They had founded six years earlier the *Revue Critique*, whose purpose at first proved to be destructive, its constructive effort coming later. The two brilliant young scholars set out to destroy the unscientific spirit then dominant. One can obtain an idea of the purpose which animated Paul Meyer by reading an article published in the *Correspondance Littéraire* for 1864, entitled "A propos d'une Election récente à l'Académie des Inscriptions" (pp. 75-79). His services at the Académie des Inscriptions were devoted mainly to the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Notices et Extraits* and the *Histoire littéraire de la France*. Despite the interest in ancient things which these subjects indicate, Paul Meyer was one of the most modern of men. This appeared thruout his long career, as, for example, in the excellent pamphlet, "Pour la Simplification de notre Orthographe" (1905).

A large part of our regretted colleg's critical studies appeared in the *Romania*. Among his numerous books may be mentioned his *Recueil d'anciens Textes*, his editions of *Flamenca*, the volumes on *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature française du Moyen Age*, *Raoul de Cambrai* (with A. Longnon), the *Apocalypse en français au XIII^e Siècle* (with L. Delisle), *Documents de Linguistique du Midi de la France*. He performed a labor of love in re-editing two works by his departed friend, Gaston Paris: the *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* and the *Littérature française au Moyen Age*.

Extreme devotion to truth and absence of fear were among the dominant traits of Paul Meyer. His rôle in the Dreyfus affair would suffice for the glory of a lifetime. He possest, along with the stern qualities mentioned, much kindness and generosity, which he took pains to conceal, so great was his aversion to sentimentality. His kindness appeared increasingly during his last years. The scientific spirit never abandoned him, and all of the last letters he wrote chronicled the decreasing powers which he noted in himself. He was born at Paris the 17th of January, 1840, and died the 9th of September, 1917. The funeral exercises, which were of extreme simplicity, were held at the Ecole des Chartes, and a large number of friends attended. A pastor of the Reformed Church officiated. Brief remarks were made by Professor Prou in behalf of the Ecole des Chartes, Professor Langlois for the society of former students of the Ecole, Professor Léger for the Collège de France, and Professor Thomas for the Institut. The interment took place at Montparnasse.

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CHAUCERIANA.—II

CHAUCER'S "LINIAN"

IN the Prologue of the *Clerk's Tale*, Chaucer couples the names of Petrarch and Linian:

Fraunceys Petrark, the laureat poete,
Highte this clerk, whos rethoryke sweete
Enlumined al Itaille of poetrye,
As Linian dide of philosophye,
Or lawe, or other art particuler;
But deeth, that wol nat suffre us dwellen heer
But as it were a twinkling of an ye,
Hem bothe hath slayn, and alle shul we dye.

Tyrwhitt's note on this passage reads:¹

The person meant was an eminent Lawyer, and made a great noise (as we say) in his time. His name of late has been so little known, that I believe nobody has been angry with the Editt. for calling him *Livian*. There is some account of him in Panzirolus, *de Cl. Leg. Interpret.* l. iii. c. xxv. Joannes, a *Lignano*, agri Mediolanensis vico, oriundus, et ob id *Lignanus* dictus &c. One of his works entitled, "*Tractatus de Bello*," is extant in Ms. *Reg.* 13. B. ix. He compiled it at Bologna in the year 1360.

He was not however a mere Lawyer. Chaucer speaks of him as excelling also in *Philosophie*, and so does his epitaph, ap. Panzirol. l. c.

Gloria Lignani, titulo decoratus utroque,
Legibus et sacro Canone dives erat,
Alter Aristoteles, Hippocras erat et Ptolomæus—

¹ *Canterbury Tales* (1775) 4. 277-8.

The only specimen of his Philosophy that I have met with is in Ms. *Harl.* 1006. It is an Astrological work, entitled, "Conclusiones Iudicii composite per Domnum Johannem de *Lyviano* (l. *Lyniano*) super coronacione Domni Urbani Pape VI. A. D. 1378. xviii April, &c. cum Diagrammate."² He also supported the election of Urban as a Lawyer. Panzirol. l. c. et Annal. Eccles. a Raynaldo, tom. xvii. He must therefore have lived at least to 1378, though in the printed epitaph he is said to have died in 1368, xvi Febr.

Henry Morley observes:³ "He was made Professor of Canon Law at Bologna in 1363, and died at Bologna in 1383. Urban VI would have kept him at Rome,⁴ but let him depart, 'propter studium Bononiense quod in absentia tanti viri desolatum maneret.'"

Skeat adds nothing to his predecessors' information, and misprints 1378 as 1387.

Hinckley⁵ draws on Tyrwhitt and Morley, and says: "Tyrwhitt has called attention to a work of Lignano's on star-craft, which Chaucer would have classed under 'philosophy.'" He reproduces Tyrwhitt's quotation from the epitaph, reading *divus* for *dives*, and *Ptolemæus*. He subjoins: "Nobody has shown that he was connected with the distinctively humanistic work of Petrarch, the revival of classical learning."

Petrarch died in 1374; while his epitaph is said⁶ to have been composed by himself, no provision was made in his will (1370) for any but an ordinary grave.⁷ Lignano died in 1383; by his will, made in 1376, he ordered that a tomb should be built for him.⁸ Petrarch's tomb was erected in or about 1380, three years before

² See below, pp. 368, 372.

³ *English Writers* (1890) 5. 339.

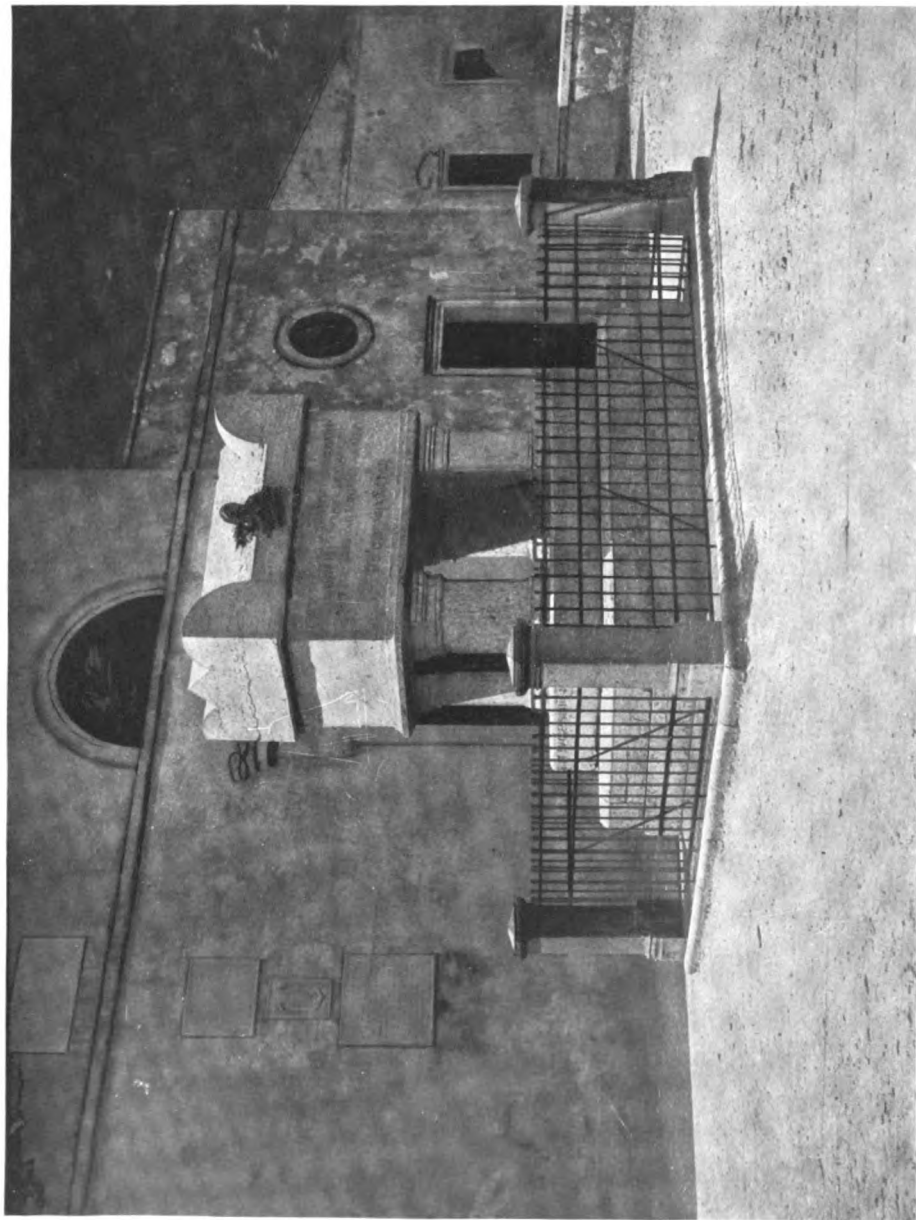
⁴ See below, pp. 367-8.

⁵ *Notes on Chaucer* (1907), pp. 190-1.

⁶ So Filippo Villani (fl. ca. 1400), quoted by De Sade, *Mémoires*, Vol. 3, *Pièces Justificatives*, p. 12 (cf. p. 16): "Hic [i. e., at Arquà], longe antequam vita excederet, sub certa fide mandavit Lombardo discipulo suo . . . ne sineret pomposos cujusquam versus suo imprimi monumento, sed tres humillimos duntaxat apponeret, quos ipse poeta dictaverit. Hi fuere" [verses follow].

⁷ "Corpus autem . . . terræ, unde sibi origo est, volo restitui, et hoc absque omni pompa, sed cum summa humilitate et abjectione quanta esse potest."

⁸ *R. I. S.* 18. 524: "Lasciò nel testamento che fossegli fatta fare un' arca, e così gli fu fatta fare bellissima di marmo, ornata di bellissime figure, come appare nella detta Chiesa" [S. Domenico in Bologna].



Monument of Petrarch. d. 1374 (Arquà, before the church).

the death of Lignano. Petrarch's epitaph is a rhyming triplet; Lignano's consists of eight lines, unrhymed.

Petrarch's epitaph reads (see the picture of his tomb on opposite page) :

FRIGIDA FRANCISCI LAPIS HIC TEGIT OSSA PETRARCE
SVSCIPE VIRGO PARENS ANIMAM SATE VIRGINE PARCE
FESSAQ; IAM TERRIS CELI REQUIESCAT IN ARCE

This yields:

Frigida Francisci lapis hic tegit ossa Petrarcae;⁹
Suscipe, Virgo Parens, animam; Sate Virgine, parce!
Fessaque jam terris, cæli requiescat in arce.

(This stone covers the cold bones of Francis Petrarch; do thou, O Virgin Mother, receive his soul; spare it, O Son of the Virgin! Now that it is wearied of earth, may it rest in the highest heaven.)

Lignano's epitaph is as follows (see the picture of his monument opp. p. 356) :

† FRIGIDA · MIRIFICI · TENET · HIC · LAPIS · OSSA · IOH̄IS ·
IVIT · IN · ASTRIFERAS · MENS · GENEROSA · DOMOS ·
GLORIA · LIGNANI · TITVLO · DECORATVS · VTROQ;
LEGIBVS · 7 SACRO · CANONE · DIVES · ERAT ·
ALTER · ARISTOTILES · HYPOCRAS · ERAT · 7 THOLOMEI
SIGNIFER · ETHEREI · NOVERAT · ASTRA · POLI ·
ABSTVLIT · HVNC · NOBIS · INOPINE · SINCOPA · MORTIS ·
HEV · DOLOR · HIC · MVNDI · PORTVS · 7 AVRA · IACET ·¹⁰

This, expanding contractions, restoring æ where it is demanded, and emending one word in the last line, yields:

† Frigida mirifici tenet hic lapis ossa Johannis;
Ivit in astriferas mens generosa domos.
Gloria Lignani, titulo decoratus utroque¹¹—
Legibus et sacro canone dives erat.
Alter Aristotiles,¹² Hypocras,¹³ erat; et Tholomæi¹⁴
Signifer, ætherei noverat astra poli.

⁹ It would appear that *c*, in these rhyming words, is to be pronounced as *k*.

¹⁰ So far as my authorities enable me to pronounce, these lines have never before been correctly reproduced in print. In particular, *etheriei* is always printed as *atque hæres*.

¹¹ He was an LL.D. (*Legum Doctor*) or J.U.D. (*Juris Utriusque Doctor*).

¹² Philosopher, in the most general sense. No other individual author is so frequently named by Dante, to whom he is "the first of those that know." For

Abstulit hunc nobis inopinæ sincopa mortis;
Heu dolor! hic mundi portus et ara¹⁵ jacet.

the works of his that were known at this time, see Toynbee, *Dante Dictionary*, p. 48, and cf. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer* 6. 384. "When Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas, or any other light of the schools, refers to Aristotle, it must be borne in mind that he often had no more exact acquaintance with the text which he expounds or confutes than could be gathered from an indirect Latin version of an Arabic rendering of a Syriac translation of a Greek original. This accounts for many misunderstandings and errors which would otherwise be incomprehensible" (*Encyc. Brit.*, 4th ed., 27. 184). For Petrarch's attitude toward Aristotle, see Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums*, 3d ed., 1. 79-80.

¹³ The shortened form of the name occurs not only in the *Roman de la Rose* (*Hipocras*) and in Chaucer (*Ypocras*), but also, as here, in mediæval Latin. In a single epistle (*Sen.* 12. 2) Petrarch has *Hippocrates* (*Opera*, 1581, p. 905), twice *Hippocras* (p. 913), besides the oblique cases, *Hippocratis*, -ti, -te. Tiraboschi (5. 354) mentions a contemporary of Lignano, Giovanni da Santa Sofia (d. 1389?), who expounded the works of Hippocrates, and another (p. 350), Jacopo da Forlì (d. 1414?), who wrote on the *Aphorisms* then attributed to him. Much earlier than this, Dino del Garbo (d. 1327) is said to have expounded a work of Hippocrates on the nature of the embryo (p. 335). In the epitaph of Liucio (d. 1318), erected in S. Vitale at Bologna, he was declared to be "compar Hippocrati sublimi" (p. 373).

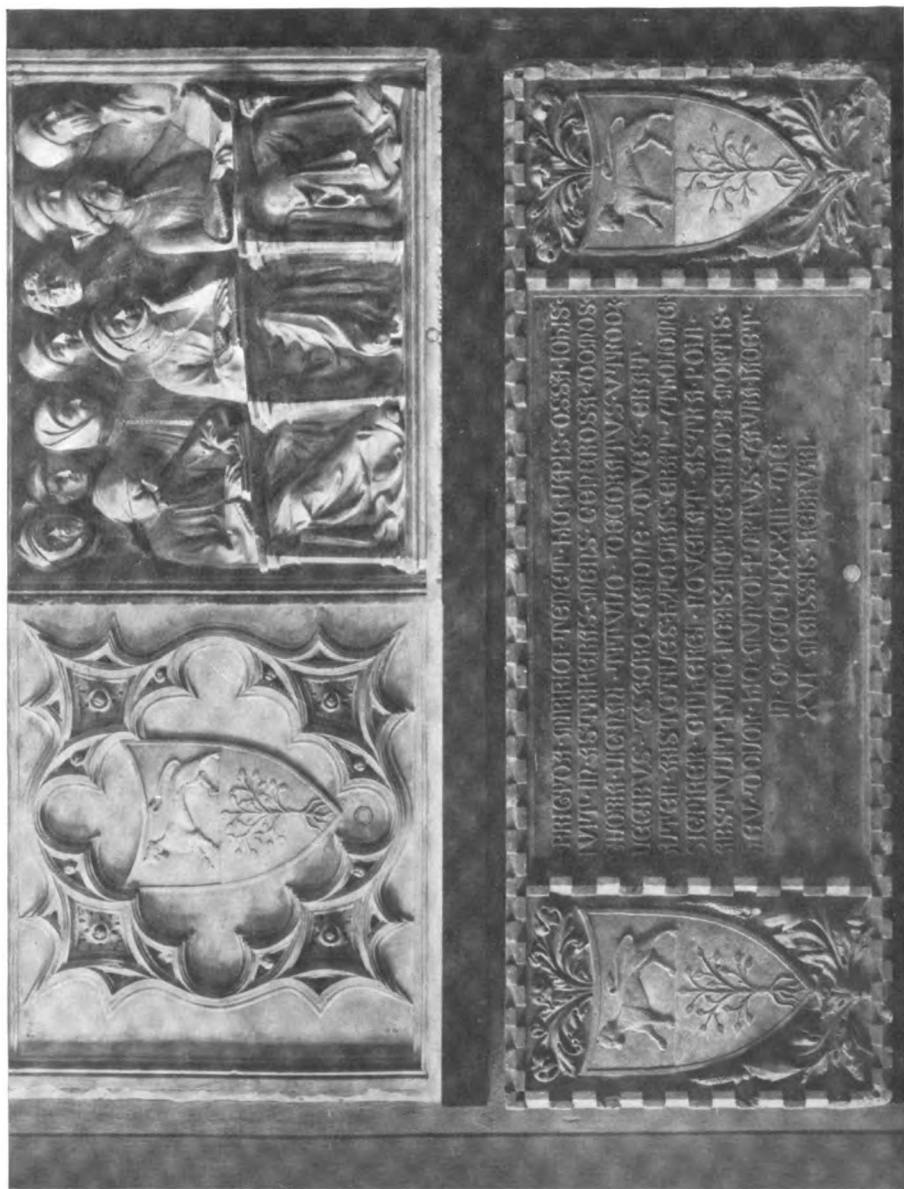
¹⁴ Cf. Chaucer's spellings, *Tholomee*, *Ptholome* (e). Petrarch classes Ptolemy among the astrologers in *Sen.* 1. 7 (*Opera*, 1581, p. 748); 12. 2 (p. 904); cf. 3. 1 (p. 770).

Lignano was not the only professor of his time who was credited with such various attainments as philosophy, medicine, and astrology (astronomy). Philippe de Mézières, in his *Songe du Vieux Pèlerin* (MS.), speaks of Giovanni Dondi (d. 1389), a friend of Petrarch's (cf. *Sen.* 12. 1, 2; 13. 14, 15; and his will), as eminent in all three (Tiraboschi, p. 305); and Guido da Bagnolo (d. 1370?), an acquaintance of the poet (pp. 251, 362), was, according to his epitaph in the church of the Frari at Venice, proficient in medicine, astrology, and history, having written a chronicle of Reggio (p. 364). Jacopo da Forlì, mentioned above (note 3), occupied a chair of logic in 1357, one of medicine in 1384, and perhaps one of philosophy in 1402 (p. 350). He, like Lignano, was called (p. 350) another Aristotle and another Hippocrates; and the epitaph of Giovanni da Santa Sofia (see above) declares (p. 355):

Quicquid Aristoteles, Hypocras tulit, et Galienus,
Hauserat.

Similarly, Francesco da Siena, a friend of Petrarch (cf. *Sen.* 15. 2, 3), was reader in astrology in 1394, and in the practice of medicine in 1396. It will not be forgotten that Chaucer's Doctor of Physic, who knew Hippocrates (*Prolog.* 431), was also an astrologer (*Prolog.* 414 ff.).

That these "gonfi elogi che allor profondevansi a larga mano," as Tiraboschi says (p. 350), did not pass away with the fourteenth century is shown by the Latin distich on Shakespeare's tomb, in which he is compared to Nestor, to



Monument of Giovanni da Lignano (d. 1383), by Giacomello and Pierpaolo delle Massegne (Bologna, Museo Civico).

(This stone covers the cold bones of the marvelous John; his noble spirit has ascended to the starry mansions. The glory of Lignano, he was adorned with a twofold title—enriched at once with [civil] law and with the sacred canon. He was a second Aristotle, a second Hippocrates; and, as the standard-bearer of Ptolemy, knew the stars of heaven. The swoon of death has snatched him from us without warning; here, alas! lies the haven and refuge of the world.)

On comparing these epitaphs, one immediately notes two things. First, the opening lines are so nearly identical that we can not escape the conclusion that Petrarch furnished the model to Lignano, unless we are willing to assume that, in a matter so intimately personal, he could have brought himself to adopt a formula staled by use.¹⁶ That Lignano would have felt himself honored in the adaptation of Petrarch's line, we can hardly doubt.

Secondly, the tone and matter of the following passages differ as widely as possible. Petrarch's is Christian in its humility,¹⁷ Socrates, and to Virgil, for sound judgment, native ability, and craftsmanship respectively:

Judicio Pylum, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,
Terra tegit, populus mæret, Olympus habet.

(Socrates and Nestor are associated in wisdom by Spenser, *F. Q.* 2. 9. 48.)

¹⁶ So we ought perhaps to read, rather than *aura*. The author probably had in mind Ovid's line in the *Heroides* (1. 110):

Tu citius venias, portus et ara tuis,

where a majority of the manuscripts have *aura*; cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 2. 699, where some manuscripts have *aras* for *auras*. *Ara* is supported by Ovid, *Pont.* 2. 8. 68; Cicero, *Verres* 2. 5. 48, etc.

¹⁷ In 1400 we have an epitaph (Ghirardacci, p. 515):

Ecce Ludovici lapis hic tegit ossa Ioannes.

¹⁷ That Petrarch was familiar with the laudatory type of epitaph is sufficiently shown by the beginning of one that he wrote for King Robert of Naples (d. 1343), under whose auspices he was crowned on the Capitol:

Hic sacra magnanimi requiescunt ossa Roberti;
Mens cælum generosa petit; nunc gloria regum
Interiit, nostrique ruit decor unicus ævi.
Militiæ flos summus erat, specimenque vetustæ
Indolis, egregius bello, sed pacis amicus.

It is equally clear that he was intolerant of boastful epitaphs composed by the subjects of them, for, speaking of Nævius and Plautus, he says (*Var.* 22; cf. *Opera*, 1581, p. 1006; Fracassetti, *Lettere* 5. 288; Nohac, *Pétrarque et l'Human-*

while Lignano's breathes the self-confidence and pride of the dawning Renaissance. How far we can hold Lignano personally responsible for this bombast is another matter. The histories, such as those of Argelati and Fantuzzi, read on the tomb:

HOC OPVS FECERVNT JACOBELLVS ET
PETRVS PAVLVVS FRATRES
JOAN. LEGNANO BONONIAE DOCENTE

Are we to assume that the last line means merely that Lignano instructed the sculptors concerning the details of the tomb, or does it signify that he is represented in the act of teaching the students of his classroom? If there never was an image of the teacher, as there are of the students,¹⁸ we should be obliged to adopt the first alternative, and this seems to be borne out by Fantuzzi's statement (p. 37): "Fu riposto in un nobilissimo sepolcro, *che già si era eretto vivente.*" On the other hand, this does not agree with the

isme, 2d ed., I. 188): "We know who they were: their art was of the slightest, and their genius mediocre; their fame was great, and great the favor in which the people held them; but out of all measure was their opinion of themselves. Read the epitaphs that they composed for their own tombs [in Aulus Gellius I. 24]: you would say they were vainglorious, even had they been composed by others than their subjects, and had one of the poets been Homer, and the other Virgil."

¹⁸ This type of monument was not invented by the Venetian sculptors, Jacobello and Pierpaolo delle Massegne, but apparently by Cellino di Nese in the tomb (1337) of Cino da Pistoia (see opp. pp. 358 and 363), jurist and poet, the friend of Dante and the friend of Petrarch (see especially Petrarch's sonnet, *Piangete, donne*). This is surmounted by a Gothic canopy, with the Madonna and two saints above. Early in the next century, the canopy is replaced by a cornice bearing the Madonna and saints, with a recumbent effigy immediately below. This is exemplified by the monument of the jurist Bartolommeo da Saliceto (d. 1412) in the Museo Civico of Bologna, with the teacher seated between two groups of students, and by the beautiful tomb of Antonio Galeazzo Bentivoglio (d. 1435), by Jacopo della Quercia (see below, opp. p. 365), in the ambulatory of S. Giacomo Maggiore. Another example of the teacher seated between two groups of students is found in the monument of Roberto da Saliceto, cousin of Bartolommeo, in the Museo Civico. For a more realistic representation of the teacher and his class, see the early fifteenth-century painting by Laurentius de Voltolina, reproduced at p. 408 of Geiger's *Renaissance und Humanismus*.

Now, as in Lignano's monument there is only one group of students, and no place in the panel for the teacher, and as the position of the epitaph is such that no other panel is suggested, it would appear that there never had been any room for the figure of Lignano.



Monument of Cino da Pistoia (d. 1336), by Cellino di Nese (Pistoia, Cathedral).

statement of the ancient chronicle, quoted above (p. 354, note 8). It seems probable, in any case, that Lignano is responsible for the epitaph, since, though it happened on occasion that his modesty won him golden opinions,¹⁹ he was not without consciousness of his desert, even though he might choose in general to avoid display.²⁰

As Lignano's life has never been set forth in English, as he was the only Italian contemporary of Chaucer, with the exception of Bernabò Visconti and Petrarch, to whom he ever refers by name, and as his career illustrates the intellectual, civic, and ecclesiastical conditions of Italy in his time, I have thought it well to compile the following account from the best sources at my command.²¹

¹⁹ When Gregory XI (1370-8) made him Vicar, that is, virtually Lord, of Bologna in 1377, he could not be induced by any solicitations to take precedence of the other chief officials (the *Anziani* and *Gonfalonieri*): "So with the utmost modesty and reverence he ever showed himself humble and benign in all things, hearing others' suits with loving patience—virtues which caused him to be greatly beloved by the city and all the people" (Ghirardacci, p. 367; cf. *R. I. S.* 18. 515).

²⁰ The following story is an illustration:

"On one occasion he was invited to a splendid wedding, and having presented himself in rather simple attire, was shown to one of the lowest seats at the table. Seeing himself thus neglected, and realizing that this was due to the inferiority of his apparel, he ordered one of his servants to fetch him a sumptuous crimson robe which he kept. On its arrival, he rose from the table, and, advancing to the more honorable seats, where he ought properly to have been placed, spread the robe over one of them, exclaiming: 'Since it is the garment you care for, here you have it.' And with these words he left the feast" (Fantuzzi, p. 38; cf. Argelati, p. 795). Petrarch says (*Sen.* 5. 3, written 1366(?): *Opera*, 1581, p. 794; Robinson and Rolfe, *Petrarch*, 2d ed., p. 202): "I have seen men at a banquet, or some other assembly, rise and voluntarily take the lowest place, because they had not been assigned the head of the table, and this under cover of humility, although pride was the real motive. I have seen another so weak as even to leave the room."

Again, he said of himself, in one of his treatises, that he had defended the city of Bologna with the greatest honor before the Pope: "Joannes de Lignano in cl. 1 de pœnis dicit, se alias cum maximo honore defendisse civitatem Bononiæ coram Papa" (Ippolito Marsigli, quoted by Fantuzzi, p. 31, note 12). That he called himself "least among the doctors of both laws" (Fantuzzi, p. 43) is of no particular significance, for Baldus does the same (Raynald, p. 613), and it was probably an established formula; but perhaps he is less conventional in styling himself (Raynald, p. 657) a simple layman and ignoramus (*ego enim simplex laicus idiota*). This is surely mock modesty. See also below, p. 381, note 120.

²¹ My chief authorities are the following (columns are referred to as pages): *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Muratori (*R. I. S.*).

His father's name was (Conte) Oldrendo, but the son seems always to have been known from his native town²² (situated some 16 or 17 miles northwest of Milan) as John from Legnano, Giovanni da Legnano (Lignano),²³ rather than Giovanni Oldrendo. The date of his birth is purely inferential, but cannot have been far from 1310; see the remarks under 1338 (below, p. 361).

Lignano's wife was Novella, daughter of Federigo Calderini, himself son of Giovanni Calderini (d. 1365)—a canon lawyer, the adopted son of Giovanni d'Andrea. Giovanni d'Andrea, one of the greatest canonists of the Middle Ages, began to teach canon law in Bologna about 1307, and died in 1348, aged at least 70.²⁴ Of an earlier Novella (b. 1312), daughter of Giovanni, Christine de Pisan (d. 1430) relates:²⁵

He had a fair and good daughter, whom he tenderly loved, named Novella, whom he had instructed in the law to such a degree that when he was so busied with other matters that he could not read his lectures to his students, he sent Novella to read in his stead, and, in order that her beauty might not distract the thoughts of her hearers, she had a little curtain in front of her.²⁶

Lignano was connected with Giovanni d'Andrea by another tie, since he received instruction from a favorite pupil of the latter, Paolo de' Liazari (d. 1356), whom we find as professor in Bologna

Ghirardacci, *Historia di Bologna*, Part II. Bologna, 1657.

Baluze, *Vita Paparum Avenionensium*, Vol. 1. Paris, 1693.

Argelati, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium*, Vol. 2. Milan, 1745.

Raynald, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Vol. 7. Lucca, 1752.

Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli Scrittori Bolognesi*, Vol. 5. Bologna, 1786.

Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. 5. Venice, 1823.

For earlier writers, see Argelati, p. 799; Fantuzzi, p. 48.

²² Fantuzzi, p. 28; Argelati, p. 795; Tiraboschi, p. 486.

²³ The ancient books nearly always write Lignano, not Legnano (Tiraboschi, however, always has Legnano); and I follow them here, not without some misgivings. Occasional spellings are Ligniano (Fantuzzi, p. 42), Linhiano (*ibid.*, p. 45), Linyhano (Argelati, p. 798), Liñano (Baluze, p. 1401).

²⁴ Tiraboschi, pp. 466, 472-3, 481-2.

²⁵ *La Cité des Dames*, quoted by Tiraboschi, p. 479.

²⁶ Jebb thus refers to Nouella in the Pindaric ode (*Translations into Greek and Latin Verse*, pp. 264-273) written for the celebration of the eighth centenary of the University of Bologna (fifth epode, p. 270):

οὐδ' ἄρα κόρας πάντ' ὄνυμ' ἐξαπόλωλε

πατρώθεν ἀμφιπόλου τεθμῶν, μελετήμασι πατράοις ἱγυέν.

as early as 1321, and whose special subject was the decretals.²⁷ Finally, when Lignano went on an embassy to Gregory XI in 1376, he was accompanied by Archdeacon Girolamo, a son of Giovanni d'Andrea.²⁸

According to his will, drawn up in 1376, Lignano had one legitimate son, Battista;²⁹ he had, besides, a natural son, Marco, who turned traitor, and was hanged at Bologna in 1391.³⁰

From this point I have attempted to present the chief facts of Lignano's life (with his works, so far as they have been dated) in chronological order.

1338. A decision, or professional opinion (*consiglio*), of Lignano's dates from March 7 of this year,³¹ unless there has been some error in the record or its transcription. This is so much earlier than any other reported circumstance of his life that one is cautious about accepting it too readily, but it need not be regarded as inconsistent with other data. If we suppose that this opinion was rendered when he was 28, he would have been born in or about 1310, and would thus have been 73 at his death. The ancient chronicle, speaking of his death, says that he had been a long time in Bologna,³² and we know that he was not born there. Fantuzzi (p. 36) describes him as "weighed down with years."

After 1355. *Figura della Grande Costellazione* (see below, p. 372). Lignano reports³³ that Gregory XI (1370-1378) was not willing to have this sent to him.

1358. In this year we find Lignano practising law in Bologna, among his clients being the monastery of S. Francesco.³⁴ On Jan. 13 of this year, he was a professor of law, his school being situated outside of the Porta di S. Mamolo, south of the city.³⁵

²⁷ Tiraboschi, pp. 484-6.

²⁸ Ghirardacci, p. 349.

²⁹ Ghirardacci, p. 350; Tiraboschi, p. 487.

³⁰ *R. I. S.* 18. 551; cf. Tiraboschi, p. 488.

³¹ Fantuzzi, p. 47: "Consiglio di Gio. da Lignano l'anno 1338, 7 Marzo, circa la quarta parte de Funerali," etc.

³² *R. I. S.* 18. 524.

³³ Fantuzzi, p. 35, note 23; see below, p. 372, note 83.

³⁴ Fantuzzi, pp. 28-29. The monastery was still a client in 1373, 1375, and 1376 (*ibid.*, p. 29, note 3).

³⁵ See his treatise, *De Interdicto*, quoted by Fantuzzi, p. 29, note 5.

1360. *De Bello*.³⁶ Perhaps also *De Ecclesiastico Interdicto*, which refers to an interdict of 1359,³⁷ but this is rendered uncertain by a later entry (supposing it to refer to this same treatise): "Explicit Quæstio disputata per Dominum Joannem de Lignano . . . An. D. MCCCLVIII, die Sabati XIII [XIII] Januarii."

1361. *De Censura Ecclesiastica*.³⁸

1362-3. See below, note 44.

1362-1370. *De Pace (Animæ)*, addressed to Urban V as Pope,³⁹ and *De Pluralitate Beneficiorum*.⁴⁰

1364. In this year Lignano was lecturing on the decretals, and receiving 100 golden florins as a stipend from Urban V (1362-1370), as appears from a bull of July 26, directing the payment of arrears, and the fixing of his salary at 200 florins for 1364 and thereafter, "ob magnitudinem doni scientie, et alia merita quibus persona ejus est a Domino decorata."⁴¹

1365. Lignano is mentioned first among eight professors teaching canon law in the University.⁴²

1366. On June 29 he purchased from the representative of Nicolò Spinelli a house complete,⁴³ with reading-desk and benches for the use of students, situated near the church of S. Giacomo de' Carbonesi.⁴⁴

1368, April 20. *De Cometa*.⁴⁵

1369, Jan. 20. Urban V granted him for life the tolls at a certain passage of the Po, called the Catena, in the territory of Ferrara, in consideration of his knowledge of literature, his devotion to the Church, and his great labors for the State in lecturing

³⁶ Argelati, p. 798; Fantuzzi, p. 43.

³⁷ Fantuzzi, p. 44.

³⁸ Fantuzzi, p. 44.

³⁹ Fantuzzi, p. 42.

⁴⁰ Baluze, p. 1054.

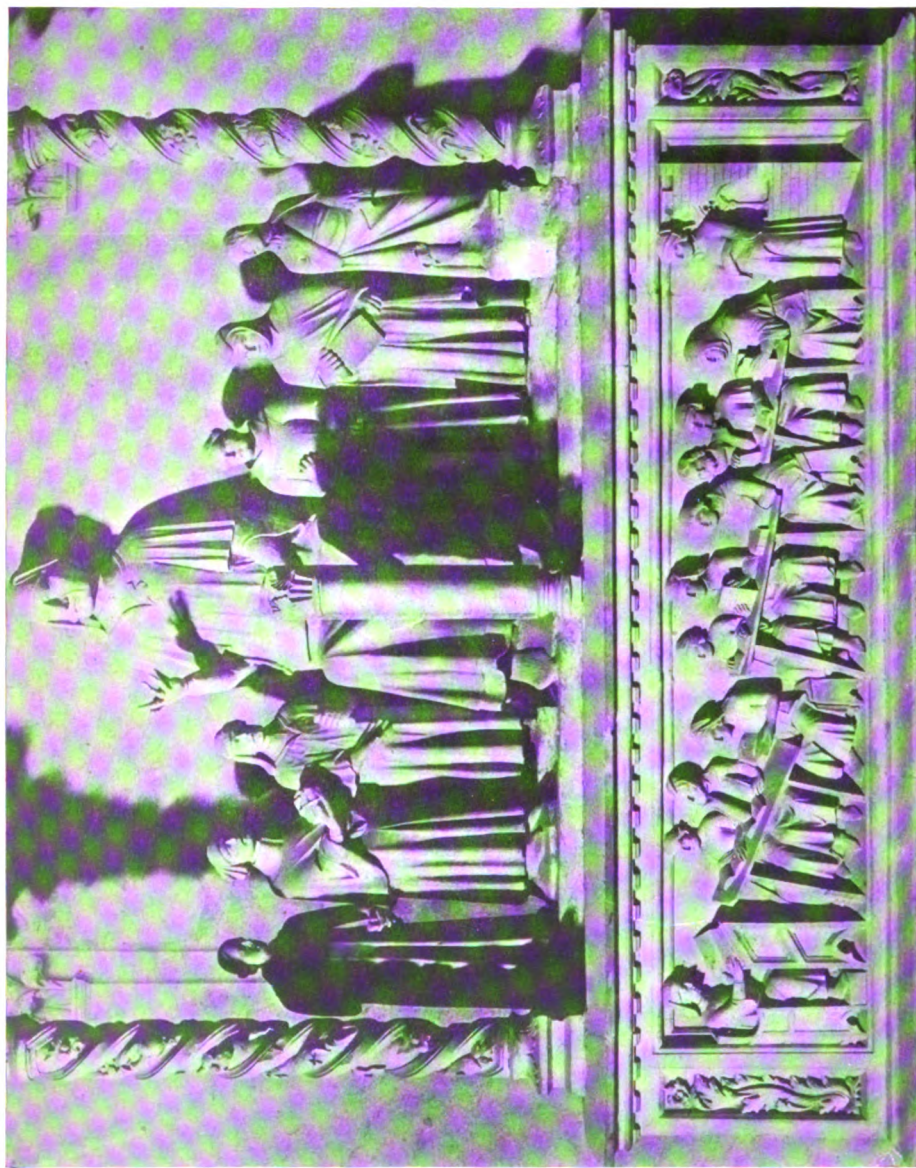
⁴¹ Fantuzzi, p. 29, and note 4.

⁴² Ghirardacci, p. 289.

⁴³ This was sold in 1370, and again in 1379, in which latter year it brought, with its gardens, the sum of 3000 lire = \$75,000 (cf. pp. 374-5). In 1587 a palace was begun on this site by Alessandro Legnani, which was still standing in 1786 (Fantuzzi, p. 29, note 5).

⁴⁴ Tiraboschi places this purchase in 1362 (p. 487) or 1363 (p. 428), but this looks like an error.

⁴⁵ Fantuzzi, p. 42.



Monument of Cino da Pistoia (detail), by Cellino di Nese (Pistoia, Cathedral).

on canon law, and composing useful books on that subject. For the next two years, however, the income was to be used for the poor students whom Urban was supporting at the University.⁴⁶

Before 1371. Gregory XI (Dec. 30, 1370–1378), previous to becoming Pope, had accepted various writings of Lignano.⁴⁷

1371. Urban V died on Dec. 19, 1370, and his obsequies were celebrated at Bologna on Jan. 3, 1371, being attended by 800 princes and other lords in mourning, with all the clergy of the city. Mass was sung in S. Domenico, which was hung with black, and bright with torches about a catafalque bearing on its cornice, in letters of gold, the Latin of Ps. 116. 7: "Return unto thy rest, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee." In the midst of the solemn mass, the funeral oration was delivered by Lignano,⁴⁸ and must have been listened to by Petrarch, who, if we may believe De Sade, was present with Francesco da Carrara.⁴⁹

Urban was succeeded by Gregory XI, who, desiring to found a college for the maintenance of a certain number of University students, bought a new palace on June 30 of the heirs of Giovanni Pepoli for 4000 gold florins, the deed being drawn up by Lignano.⁵⁰

1371–8. *Treatise on Civil and Canon Law*.⁵¹

1373, March 10. *Somnium*, dedicated to Gregory XI.⁵²

1376. Lignano first became prominent in civic affairs in this year. Bologna had been a free city from 1123 to 1337, when it fell under the dominion of Taddeo Pepoli; in 1350 his sons sold it to Giovanni Visconti, Archbishop of Milan. After this, it was at various times subject to the Church, and again would recover its liberty. In 1374 there came to Bologna, as legate, Guillaume

⁴⁶ Fantuzzi, p. 30.

⁴⁷ Fantuzzi, p. 44, note 33.

⁴⁸ Ghirardacci, p. 301.

⁴⁹ De Sade, *Mémoires* 3. 773; Körting, *Petrarca's Leben und Werke*, p. 440; Varci, *Storia della Marca Trivigiana* 14. 150; Fracassetti, *Lettere* 1. 189; Hollway-Calthrop, *Petrarch*, p. 284. Two of the authorities cited by De Sade say nothing of Petrarch; the other (*Arch. del Conte Franc. Brembati*) is inaccessible to me.

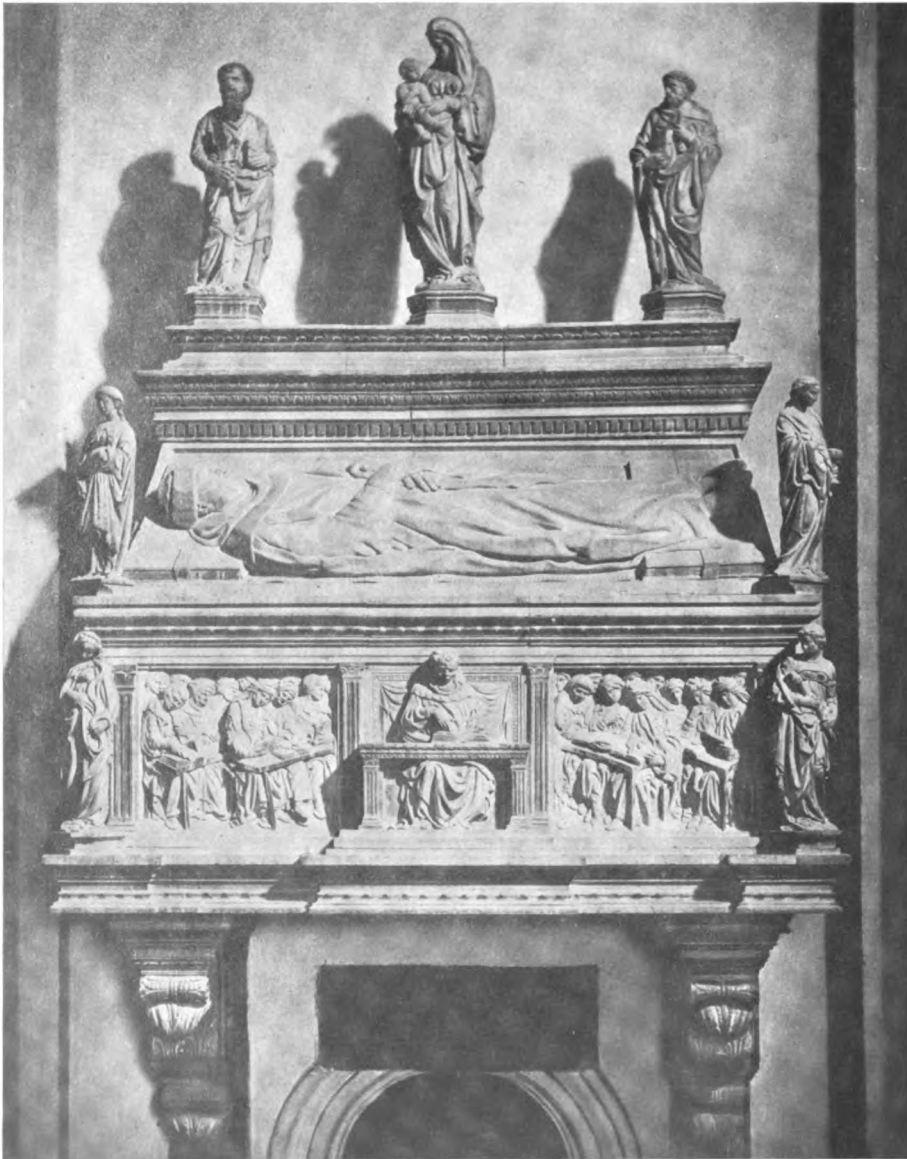
In 1364, being at Bologna, Petrarch had occasion to deplore the comparative ignorance and poverty prevailing there (*Sen.* 10. 2).

⁵⁰ Ghirardacci, pp. 302–3.

⁵¹ Fantuzzi, p. 43.

⁵² Fantuzzi, p. 44.

Noellet (formerly Archdeacon of Chartres; cardinal, 1371; d. 1394), Cardinal of St. Angelo. By 1376 he had brought things to such a pass that he saw no way of maintaining his power in Bologna save by inviting into its territory John Hawkwood, with his recently formed Holy Company—of mercenaries. This excited the indignation of Taddeo Azzoguidi, a prominent Bolognese, who, organizing the citizens, summoned the legate to deliver up the keys of the city and its fortresses. The cowardly ecclesiastic complied, and at once found his own life in danger, but was taken to the monastery of S. Giacomo for safe-keeping. This revolt occurred on March 20, and on the 25th the legate, at his own request, was conducted out of the city to Ferrara, receiving at his departure a present of eight superb horses and ten thousand gold florins, besides mounts for his retinue. On March 29 Hawkwood sacked Faenza, put 4000 persons, including babes in arms, to death, and then proceeded to ravage the country near Bologna with fire and sword, being instigated thereto partly by his own desire to revenge himself for the English prisoners that the Bolognese had captured, and partly by the legate, who, as we have seen, had fled to Ferrara. Upon this, Bologna leagued itself with the Visconti, with the Florentines, and with other cities which had emancipated themselves from the sovereignty of the Church. This revolt stirred the wrath of Gregory XI, who thereupon hired an army of 10,000 English, of whom 2000 were cavalry, all having seen service in the French wars, and placed them under the command of Robert of Geneva, who two years afterward became the antipope Clement VII (d. 1394), and thus originated the Great Schism. The Bolognese, learning that to these were added 200 lances (600 men) and 200 arblast-men, and realizing that they had everything to fear from the treachery of the Visconti, and that many of the nobles had entered into a conspiracy to restore the Pepoli, resolved to send ambassadors to the Pope at Avignon, and chose for the purpose Lignano and Girolamo, son of Giovanni d'Andrea, as was set forth above. The ambassadors were favorably received, and a messenger was dispatched to Bologna to carry promises of pardon from the Pope if the city returned to its allegiance. Meanwhile Cardinal Robert, advancing through Lombardy with his English merce-



Monument of Antonio Galeazzo Bentivoglio (d. 1435), by Jacopo della Quercia
(Bologna, S. Giacomo Maggiore).

naries,⁵³ ravaged the country near Bologna. At length the ambassadors returned from Avignon, bearing letters from the Pope to the senate and to Cardinal Robert, by which the latter was instructed to leave the Bolognese territory forthwith. On Aug. 14 Lignano repaired to the English camp, and delivered his instructions to the cardinal,⁵⁴ who thereupon proceeded first to Imola, and then to Faenza; and the Bolognese once more breathed freely. The arrival of the ambassadors was greeted with much joy and festivity, and the senate at once began to debate the question of peace with the Pope.⁵⁵ Johannes Garzonius, in his *Commentary on the Dignity of Bologna*, adds certain particulars⁵⁶ which throw light on the eloquence of Lignano. He says nothing of Girolamo d'Andrea, but only of Lignano, whom he calls the first jurisconsult of his time. He was to report to Gregory that the city was not at fault, but that the power was entirely in the hands of Taddeo Azzoguidi, whom no one could resist, and that the city was so despoiled that it was pity to see. When Lignano was received in audience, the Pope gazed upon him with wrathful eyes, execrating the whole body of citizens for disregarding the benefits heaped upon them by the Popes, and declaring that he must inflict upon the city a penalty proportionate to its rebellion. Upon this Lignano implored him to restrain his wrath against the city, and to punish only the authors of the conspiracy. Gregory at length yielded, and commanded letters to be written as above described. "Thus the territory of Bologna was freed from a hostile army, Taddeo sent into exile, and peace made with the Pope." Well might the chronicler say that it was the general opinion that those who followed Lignano's advice uniformly obtained what they coveted.⁵⁷

1377. Notwithstanding the efforts of Lignano, peace had not yet been made with the Pope, who in January, 1377, had returned from Avignon to Rome. The legate, Noellet, was still in Ferrara,

⁵³ For the impression made upon Petrarch by the foreign mercenaries in 1344-5, see his *Italia mia*; cf. Hollway-Calthrop, *Petrarch and his Times*, p. 177.

⁵⁴ Fantuzzi, p. 31, note 13.

⁵⁵ Ghirardacci, pp. 331, 339, 341-3, 346, 349, 350-2; *R. I. S.* 21. 1161; Tiraboschi, pp. 487-8.

⁵⁶ *R. I. S.* 21. 1153.

⁵⁷ *R. I. S.* 21. 1161: "Adde rerum humanarum peritiam, quæ tanta in ea fuisse fertur ut qui consilii sui participes fuerant, ipsis optata contingerent."

the English freebooters were intermittently troublesome, and a faction of the Bolognese nobility kept the city embroiled. Under these circumstances, a truce for two months was concluded with the legate, and four ambassadors, of whom Lignano was the chief, were sent to Rome, accompanied by squires and foot-soldiers in gorgeous array. On their return they were received with every sign of honor and rejoicing by the whole city, since they brought with them articles of peace, which, being formally presented, were adopted by a vote of 1208 ayes to 67 noes. The articles were:

(1) Bologna to pay the Pope 10,000 florins a year.

(2) The Pope to receive the lordship of the city, with authority to create a vicar general, who should receive from the city 110 lire a month.

(3) Bologna to provide the Pope with 30 lances (90 men) for six months, for his war in Lombardy.

(4) Those who had been exiled by the city for favoring the Pope to be recalled.

The letter of Pope Gregory directing two bishops and a chancellor to take possession of the city in his name was dated Anagni, Aug. 21, 1377. On Dec. 27, John the Baptist's day, they assembled the magistrates of the city in the Cathedral (S. Pietro), where, after an eloquent address by one of the commissioners, Bishop Lito of Imola, he proposed Lignano as vicar general, a nomination which was carried by the same vote, 1208 to 67, as that in favor of the articles of peace. The people rejoiced; Lignano took the oath of fidelity, and administered the oath to the other magistrates; mass was said; and the people, as they left the cathedral, shouted, "Long live Giovanni da Lignano!" Thus was he made Lord of Bologna,⁵⁸ in which office he bore himself with the grace reported above (p. 359, note 19). By order of the senate, there were public processions of thanks for three days—to the churches of S. Petronio, S. Francesco, and S. Domenico, respectively; and great was the jubilation throughout the city.⁵⁹

1378. On Jan. 25 (26?), Lignano was present, with a group of distinguished men, at the conferring of the doctoral degree upon

⁵⁸ In January, 1380, Urban VI renewed his vicariate, which was to expire February 27, for a year from March 1 (Fantuzzi, p. 33, note 18).

⁵⁹ Ghirardacci, pp. 361-8; *R. I. S.* 18. 190, 513, 515; Tiraboschi, p. 488.

two members of Gregory's college—the first to be thus honored. The rest of the day was then devoted to music and song.⁶⁰

In March or April, the freedom of the city of Bologna was bestowed upon Lignano by the council, the commune, the ancients, etc., in consideration of his loving services rendered to the people during many years, and having regard to his great labors in the University, and his constant efforts to increase the honor of the city and its citizens, to reconcile their differences, and to unite them in loyalty to the Church. The senate declared that it would be guilty of ingratitude if it did not bestow some mark of recognition upon him, and therefore conferred upon him, his children, and their descendants for ever, all the honors, dignities, etc., enjoyed by the native citizens of Bologna.⁶¹

Gregory XI having died on March 27, and Urban VI been elected on April 8, the Bolognese at once took steps to have their accustomed liberties confirmed by the new Pope, and obtain his consent to have Filippo Caraffa, the archdeacon of the cathedral, made bishop, their own having recently died. Urban's reply, though kindly, was not sufficiently explicit to satisfy the citizens. At this juncture, Lignano, who had championed the cause of Urban VI against the French cardinals who declared his election uncanonical (see below, pp. 370–1), determined to go to Rome and pay his homage to the Pontiff. The occasion was too good to be lost by the senate, which accordingly besought Lignano to obtain three boons from the new Pope: (1) that Bologna might have a cardinal of its own; (2) that the county of Imola might be annexed; (3) that the matter of the citadel of Cento (some 20 miles north of Bologna, which had been rebellious to Bologna and its bishop, and been condignly punished in June of that year) might be regulated. Lignano was honorably received, and preferred the three requests, to which Urban made answer in a letter to the city, bearing date of Sept. 28: Lignano had lucidly set forth his mission, and had been asked to assist in resolving various knotty problems, on which account the Pope would have been glad to detain him at Rome, had it not been for Lignano's own urgency, the loyalty of the Bolognese, and the loss the University would suffer by his

⁶⁰ Ghirardacci, pp. 368–9.

⁶¹ Ghirardacci, p. 369; Fantuzzi, pp. 32–3, note 27; Tiraboschi, pp. 488–9.

absence.⁶² In short, Urban granted all three requests, and referred the Bolognese to Lignano for fuller information as to his views and intentions. Not only was Caraffa made cardinal, but with him Bartolomeo Mezzavacca, a Bolognese citizen.⁶³ Their red hats were sent to Lignano, who, on a Sunday morning, delivered an address to them, and conferred the insignia in the church of S. Domenico, the cardinals being escorted home, after the conclusion of the mass, with the applause and triumph of the whole city.⁶⁴

After April 18, the date of the coronation of Urban VI, was written the explanation of three allegorical figures (see below, p. 372).

On Aug. 18 was written the letter to Cardinal Pedro de Luna (see below, p. 370), the future antipope Benedict XIII (1394-1424).

1379, Aug. *De Fletu Ecclesiæ*.

1380. At the close of June, Lignano was in Rome, according to a report (in a Harleian MS.) made by a certain Roderigo di Bernardo to John I, King of Castile.⁶⁵

1382. The Bolognese, being particularly desirous that Urban VI

⁶² Ghirardacci, p. 372: "Super quibus intendebamus ipsum retinere nobiscum, sed ipsius instantia multiplici, vestrique favore, etiam propter Studium Bononiense, quod in absentia tanti viri desolatum maneret, ipsum duximus remittendum." See above, p. 354.

⁶³ Cosimo de' Migliorati (b. ca. 1336), who, having previously been his pupil, and then a fellow-teacher, afterwards became Pope Innocent VII (1404-6), owed his first ecclesiastical advancement by Urban to Lignano (*R. I. S.* 2. 213; Fantuzzi, p. 34; Tiraboschi, p. 490). Innocent has been called an ardent lover of science and the arts of peace. He has the credit of seeking, by his bull of September 1, 1406, to restore the University of Rome, and of decreeing that there should be a professor to give the most perfect instruction in the Greek language and literature (*Pastor, Hist. of the Popes* 1. 165-6). He spent several years as legate (papal collector?) in England during Chaucer's lifetime, being highly regarded by Richard II and the English nobility, and may well have spoken there of his friend and benefactor, like whom he had taught jurisprudence after his graduation from Bologna (*McKilliam, Chronicle of the Popes*, p. 366). For details of his earlier life, see Kneer, "Zur Vorgeschichte Papst Innocenz III" (*Hist. Jahrbuch* 12. 347-351).

⁶⁴ Ghirardacci, p. 372; Tiraboschi, pp. 489-490. Baluze (*Vita Paparum Avenionensium* 1. 1401 = Argelati, pp. 796-7) gives the close of Lignano's allocution, from which I quote the final clause: "Ad salutem et quietem hujus almæ civitatis, necnon divinalis Studii Bononiensis, assumo hunc orbicularem pileum, et suppono capiti tuo." This oration is still extant (Argelati, p. 798; Fantuzzi, p. 45).

⁶⁵ Baluze, pp. 1401-3; Tiraboschi, p. 493.

should fulfil certain promises which he had more than once made, decided to send an embassy to Rome; and, since they knew that Lignano was especially dear to the Pope, and would therefore be most likely to influence him, they elected him as chief of the embassy of six, and sent them forth with 24 attendants, all richly arrayed, and 30 horses. They were graciously received by Urban, who granted all their requests, and dismissed them with his blessing.⁶⁶

1383. "On Feb. 16 Lignano died, a man miraculous in every science, and reputed the first professor in all Italy." He was interred in the church of S. Domenico with solemn pomp, attended by Filippo Caraffa, Bishop of Bologna, the podestà, the companies of arts and arms, many professors, and all the clergy. The funeral took place in the morning, and all the shops of the city were closed until it was over. On the 28th of February, commemorative exercises were held in the presence of the bishop and all the magistracy. "May God grant peace to his soul," says the ancient chronicler, and adds, "It was a great pity."⁶⁷

In his will, drawn up in 1376, he forbade that his books should be alienated from his family, and left all his property to his son Battista, with the proviso that, should the latter die without children, it should be used to found a college for University students at Bologna.⁶⁸

A full description of Lignano's works would carry us too far. For the most part, I subjoin merely a list of translated titles, leaving the explorer to consult Argelati (pp. 798-9, 2000), Fantuzzi⁶⁹ (pp. 38-48; 9. 140), Pastor (*Hist. of the Popes* 1. 383, cf. pp. 120, note 3; 124, note 3; 145), Raynald (pp. 317-321), Baluze (pp. 1400-5), Chevalier (*Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen-Age*, p. 1203). The dates, so far as I have ascertained them, are given in the chronological summary (above, pp. 361-8).

⁶⁶ Ghirardacci, pp. 393-4.

⁶⁷ *R. I. S.* 18. 524; Ghirardacci, p. 397; Fantuzzi, p. 37; Tiraboschi, pp. 490-1.

⁶⁸ Argelati, p. 798.

⁶⁹ Argelati and Fantuzzi indicate what works have been printed, and what are the MS. sources.

For convenience, I group the titles under a variety of heads, with the warning that the assignment may in some instances be faulty, for lack of sufficient knowledge, or because the subjects overlap. These are: (1) Law, (2) Ethics, (3) Theology, (4) Ecclesiastical Matters, (5) Natural Philosophy. The subject of Astrology is separately considered.

(1) *Law*

Civil and Canon Law (with his Dream), Commentaries on the Decretals, Thirty-six Cases of the *Decretum*, Commentaries on the *Clementines*,⁷⁰ Reprisals, Buying and Selling, Betrothals, Office of a Notary, Beneficial Appeals, War, the Duel, Ecclesiastical Censure, Ecclesiastical Interdict, Differences between Excommunication and Interdict, Plurality of Benefices, Rome's Just Possession of the States of the Church, Canonical Hours, Counsels.

(2) *Ethics*

Theological Virtues: Faith, Hope (Despair, Presumption), Charity, Peace (of the Soul); Moral Virtues: Justice (Piety, Observance, Obedience, Grace, Retribution, Ingratitude), Fortitude, Temperance, Friendship, Continence; Tree of Consanguinity(?).

(3) *Theology*

Christ and his Advent: Names of Christ, Prophecies of the Advent, Antichrist, God (and the heathen gods), Nature of the Angels, Nature of the Rational and Human Soul; Heresies; Permutation; Secret (*De Secreto*).⁷¹

(4) *Ecclesiastical Matters*

Epistle to Pedro de Luna;⁷² Grief of the Church;⁷³ Election, Enthronement, and Coronation of Urban VI.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ When this was printed, it was called by its editor the best thing that Lignano ever did in canon law (Fantuzzi, p. 45).

⁷¹ The last three only in Argelati 2. 2000; I am not clear about the assignment of the last two.

⁷² A brief extract in Raynald, p. 318, from which I translate: "With you it rests to preserve the Catholic faith. Turn your thoughts to the Saviour, and do

These all have reference to the validity of Urban VI's election, and the desirability of avoiding a schism.⁷⁵

(5) *Natural Philosophy*

Comets (*De Cometa*).

Lignano must have been well acquainted with the pseudo-science of astrology, and with its chief historical representatives. Among the latter, whom he sometimes calls astronomers, he mentions not only the most famous, such as Ptolemy, Firmicus, and Albumazar, but several of lesser note.⁷⁶ He regards the ancient astrologers as prophets of Christ⁷⁷ and of Antichrist,⁷⁸ and as authorities concerning not only the true God,⁷⁹ but also the deities of

not rend his raiment. Do not subject the Catholic world to scandals; do you not perceive that by so doing you only destroy your own standing?"

⁷⁵ For the divisions of this, or supplements to it, see Fantuzzi, pp. 46-7; Tiraboschi, p. 493. Considerable extracts (all from this work?) in Raynald, pp. 318-321. Urban VI prized the *De Fletu* so highly, as a powerful argument against the schismatics, that he sent it, soon after his election, to the University of Paris, a centre of theological learning, and a stronghold of the French party which had elected the antipope, Clement VII (Baluze, p. 1401).

⁷⁶ An extract in Pastor, *Hist. of the Popes* I. 383-4.

⁷⁷ Add the *Oration to the Cardinals* (above, p. 368).

⁷⁸ "Quia sicut Ptolomeus in Centiloquio verbo quinto, et iudiciis Astrologicis prævideri potest multum malum, quod secundum Stellas est venturum, idcirco præter apparitionem Cometæ, que apparuit his diebus, requisitus a Dominis meis Scholaribus, unanime ad. Illustribus [names lacking], quibus denegare non potui honeste, ut aliquid," etc. (Fantuzzi, p. 42).

"Articulus secundus principalis, in quo procedam hoc ordine, nam primo morum, maxime Ptolomei, Albumasaris, Alyt, Albrangel, et Summatoris Anglici" (*ibid.*, p. 46).

"Unde habuerunt ortum varietates Sectarum, videlicet Albumazar, et Julii Firmici, Omar, et Alfadh, et qualiter cognoscatur divisio temporis a creatione Mundi, et quis Planeta sit gubernator singulorum temporum" (*ibid.*, p. 39).

"Quid dixerit Calcidius de novo ortu Dei, et Virgine in sphaera Solari" (*ibid.*, p. 39).

⁷⁷ "Qualiter Christi adventus per Astrologos fuerit prædictus" (*ibid.*, p. 39).

⁷⁸ "De tempore adventus [Antichristi], si aliquid trahi potest ex dictis Astrologorum" (*ibid.*, p. 40).

⁷⁹ "Qualiter per Astrologos hoc idem [that Christ is true God] demonstratur" (*ibid.*, p. 40).

the heathen.⁸⁰ Moreover, he himself practised astrology. Four chapters prefixed to his treatise, *De Bello*, deal with recent Bolognese matters in symbolic astronomical figures.⁸¹ One of the achievements on which he most prided himself was apparently his figure of the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in the sign of the Scorpion, occurring on Oct. 22, 1355, with his interpretation of it as referring to the impending schism of 1378.⁸² This he refers to in his letter to Pedro de Luna⁸³ (cf. above, p. 370), and again in the explanation of three allegorical figures referring to events of 1365, 1376, and 1378, which he seems to have interpolated in a copy of his *De Fletu Ecclesiæ*.⁸⁴

None of these works seems, on its face, to be concerned with philosophy. The question then naturally arises: When Chaucer mentions philosophy in connection with Linian, in what sense is he employing the term? Altogether, Chaucer seems in his works to recognize three meanings of *philosophre* (*philosophye*, *philosophical*), though these undoubtedly have a tendency to shade into one another: (1) a profound thinker, especially a moralist: *Second Nun's Tale* 490; *L. G. W.* 365 (381), 1898; *Boeth.* 2, Pr. 7; *Man*

⁸⁰ "De numero Deorum secundum Astrologos, qualiter intelligentia materiæ Orbis Deo nuncupatur, et de varietate motum omnium Coelestium" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

"De Genealogia Deorum secundum antiquos Philosophos, et de figurationibus continentibus gradus distinctos, et processiones eorum secundum Astrologos" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

⁸¹ Fantuzzi, p. 43.

⁸² *Figura della grande Costellazione, ovvero Congiunzione di Saturno e di Giove, nel segno dello Scorpione l' anno dell' Incarnazione di Cristo MCCCCLV, a di XXII del mese di Ottobre, secondo la considerazione di messer Giovanni da Lignano, sopra quella dando il giudicio suo* (Tiraboschi, p. 492; Fantuzzi, p. 48). Cf. Chaucer, *T. and C.* 3. 624-6:

The bente mone with hir hornes pale,
Saturne, and Jove, in Cancro joyned were,
That swich a rayn from hevene gan avale, etc.

⁸³ "Diu, permissione Divina, eventura judicavi. . . . Noluit [Gregory XI] quod sibi traderem quoddam judicium generationis Saturni et Jovis quod feceram, cujus generationis virtute Scis[s]ura in Ecclesia erat dubitanda, Pater Reverendissime, juxta Doctrinam Tolomei [see Thomas Aquinas, *S. T.*, Pars Prima, Q. 115, Art. 4; Ptolemy, *Centiloquium*, Prop. 5]: anima sapiens do[mi]natur Astris" (Fantuzzi, p. 35, note 23).

⁸⁴ Fantuzzi, p. 46. Here he says: "Et quia plene scripsi judicium generationis Saturni et Jovis," etc.

of *Law's Prol.* 25-6; (2) a schoolman, scholastic: *Prol.* 295;⁸⁵ *T. and C.* 5. 1857; (3) a natural philosopher, or proficient in one or more sciences, especially astrology and alchemy:⁸⁶ *Prol.* 297, 645(?); *Franklin's Tale* 833, 844, cf. 401-3, 426, 538, 545 ff., 561; *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* 874, 881; *Shipman's Prol.* 26.

If one inquires in what sense the Italians have applied the term to Lignano, there is probably a similar lack of uniformity. When Diplovataccio, in his *Lives of the Jurisconsults*, says that in his tractate, *On Friendship*, Lignano shows himself to be a supreme philosopher and orator,⁸⁷ he is probably thinking of (1). Elsewhere one is tempted to think that "philosopher" signifies "learned man in general," or "scholar in subjects not otherwise specified," as when one calls him "the illustrious captain of canon and civil law, and of philosophy,"⁸⁸ another designates him as "astrologer, philosopher, and jurist,"⁸⁹ or Fantuzzi speaks of his attainments in philosophy, politics, theology, ethics, and judicial astrology. Tiraboschi⁹⁰ deduces his eminence in philosophy, astronomy, and medicine merely from his epitaph. Fantuzzi, in stating that he was of a serious and philosophic genius,⁹¹ appears to be considering him as a deep and abstracted thinker, for he immediately adds that he was always immersed in study and business, caring nothing for his outward appearance, and illustrates his statement by the story of the wedding-feast.⁹²

Others do not use the word "philosophy," but, like Cardinal Zabarella (1339-1417), Bishop of Florence, one of Lignano's pupils (Tiraboschi, p. 511), affirm that he was far and away the first man of his time⁹³ (*omnium sui temporis longe princeps*), or, like the ancient chronicle,⁹⁴ that he was one of the chief men (*val-*

⁸⁵ Cf. Hollway-Calthrop, *Petrarch*, pp. 21, 265.

⁸⁶ Cittadella, *Storia della Dominazione Carrarese in Padova* 2. 538, declares that philosophy at this time embraced also medicine and the mechanic arts.

⁸⁷ Fantuzzi, p. 38, note 31.

⁸⁸ Fantuzzi, p. 48.

⁸⁹ Fantuzzi, p. 38, note 31. Cf. p. 356, note 14.

⁹⁰ P. 487.

⁹¹ P. 48; cf. Argelati, p. 795.

⁹² Above, p. 359, note 20.

⁹³ Fantuzzi, p. 48.

⁹⁴ *R. I. S.* 18. 524.

entuomini) in law and every science. To Agnello⁹⁵ he was a famous doctor of the seven liberal arts (the Trivium and Quadrivium), as to Zabarella he was monarch of all the liberal arts (Fantuzzi, p. 45), which in some sense bears out Panciroli's statement⁹⁶ that he did not turn to jurisprudence until after he had for a long time cultivated philosophy and *belles lettres*.

But perhaps we shall stand the best chance of determining in what sense Chaucer thought of him as a philosopher, if we scrutinize the context. Here Chaucer can hardly be thinking of either (1) or (2), for, in the first place, he is contrasting poetry with philosophy and law, and, secondly, he classes them with *particular arts*. If, then, we stress the word "particular," as Chaucer seems to do, we are bound to consider philosophy, like law, not as standing here for the most comprehensive principles, but as used in a more limited way—as employed in the domain of the practical, in contradistinction to Chaucer's "sweet rhetoric." If any one thinks this is pressing Chaucer's language too hard, I shall not quarrel with him, but merely point out that philosophy, in the sense of (3), aptly covers the astrological pursuits to which Lignano devoted so much attention.⁹⁷

The estimation in which Lignano was held may be gathered from his salary. We have seen (p. 366) that this was 110 lire a month as vicar general, but out of this he had to pay a secretary five lire (*R. I. S.* 18. 190). In 1381 his salary as professor was 620 lire a year. In that year there are recorded 23 professors of law, and 21 of arts—44 in all. Lignano received more than any one else: another professor of law received 470 lire, and five more 350 lire each; the rest had stipends of from 200 to 100 lire, the average of these 16 being 143. The law-professors received 5125 lire in all, of which Lignano had over 12 per cent. The 21 professors of arts had sums ranging from 200 lire to 50—2860 lire in all—with an average of 136.⁹⁸ In this general period a student on the foundation (established in 1256) of the Bishop of Avignon

⁹⁵ Fantuzzi, p. 34, note 21, and p. 38.

⁹⁶ Cf. Tiraboschi, p. 486.

⁹⁷ See pp. 371-2. The "particular sciences" of *Franklin's Tale* 394 must be interpreted in the light of 392 (cf. Acts 19. 19).

⁹⁸ Ghirardacci, pp. 389-390. In 1384 no professor of law received more than 325 (p. 398; cf. p. 424, and Tiraboschi, p. 81).

received 24 lire annually for five years (*Encyc. Brit.* 27. 751). If we estimate the minimum annual expenses of a student at an American college or university as \$600, and assume that this represents the 24 lire, we shall see that Lignano's annual net salary as vicar was \$31,500, and his professional salary \$15,500; if the minimum annual expense be reckoned at \$500, the foregoing figures will become \$26,250 and (nearly) \$13,000 respectively.

It has been said that Lignano might have been made a cardinal, had his wife, Novella, been willing to enter a convent.⁹⁹ Pancirolus gives a different account:¹⁰⁰ Urban VI, being at Montefiascone early in his reign, suggested to Lignano the possibility of his becoming a cardinal were he not married, to which he replied that he was not willing to drink the blood meant for the poor, preferring to live by the sweat of his hands, since God had enabled him to support himself by his own labors. Urban hereupon quoted from a legal authority that one who had property of his own was nevertheless allowed to live off the income of the Church, if he preferred; but Lignano persisted in his decision.

How had Chaucer heard of Lignano, and acquired such a notion of his prominence as to make it seem fitting to name him in the same breath with Petrarch, as a star of similar magnitude? For the answer to this we must resort to conjecture, or rather to combinations based upon ascertained facts. At best we have only a choice of various alternatives.

In the first place, the poet might have learned of Lignano through the English students, particularly the candidates for the archdiaconate,¹⁰¹ who were constantly resorting to Bologna, as they had been for more than two hundred years, to pursue the study of law. Of the adventures of these students in Bologna, Stubbs¹⁰² gives a graphic picture:

⁹⁹ Budrio, quoted by Fantuzzi, p. 34, note 2. Petrarch tells us (*Var.* 15) that Clement VI (1342-1352) had frequently offered him bishoprics.

¹⁰⁰ Quoted by Argelati, pp. 796-7.

¹⁰¹ It will be remembered that Chaucer had a distinct and definite notion of archdeacons (*Prol.* 654-8; *Friar's Tale* 1300-1320, 1588).

¹⁰² *Seventeen Lectures*, pp. 302-3. Segré (*Nuova Antologia* 196. 183) tells us that lectures began at daybreak, and ended at 9 A. M.; in the afternoon, they lasted from 1.30 or 2 till after 5.

Although Bologna and Pavia could not be suffered to come to England, England might go to Bologna; and a stream of young archdeacons,¹⁰³ at the age at which in England a boy is articled to an attorney, poured forth to the Italian law schools. Many and varied were their experiences; but invariably they get into debt and write home for money; some of them fall in love,¹⁰⁴ and be-

¹⁰³ Stephens further informs us (*History of the English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I*, p. 293): "Not archdeacons only, but other English clerics who were clever and ambitious, flocked to the foreign universities to study civil or canon law, or both."

¹⁰⁴ About the time that Petrarch was studying law in Bologna (1323-6; cf. *Sen.* 10. 2 (Fracassetti 2. 81-82); *Ad. Post.*: Fracassetti 1. 205; Robinson and Rolfe, *Petrarch*, p. 66), various adventures occurred involving students and young women. One is recorded by Ghirardacci (pp. 4-7, here somewhat condensed) as occurring in 1321: "There had come to the University of Bologna a good-looking young man, called Giacomo da Valenza, who, being more intent upon pleasure than study, as not infrequently happens to young men, was one day at a festival in the principal church of the city, and there fixed his eyes on a young lady of great beauty, called Costanza, the daughter of a rich citizen, the nephew of Giovanni d'Andrea (see above, p. 360), the famous professor of law. With her he fell so violently in love that neither by day nor by night did his heart find rest, but rather did his pain increase hour by hour, the rather because the young lady gave no heed to him, but remained true to her gentle breeding and modesty. The young man, finding himself in so desperate a case, opened his secret design to certain of his dear friends, and, carrying his plan into execution, waited till one day the father was from home, when he burst into the young lady's house, and dragged her with him to the house of a faithful friend. The father, learning of this violence, snatched up weapons, and, accompanied by many of his kinsfolk, rushed to the house where the student had taken refuge with the girl. The young man defended himself courageously, drove back the father, and closed the door of the house, whereupon, without encountering any resistance, he escaped by the rear door with the young lady, and fled for safety. Complaint was made to the prætor, who placed spies in every quarter of the city. The young man was apprehended, and, being arraigned, freely confessed his crime, and was sentenced to be beheaded the next morning at dawn, which was accordingly done. This so infuriated the whole University that the majority of the students resolved by oath to quit Bologna, which they proceeded to do in a body, carrying their possessions with them, and accompanied by many of the professors. They then betook themselves to Siena, leaving the rest behind them in Bologna. The senate, seeing how great a dishonor had been done to the city, and how the University would suffer from this defection, summoned the council, which, after long and mature deliberation, determined to attempt a reconciliation of the University with the city. The students who had been detained in prison were released, and the affair was concluded by a treaty between the students in law and medicine, on the one side, and the commune of Bologna, on the other."

An earlier authority (*R. I. S.* 18. 333, cf. 140) asserts that the young lady was a niece of Giovanni d'Andrea (cf. Tiraboschi, p. 67).

come the quasi-husbands of Italian ladies; some get a bad character for learning the Italian art of poisoning; some are killed in frays with the natives; some remain abroad, and become professors; all more or less illustrate the scholastic question which John of Salisbury [d. 1180] propounds, Is it possible for an archdeacon to be saved?

Elsewhere Stubbs says (p. 140):

The student must go for not less than a year; he might go for two or three. This permission was freely used; the great churches, which had thirty or forty canons, at all stages of the ecclesiastical career, could well afford to dispense with the services of the younger ones, and they, notwithstanding the temptations of University life, could scarcely fail to bring back with them at the end of the time¹⁰⁵ some experience, some culture and knowledge of the world, that fitted them for the occupations of their later life, whether their destiny was to serve the king in his court and embassies, or to make themselves useful in the educational work which was still carried on largely in all the cathedral establishments.

The numbers were smaller in the fourteenth century, but it was still the custom for young archdeacons to go to Italy for study.¹⁰⁶ Chaucer may thus have thought of his clerk, though belonging to Oxford, as meeting Petrarch during a residence at the University of Padua, and not while on a brief visit to the city.

On the state of morals at the University of Bologna, see Toynbee, *Dante Dictionary*, pp. 3, 90.

Perhaps the probability just alleged is the strongest, but it is also possible that Chaucer might have learned of Lignano's reputation through John of Gaunt, for Lignano was one of the strongest defenders of Urban VI, and it was Urban VI who, on March 21, 1383, constituted John of Gaunt standard-bearer of the Roman Church¹⁰⁷ against John I of Castile (1379-1390), whose throne he disputed in right of his wife Constance, daughter of Peter the Cruel.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ The usual period of residence seems to have been five years; see above, pp. 374-5.

¹⁰⁶ Capes, *The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, p. 240.

¹⁰⁷ Raynald 7. 470-1.

¹⁰⁸ *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 15. 441.

It is also conceivable that Chaucer might have heard of Lignano during his mission to Bernabò Visconti and John Hawkwood in 1378, for they must have had ample cause to remember him.¹⁰⁹

Or, finally, since the circles to which Chaucer had access might have learned of Lignano through Cosimo de' Migliorati,¹¹⁰ there is a remote possibility that in this way Chaucer might have become acquainted with the great scholar's reputation.

In his *Epistle to Posterity*, written near the end of his life, Petrarch says: "If only I have lived well, it matters little to me how I talked. Mere elegance of language can produce at best but an empty renown." If Lignano deserves praise, it is for having lived well. He was a believer in astrology, which Petrarch was much inclined to despise.¹¹¹ His learning, whether in philosophy, or law, or any other particular art, would no doubt be characterized as negligible by the leaders in those respective branches to-day. But what remains distinct and admirable through the haze of centuries is the great teacher's humanity, and especially his spirit of service. He placed his talents at the disposition, not only of individuals whom he was in a position to aid, but of the three greatest ideal entities that he knew, entities which immediately concerned himself and the people about him, entities consecrated to civilization through the threefold instrumentalities of learning, justice, and religion—the University, the State, and the Church.¹¹²

"All his endeavors," so says his biographer, "were devoted to his school." His school, for in a sense it was his school, held in his own house for his students—though he was a professor, and

¹⁰⁹ See above, pp. 363 ff. It may be merely fortuitous, but Chaucer mentions Bologna oftener (four times, always in the *Clerk's Tale*) than any other Italian city except Rome. If we exclude Florence, mentioned (D 1125) only in relation to Dante, and Milan (B 3589), only in relation to Bernabò; Ravenna and Verona (B. 1, pr. 4), only in translation; the only other Italian cities he names, except Pavia (E 1246; R. R. 1154) and Rome (frequently), are in the *Clerk's Tale* (Padua, 27; Ferrara, 51; Saluzzo, 44, 63; Venice, 51 (also H. F. 1348)).

¹¹⁰ See above, p. 368, note 63.

¹¹¹ Cf. *Sen. 1. 7* (*Opera*, 1581, pp. 747-8); 3. 1 (pp. 767-771); 8. 1 (p. 829); 12. 2 (p. 904); *De Viris Illustribus*, ed. Razzolini, 1. 280.

¹¹² "Tutte le sue applicazioni furono per la sua Scuola; . . . alle quali s'aggiunsero le cure di servire i particolari e la Patria ne più difficili affari, . . . e nel sostenere la causa della legittimità dell' elezione di Urbano VI" (Fantuzzi, p. 38).

they students, of the University of Bologna. And so he served the cause of scholarship, recognized as the most eminent teacher at "Bologna the learned," and rearing up such scholars as Giovanni da Imola and the future Cardinal Zabarella, Bishop of Florence.¹¹³ It was but a narrow professional training that Bologna gave in its school of law, it is true, in contradistinction to the liberal education provided by the University of Paris;¹¹⁴ yet, notwithstanding the strictures of Petrarch,¹¹⁵ the study can not have been wholly contemptible which produced such men as Lignano and Innocent VII, the former of whom could say, when writing in championship of Urban VI:¹¹⁶ "In taking up my pen, I have not aimed at benefices, nor dignities, nor worldly advancement, being content to live by the sweat of my brows, to which the Almighty has granted increase beyond my deserts."

It is to the credit of Lignano that, not being a Bolognese by birth, he should have won, by his services to the State of his adoption, the universal admiration and affection of its citizens; and that, being appointed to rule over it by a power to which it was often hostile, which had more than once sought to govern it by oppressive and cruel ministers, and which had but recently devastated its territories with fire and sword, he was joyously acclaimed at his election, and, after five years, attended by the sorrowing city to his grave.

As to the Church, he restrained the ferocity, and stimulated the benevolence, of its rulers in matters affecting Bologna, and did his utmost to avert the Great Schism (1378-1417), which a modern Catholic historian has pronounced the most terrible of all imaginable calamities.¹¹⁷ Faithful in a few things, Lignano was made ruler over many; and, what is much to his credit, he was never seduced by glittering allurements from his loyalty to the profession he had chosen. He could not be tempted to remain at the Papal court, nor to accept a cardinalate, however flattering were the in-

¹¹³ Fantuzzi, p. 38.

¹¹⁴ *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 27. 753.

¹¹⁵ *Fam.* 20. 4; Robinson and Rolfe, *Petrarch*, p. 67.

¹¹⁶ Raynald, p. 657.

¹¹⁷ Pastor, *Hist. of the Popes* 1. 127. He adds (p. 141): "We cannot wonder that the Christian religion became the derision of Jews and Mahometans."

duancements which Urban VI might offer. During his lifetime he wrought first of all for his students; and, after providing for his natural heir, it was of future students that he thought in dedicating his whole property to their maintenance, should his direct descendants fail. Seldom has there been a more inspiring example of application to the duties next at hand, and refusal to abandon them for the sake of any distant prize, how splendid soever. Without derogation from Petrarch's acknowledged merits, it must be said that, in the respect just mentioned, Lignano forms a striking contrast to the poet. It is true that Petrarch exhorted the Pontiffs to return to Rome, and the Emperor to pacify Italy; he journeyed on embassies to cities as distant as Paris and Prague; but his declamations remained without effect, and the potentates who flattered him by their attentions took good care to disregard his counsels. Again, Petrarch was to one thing constant never. His restless vanity, or his quest of lucrative sinecures, led him from city to city, from court to court; but he was never willing to accept employment which might in the long run prove irksome, or detain him in one place. Rome could not win him by its coronation, nor Milan hold him by the silken bondage of the Visconti. Contrasting himself with men who had remained at Bologna, and continued to devote themselves to the legal profession, he wrote: "Nature made me a lover of solitude, not of the law-courts. If I have ever done anything in my life that was lucky—I dare not say wise—it was that, after making the acquaintance of Bologna, I turned my back upon it" (*quod Bononiam vidi, et quod non inhæsi*).¹¹⁸

As to the charm of diction, however, the advantage is all with Petrarch. If the style of Lignano were to be judged from his legal disquisitions, it could hardly escape being called an intolerable jargon;¹¹⁹ and even when he attempts to rise to something like eloquence, he is redundant, monotonous, and awkward.¹²⁰ In de-

¹¹⁸ *Fam.* 4. 16; cf. Körting, *Petrarca's Leben und Werke*, p. 69.

¹¹⁹ I append a specimen (Raynald, p. 635):

Decimoquinto attentis eorum sigillis notis, arguitur sic. Statur sigillo episcopi, immo et privatis, de proba. post. cessio. et c. tertio de fide instrum. cum dilectus de solut. si quorundam, quoniam in sigillo est character, et literæ nominis de fide instrum. inter dilectos ff. de testam. l. ad testim. si quis ex testibus de pe. di. III. principium. et hoc maxime ubi apponantur literæ scriptæ.

¹²⁰ As may be seen from the following extract (Raynald, p. 657):

Non ergo hoc casu agendum sophismatibus, non disputationibus, non lanceis

fense of his legal diction, it may be urged that Baldus often writes in an equally crabbed manner.¹²¹ Indeed, it must be owned that even Petrarch did not escape the evil influence of the current scholasticism, as appears from the oration he delivered at his crowning in the Capitol, when he must have been most anxious to win the hearts and convince the judgments of men. It is true that, with the advantage of typographical helps, the subjoined extract would be less repellent, but under no circumstances could a modern reader of taste be persuaded that it was worthy of the occasion and the poet:

Est insuper arbor sacra metuenda et venerabilis unde et virgilius eneidis in septimo Laurus erat tecti medio penetralibus altis sacra comam multosque metu servata per anos, iusta quam aras, erigere consueverant iusta illud II. eneidis Edibus in mediis nudoque sub etheris axe ingens ara fuit iuxtaque veterima laurus incumbens are, apta cultui sacrificantium unde eneidis tertio Phebius sacerdos victis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro et lucanus in VI°. Unde et thessalica veniunt ad phithia laurus. Ornamentum non templorum modo sed ipsius etiam capitolii lucanus in p°. sacras poscunt capitolia lauros. Dies me deficiet si singula prosequar et certe preter hec omnia similiter videtur laurus convenire cesaribus et poetis cum utrosque sacros appellari solitos possem mille autoritatibus ostendere nisi occurreret illud ciceronianum utitur in re certa testimoniis non necessariis.¹²²

This, however, is Petrarch at his nadir as a writer of prose; and, while his worst is little better than Lignano's average, he can at moments, when composing under the influence of Cicero, attain heights which, though they would doubtless have seemed less than

vel bellorum strepitibus, non pecuniariis corruptionibus, vel principum sæcularium favoribus, sed veris planis inductionibus ad veritatem progredientibus, spiritualibus clericorum armis, fletibus videlicet et orationibus.

Different, but no better, is one of his numerous professions of entire subservience to the Church (Fantuzzi, p. 40):

In his omnibus per me scriptis iis actibus, et quibuscumque aliis scribendis et scriptis, protestor quod si aliquid scriptum vel scribendum reperiatur dissonum a veritate Fidei et Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, ex nunc revoco, et pro revocato reputo, et habeo pro non scripto; credens, asserens, affirmans, et prædicans quod docet, asserit, et prædicat Sancta Mater Ecclesia et Sancti Doctores ipsius. Et hanc protestationem volo et intendo habere pro repetita in quibuscumque actibus meis et singulis aliis actibus.

¹²¹ Raynald, pp. 613-631. See Tiraboschi, p. 379.

¹²² Hortis, *Scritti Inediti di Francesco Petrarca*, pp. 324-5.

Alpine to his master, would have been quite unattainable, if not indeed almost undiscernible, to the Bolognese canonist.¹²³

Chaucer, in his character as poet, could hardly fail to pay exceptional honor to Petrarch's eloquence and the music of his verse; and so, whatever he may have known or felt concerning the solid merits of Lignano, like himself a servant of the State, it is not surprising that his more instinctive sympathy should be with the laureate

whos rethoryke¹²⁴ sweete
Enlumined al Itaille of poetrye.¹²⁵

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¹²³ I quote the following (*Fam.* 14. 5: ed. Fracassetti, 2. 299-300), not to show Petrarch's utmost reach as a stylist, but as a fair sample of his better prose (he is writing in 1352 to the Doge and Council of Genoa):

Multis annis nihil apud vos pacatum, nihil tutum, dum nihil tamen interea nisi victrices manus vestrorum civium et nota arma timeretis; donec tandem malis admoniti ad unius justiciarii ducis auxilium confugistis, qui optimus procul dubio reipublicæ status est. Tum primum sopitis similitudinibus renovata felicitas vestra fuit, et pulsas ærumnarum nebulis vota serenitas restituta. Inde domi pax, et pacis semper amica justitia; inde dulcis civium concordia civitatum certissimum incrementum, nullæque nisi de hoste victoria. Quæ cum ita sint, facilis, nisi fallor, in posterum cautela est.

Petrarch may have had occasion to compare his own eloquence with Lignano's on January 3, 1371 (see above, p. 363).

¹²⁴ The most *eloquent* of all Italian lyrics, according to Leopardi (*Rime di F. P.*, ed. Carducci and Ferrari, pp. 83-4) are the *O aspettata*, *Spirto gentil*, and *Italia mia* (tr. by Cayley, *Odes* 2, 6, and 16), for which see Hollway-Calthrop, *Petrarch*, pp. 42, 63, 176-7.

¹²⁵ Chaucer here seems to be intimating these lines of Deschamps' ballade (1386? 1393?) to himself (*Oxford Chaucer* 1. lvii):

grans en ta poeterie,
Bries en parler, saiges en rethorique,
Aigles treshaulx, qui par ta theorique
Enlumines le regne d'Eneas,

and thus to be making over his title in the compliment to Petrarch.

CHAUCER'S *BOETHIUS* AND JEAN DE MEUN*

THIS article is concerned with one thing, and one thing only—the demonstration of Chaucer's use, in his own translation of *Boethius*, of the French version which is best represented by MS. B. N. fr. 1097. Into the thorny question of the glosses it is not my purpose to enter here.

In 1868 there was printed in the *Athenaeum*¹ an unsigned statement to the effect that a "chapter" of "a magnificent copy of Jean de Méung's *Boethius*" in the British Museum had "lately been compared with Chaucer's translation and the original *Boethius*, by Mr. Edward Bell, for the Early English Text Society; and the result is, that Chaucer's Englishing was certainly not made from the French of Jean de Méung, but direct from *Boethius*." In the same year the results of this examination (presumably) were communicated more fully by Richard Morris in his edition of *Boethius* for the Early English Text Society,² with the statement that "Chaucer did not English *Boethius* second-hand, through any early French version, as some have supposed, but made his translation with the Latin original before him." Twenty-eight brief passages are quoted in the Latin, French, and English in support of this contention. In 1870 ten Brink³ referred to the communication in the *Athenaeum*, and added: "Der Boethius des Jehan de Meung steht mir nicht zu gebote. Es scheint mir jedoch die vergleichung des

* *Editor's Note*: This article of Professor Lowes was in our hands for a considerable time before the appearance of the dissertation of Dr. Bernard L. Jefferson, *Chaucer and the Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius*, Princeton University Press, 1917. The first nine pages of Dr. Jefferson's dissertation treat of Chaucer's use of Jean de Meun's translation. His conclusions agree with those of Professor Lowes.

¹ No. 2132, September 5, 1868, p. 304.

² P. xiii. Morris's edition (from Add. MS. 10340) is reprinted in the Chaucer Society's Publications (1886), together with Furnivall's edition of *Chaucer's 'Boece'* from MS. Camb. II. 3. 21.

³ *Studien*, p. 139. In the *Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, 78-81, ten Brink expresses no opinion on the point.

Englischen mit dem lateinischen texte zu genügen, um den unmittelbaren zusammenhang beider evident zu machen."

There the matter seems to have rested until 1891, when Mr. H. F. Stewart, in his *Boethius: An Essay*, presented a number of parallels between Chaucer's translation and another French version—that of MS. B. N. fr. 1097—with a very cautious statement of their implications.⁴ Stewart properly pointed out that "unfortunately, Dr. Morris's passages are not taken from any translation by Jehan de Meun," but from an anonymous version made in 1477. In 1894 Skeat pronounced definitely against the view that Chaucer used any French translation: "I shall here dismiss, as improbable and unnecessary, a suggestion sometimes made, that Chaucer may have consulted some French version in the hope of obtaining assistance from it; there is no sure trace of anything of the kind, and the internal evidence is, in my opinion, decisively against it."⁵

The next year, however, Professor Mark Liddell printed in the *Academy*⁶ a list of more significant parallels than those presented by Stewart, between Chaucer's translation and MS. 1097, with the promise of a much more detailed comparison later. Two years later, in the *Nation*,⁷ Liddell announced that he was preparing for the Chaucer Society a parallel-text edition of Chaucer's translation and the French version ascribed to Jean de Meun (MS. 1097), from which the evidence would appear conclusive. And in the *Globe Chaucer* (1903)⁸ he reiterated his view that Chaucer "makes very free use of an existing French version now commonly ascribed to Jehan de Meung."

On account, perhaps, of the somewhat meagre evidence actually adduced, the view of Stewart and Liddell has not met with very general acceptance. Miss Petersen's adhesion is marked by caution: "Chaucer, then, seems to have had access to the Latin text of Boethius, to the French prose translation, and, very probably, to Trivet's Latin commentary."⁹ Root summarily rejects the sugges-

⁴ Pp. 202-06. Stewart's eight parallels are chosen from among the twenty-eight passages selected by Morris.

⁵ *Oxford Chaucer* (2d ed., 1900), II, xiv. This statement represents, accordingly, Skeat's opinion as late as 1900.

⁶ No. 1220 (September 21, 1895), p. 227.

⁷ Vol. 64, No. 1651 (February 18, 1897), pp. 124-125.

⁸ P. xl.

⁹ PMLA., XVIII (1903), 189.

tion: "Chaucer made his translation directly from the Latin. . . . There is no adequate support for the assumption frequently made that he availed himself of the French translation attributed to Jean de Meun."¹⁰ Wells admits the possibility of Chaucer's knowledge of Jean de Meun's version, but assumes that his immediate source was the Latin: "Chaucer made his version from the Latin, probably using a MS. with glosses—seemingly Trivet's Latin commentary, or matter from Trivet. Possibly he had access to the French translation associated with Jean de Meun. A fourteenth-century MS. containing all three of these works together is in Paris (MS. Latin 18424)."¹¹ At the moment I do not have access to other opinions that may have been expressed. But the case for Jean de Meun's French as Chaucer's primary source has certainly not been generally regarded as a clear one.

It is now almost twenty-two years since Professor Liddell's promise of a more detailed comparison was made, and a little more than twenty since his announcement of the forthcoming parallel text. There happens to be at hand material which makes a fuller demonstration of his contention possible. And since Chaucer's procedure here bears very definitely on certain investigations of my own which go to show that in other instances as well he supplemented his Latin originals by the use of French translations, I feel that I shall not be guilty of unfairness to Professor Liddell if I use for my own purposes such published evidence as has been now for four years available.¹²

In 1813 Langlois published a significant article¹³ in which he demonstrated conclusively that the French prose translation represented by MS. B. N. fr. 1097 was the work of Jean de Meun, and that the translation in alternate verse and prose commonly attributed to him was not his. As part of his evidence Langlois gives a considerable number of extracts from MS. 1097. These extracts

¹⁰ *The Poetry of Chaucer* (1906), p. 84.

¹¹ *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (1916), p. 651. For an account of the MS. to which Wells refers see PMLA., XVIII, 189-90.

¹² I had practically completed arrangements, through the courtesy of Professor Legouis and M. Omont, to secure a photographic copy of MS. B.N. fr. 1097, when the new submarine ruthlessness, with its later developments, made it, at the time when this article was written, seem useless to proceed.

¹³ "La Traduction de Boèce par Jean de Meun," *Romania*, XLII, 331-69.

are much more extensive than any which have been printed before, and they are chosen, of course, without the slightest reference to Chaucer's translation. They represent, accordingly, an absolutely unbiased selection, so far as the use which I wish to make of them is concerned. What I propose to do, then, is to compare them with the corresponding passages in Chaucer's translation, and with the Latin original.

Instead of printing the Latin, English, and French in parallel *columns*, I shall arrange them in parallel *lines*, in order to bring out more clearly the correspondence in word order between the English and the French. And I shall print at the foot of the page the corresponding passages from Langlois's B (MS. B. N. fr. 1096) and C (MS. B. N. fr. 17272—the version formerly attributed to Jean de Meun), for the sake of the demonstration which they afford that the correspondences between Chaucer and MS. 1097 cannot be explained as the inevitable coincidences that might be expected between any two fairly literal translations of the same text. The italics in the French text are uniformly those employed by Langlois for "les mots ajoutés à l'original latin";¹⁴ those in the English text represent the "explanatory words and phrases which are not in the Latin text,"¹⁵ as Chaucer's translation is printed by Skeat. In cases where the English is obviously closer to the Latin than to the French, the corresponding words are printed in bold-faced type. Particularly noteworthy agreements between the French and the English (apart from the constant agreement in vocabulary and word order) as against the Latin are indicated by asterisks. I have followed the Latin text as given by Langlois. The English text is that of the *Oxford Chaucer*.¹⁶

The first passage which I shall give is Bk. V, pr. vi, 182–222 (in the English text). For the French and Latin see *Romania*,

¹⁴ *Romania*, XLII, 341.

¹⁵ *Oxford Chaucer*, II, xlvii.

¹⁶ For Skeat's account of the manuscripts and editions, see *Oxford Chaucer*, II, xxxvii–xlvi. And compare Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, p. 360. In the notes that follow, where the *English* version is referred to, A (as in Skeat) = MS. Addit. 16165 (Br. Mus.); C = MS. Camb. II. i. 38; Ed. = Thynne (probably following Caxton). See esp. *Oxford Chaucer*, II, xlv, foot, xlv–vii).

XLII, 337-40. The length of the excerpt enhances greatly its value as evidence. Heretofore only very brief extracts have been cited.

Et tu diras: Que *sera ce* donques? Ne sera pas
But thou mayst seyn ayein: "How shal it thanne be? Shal not
Quid igitur, inquires?

muee la divine science par ma disposicion, si comme quant
the devyne science be chaunged by my disposicioun, whan that
Ex meane dispositione scientia divina mutabitur, ut cum

je voudroie ores une chose et ores une autre, ne nous
I wol o thing now, and now another? And thilke
ego nunc hoc nunc illud velim, illa quoque

doit pas estre avis que elle entrechange aussi ses divers
prescience, ne **semeth** it nat to entrechaunge
noscendi vices alternare **videatur**?

fais de cognoistre
stoundes of knowinge;" *as who seith, ne shal it nat seme to
us, that the devyne prescience entre-
chaungeth hise dyverse stoundes of
knowinge,*

*si que elle cognoisse une foiz une chose et autre foiz
so that it knowe sum-tyme o thing and sum-tyme*

*le contraire de ce?
the contrarie of that thing?*¹⁷

Non. Certez *non*, car li
No, forsothe, quod I. For the
Minime. Omne namque

divins regart queurt au devant *et voit touz futurs*,*
devyne sighte renneth to-forn and seeth alle futures,*
futurum divinus praecurrit intuitus

c'est a dire toutes choses a avenir, et les retourne* et
and clepeth hem ayein,
et ad praesentiam

B

Mais tu dira: Je changerai donques
la science de Dieu *au changement* de
ma disposicion? Que aussi com je
vueil or un or autre, elle change or
une part or autre.

Nenil, quar quant que est a venir,
le regart Dieu voit avant et rapelle a

C

Mais tu diras: Se changera donques
la science de Dieu *au changement* de
ma disposicion? Que aussy comme je
voeul un, je voeul orez aultrez, elle se
se change orez d'une part orez d'aultre.

Je te dy que non; car quanque il
est advenir, le regard de Dieu voit et
scet avant et le retourne et rappelle

¹⁷ Ed. of that thing; C. A. om.

rapele a la presence de sa propre cognoissance, n'il
and retorneth*¹⁸ hem to the presence of his propre knowinge; ne he
propriae cognitionis retorquet ac revocat. Nec

n'entrechange pas, si comme tu cuidez, les fais do cognoistre
ne entrechaungeth nat, so¹⁹ as thou wenest, the stoundes of **for-
knowinge**,

alternat, ut existimas, **nunc hoc, nunc illud praenoscenti** vices;

ore une chose ore une autre, mais il, permanant,* vient
as²⁰ **now this, now that**; but he ay-dwellinge* comth
sed uno ictu mutationes tuas manens praevenit atque

au devant et embrace a un coup toutez tes mutacions.
biforn, and embraceth at o strook alle thy mutaciouns.
complectitur.

Et ceste presence de toutez chosez comprendre et de veoir
And this presence to comprehenden and to seen alle thinges,
Quam comprehendendi omnia visendique praesentiam,

les n'a pas prise Dieus de l'avenement des chosez a avenir,
god ne hath nat taken it of the bitydinge of thinges to come,
non ex futurarum proventu rerum,

mais de sa propre simplece. Et par ce est solu ce que tu deis
but of his propre simplicitee. And her-by is assoiled thilke thing
that thou **puttest**

sed ex propria Deus simplicitate sortitus est. Ex quo illud quoque
resolvitur, quod

un pou si devant, *c'est assavoir** qu'il n'est pas digne chose
a little her-biforn, *that is to seyn,** that it is unworthy thing
paulo ante **posuisti**, indignum esse

de dire que nos futurs doignent cause a la prescience
to seyn, that our futures yeven cause of the **science** of God.
si **scientia** Dei causam futura nostra praestare dicantur;

B

sa presence; ne ne mue or ci or
ça, si com tu cuides, mais a un seul
cop, elle, sans nul mouvement en-
clost tes muances. Et ce pouoir de tout
prendre ensemble, elle n'a pas des
choses avenir, mais l'a Dieux de sa

C

a la presence de sa cognoissance; ne
ne se meut or ci or ça, si comme tu
cuidez, mais a ung seul cop celle muan-
ce, elle, sans tous mouvemens enclost.
La quelle (ses) force de tout prendre
ensamble et de veoir en present, elle
n'a pas des choses advenir, mais de

¹⁸ Cf. Lat. retorquet.

¹⁹ A. om. so.

²⁰ A. om. as.

de Dieu, *ne que il soient cause de celle prescience*;
 car ceste force de science, qui toutez chosez embrace
 For certes this strengthe of the devyne science, which that em-
 braceth alle thinges
 haec enim scientiae vis praesentaria notione cuncta complectens,
 par sa presentaire cognoissance,* establisset a toutez chosez
 by his presentarie knowinge,* establissheth maner to alle thinges,
 rebus omnibus modum ipsa constituit,
 propre maniere, et ne doit riens aus chosez derrenierez.
 and it ne oweth naught to latter thinges;
 nihil vero posterioribus debet.
 Et comme ces chosez soient ainsi, *ce est assavoir que necessité*
 and sin that these things ben thus, *that is to seyn, sin that necessitee*
 Quae cum ita sint,
n'est pas es chosez de la prescience divine, franchise de arbitre*
*nis nat in thinges by the devyne prescience,*²¹ than is ther freedom*
of arbitre
est de demeure enterinement es mortieus hommes, ne les lais*
that dwelleth hool and unwemmed to mortal men. Ne the lawes*
manet internerata mortalibus arbitrii libertas; nec iniquae
 ne propousent pas ne promettent felonnessement*²² loiers
 ne purposen nat wikkedly* medes
 leges solutis omni necessitate voluntatibus praemia

B

propre simplece. Et pour ce est solu
 ce que tu disoies avant, que ce seroit
 chose desordonnee se noz choses a
 venir donnoient cause a la science de
 Dieu; quar ceste vertu de science,
 qui tout enclost en sa presencialité,
 donne maniere a toutes choses, ne

 riens ne leur doit après. Et comme il
 soit ainssi, il remaint aux mortelx

C

sa propre simplese. Et pour ce est
 soult ce que tu disoiez ci devant, que
 ce seroit chose desordonnee se nos
 chosez advenir donnoient cause a la
 prescience de Dieu; car ceste vertu de
 science, qui en presencialité enclost
 tout *et embrace, donne et* establisset
 magniere a tous, ne riens ne doit aux
 choses derrenierez *et advenir*. Et
 comme il soit ainssi, il remaint aux

²¹ C. om. that is . . . prescience; Ed. and A. have it. Miss Petersen (PMLA., XVIII, 188) assigns this to Trivet's comment: "videlicet, cognoscit ea que sunt nobis futura non quia habent causas necessarias nec etiam imponendi eis necessitatem eveniendi." It is, however, a literal translation of *Jean de Meun's* gloss. See also below, p. 390, n. 24.

²² Langlois notes: "*iniquae*, écrit *inique* dans le ms., a pu être pris pour un adverbe." It will be observed that Chaucer follows faithfully Jean de Meun's error.

et paines es volentez des *hommes qui sont** absoluz et
and peynes to the willinges of men that ben* unbounden and
poenasque proponunt.

*delivrez** de toutez necessitez; et par dessus maint Dieus
quite* of alle necessitee. And god,
Manet etiam spectator desuper

regardeur et cognoisseur* de toutez chosez *avant neïs que*
biholder and for-witer* of alle thinges, dwelleth above;
cunctorum praescius Deus,

elles soient faitez,²³ et la presente pardurableté de sa vision
and the present *eternitee* of his sighte
visionisque ejus praesens semper *aeternitas*

queurt touz jours avec la *diverse** qualité de nos faiz *qui*
renneth alwey with the dyverse*²⁴ qualitee of our dedes,
cum nostrorum actuum futura qualitate concurrat,

sont neïs encores a venir, et dispanse et ordonne* loiers
dispensinge and ordeyninge* medes
bonis praemia, malis supplicia

aus bons et tourmens aus malvais. Ne pour niant ne sont
to goode men, and torments²⁵ to wikked men. Ne in ydel ne in
veyn ne ben
dispensans. Nec frustra sunt

B

entiere franchise de volenté; ne les
lois ne sont pas mauvairement qui
ordonnent querre dons et painnes
aux franchises volentez. Et li souve-
rains regarderres est par dessus, Dieux
qui tout *voit et* precognoist et dis-
pense aux bons loiers et aux mauvais
tormentz.

C

morteulx franchise entiere de volenté;
ne lez raisons ne sont pas malvais
qui proposent guerredons et painez
aux volentez franchisez de toutez nec-
cessitez. Et le souverain regardeur, c'est
Dieu qui est par dessus, qui tout *voit*
et preconognoist en la presence de sa
vision eternelle, quiere (*sic*) aucune

²³ Langlois observes, with reference to the italicized words: "Ces six mots traduisent le préfixe de *praescius*, que ne rend pas le mot 'cognoisseur.'" Chaucer has rendered the Latin prefix by "for-" in "forwiter," but has followed Jean de Meun in translating "spectator . . . praescius" by two nouns.

²⁴ Miss Petersen (PMLA., XVIII, 188) assigns this to Trivet's gloss: "id est, diversitate in bonitate et malicia." But it comes directly from Jean de Meun. See also above, p. 389, n. 21.

²⁵ C. torment; A. tourmentz.

pas misez en Dieu esperancez et prieres qui ne peuent
ther nat put in god hope and preyeres, that ne mowen nat
in Deo positae spes precesque; quae, cum *rectae* sunt,
estre *sans valeur** et sans fait quant elles sont *faites* droitement.
ben unspeedful* ne with-oute effect, whan they ben *rightful*.
inefficaces esse non possunt.

Despiecez donques et eschevez* les vicez et *aimez** et
Withstond thanne and eschue* thou vyces; worshipec and love*
Aversamini igitur vitia, colite virtutes,
ensuiez les vertuz; soulevez vostre courage a droitez esperancez;
thou virtues; areys thy corage to rightful hopes;
ad rectas spes animum sublevate,

tendez humblement prieres en haut *a Dieu*. Grant necessité de
yilde thou humble preyeres a-heigh. Gret necessitee of
humiles preces in excelsa porrigite. Magna vobis est,

proëce, se vous ne vous en voulez faindre, vous est *chargiee** et
prowesse and virtue is encharged* and commanded to yow, yif ye
si dissimulare von vultis, necessitas indicta probitatis,

'enjointe, *c'est a dire grant mestier vous est que vous soiés pru-*
domme, quant vous faitez toutez vos euvrez*
nil nat dissimulen; sin that ye worken and doon, *that is to seyn*,
*your dedes or your workes,**

cum ante oculos agitis

devant les yeulz du juge qui toutez chosez voit.
biforn the eyen of the juge that seeth *and demeth* alle thinges. To
judicis cuncta cernentis.

whom be glorie and worshipec by infinit tymes. AMEN.²⁰

B

Et donques ne met l'en pas en vain
esperance et prieres en Dieu;

et quant elles sont droitureres, elles
ne peuent estre sans fruit. Laissiez
donques les vicez et hantez les vertuz et
levez vos cuers a droites esperances,
et envoieez prieres humbles vers le
ciel; *quar* grant necessité de bien
faire, se dissimuler ne voulez, est en-

C

condicion de nos fais a advenir et dis-
pense *et ordonne* aux bons loiers et
aux malvais tourmens. Et donques
pour ce ne sont pas misez en Dieu
vaine esperance et prieres; les quellez,
quant ellez sont droicturieres ne poe-
vent estre sans [fruit]. Soiés donc-
ques anemis aux vicez et frequentez
lez vertus et levés vos coeurs a droic-
tez esperancez et envoieez prieres
humblez envers le ciel; *car* grant
necessité vous est enjoincte *et enchar-*
gie de promesse et de bien faire se

²⁰ A. Ed. om. To . . . AMEN. Cf. Trivet, in PMLA., XVIII, 188.

B

jointe, a vous *mortels*, quant vous ouvrez devant les yeulz de celui qui tout voit.

C

vous ne volez dissimuler et faindre, o vos *mortels*, quant vous faitez vos oeuvres devant les yeulx de celui qui tout voit.

It would be a work of supererogation to comment at length on the agreement of the French and English in vocabulary, and especially in word order. The evidence speaks for itself. If to any one it does not, the law of probability may be invoked. The chances against coincidence as the source of such a series of correspondences in word order alone would run into the millions.

The other passages which Langlois adduces are briefer. I shall give them with as little comment as possible.

Neron contraint Senèque son familier et son maistre
Nero constreynede Senek, his familier and his mayster
Nero Senecam familiarem praeceptoremque suum

a eslire de quel mort il voudroit mourir.
to chesen on what deeth he wolde deyen.²⁷
ad eligendae mortis coegit arbitrium.

. . . mais neïs dire le de bouche, c'est felons pechiez.*

. . . but for to speke it with mouth, it is a felonous sinne.*²⁸

Quod sentire non modo nefas est, sed etiam voce proferre.

. . . ces communes* putereles abandonnees au peuple,

. . . this commune* strompetes²⁹ of swich a place that men clepen

. . . has *scenicas* meretriculas [the theatre]

²⁷ Bk. III, pr. v, 34-35 (*Oxford* numbering); *Romania*, XLII, 346. B and C are as follows:

B

Nerons a Senèque son maistre
donna choïs de eslire la man-
iere de mort que il voudroit.

C

Noiron l'empereur et Senèque
son maistre et son famellier, ne le
constraint il pas a eslire tel mar-
tire qu'il luy plairoit.

²⁸ Bk. V, pr. iii, 88-89; *Romania*, XLII, 345. "Le commencement de la phrase est omis dans le ms. 1097" (*Langlois*). B and C are as follows:

B

La quel chose non pas seul-
ement cuidier mais le dire est
grans erreurs.

C

La quelle chose, non pas seull-
ement cuidier, mais le dire de Dieu
est grant erreur et felonie.

²⁹ Bk. I, pr. i, 34-35; *Romania*, XLII, 365, n. 4. B has: "ces *ordes* puterelles"; Be: "ces *ombrouces* p."; C: "celles *viles ribaudes*." This passage is quoted by Morris (p. xiii) and Stewart (p. 204). The combined influence of the Latin and the French is here very obvious.

. . . ocient le blé planteüreux des fruiz de raison
 . . . destroyen the corn plentevous of fruited of reason⁸⁰
 . . . uberem fructibus rationis segetem necant

 . . . et tiennent les pensees des hommes en coustume*
 for they holden the hertes of men in usage*
 hominumque mentes assuefaciunt morbo,

 et ne les delivrent pas de maladie.*
 but they ne delivere nat folk fro maladie.*⁸¹
 non liberant.

Chaucer agrees with Jean de Meun in the phrasal translation of *assuefaciunt*, and especially in the striking blunder of separating *morbo* from *assuefaciunt*, and connecting it instead with *liberant*.⁸²

Mais se vos blandices me fortaleissent
 But if ye Muses hadden withdrawn fro me, with your flateries,
 At si quem profanum, uti vulgo solitum vobis,

aucun homme rude et non profitable,* si comme l'on
 any uncunninge and unprofitable man,* as men
 blanditiæ vestrae detraherent . . .

le seut communement trouver ou peuple* . . .
 ben wont to finde comunly amonges the poeple* . . .⁸³

Jean de Meun completely misunderstands *ut vulgo solitum vobis*; Chaucer follows him in precisely the same misunderstanding, and also in the shift in the position of the phrase—as well as in the doublet by which he translates *profanum*.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Bk. I, pr. i, 40; *Romania*, XLII, 365, n. 5. B has: "destruient le blé de raison, qui porte fruit plantureus"; C has: "esteignent le grant fruit de raison."

⁸¹ Bk. I, pr. i, 41-42; *Romania*, XLII, 365, n. 7. B has: "Elles aichent [Be, elle attrait] les cuers des gens senz donner garison de maladie"; C has: "Et ainsi attraient les cueurs des hommes, ne de mal ne les delivrent mie."

⁸² See Langlois, p. 365, n. 7.

⁸³ Bk. I, pr. i, 42-44; *Romania*, XLII, 365, n. 10. B has: "Se voz losanges me fortaleissent aucun paysant rude"; C has: "Se vos losenges me fortaleissent aucun homme vil, comme l'omme chaitif et sans valeur."

⁸⁴ B omits *ut . . . vobis*, as does C, unless the phrase *comme . . . valeur* is intended to render it.

Pardurableté est donques parfaite possession et toute ensemble*
Eternitee, thanne, is parfit possessioun and al-togidre*
Aeternitas igitur est **interminabilis** vitae tota simul et
 de vie nommie terminable.
 of life **interminable**.³⁵
 perfecta possessio.

Chaucer's agreement with Jean de Meun in his remarkable rendering of *tota simul et perfecta possessio* needs no comment.

N'as tu apris dès lors que tu fus enfes
 Lersedest nat thou *in Greke*, whan thou were yonge,
 Nonne adolescentulus δύο τοὺς πλῆθους, τὸν μὲν ἔνα
 et jeunes que dui tonnel, li uns est plains de mal
 that in the entree,* *or in the celere*, of Jupiter, ther ben couched
 κακῶν, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον καλῶν, in Jovis limine jacere didicisti?
 et li autres plains de bien, gisent ou sueil,
 two tonnes; that on is ful of good, that other is ful of harm?³⁶
 c'est dire en l'entree* *de la meson* Jupiter.

The examples so far have been drawn from the Proses only.³⁷
 We may now compare a few translations from the Metres.

Homers, *qui si doucement chanta que on dit qu'il ot*
 Homer with the honey mouth, *that is to seyn, Homer with the*
 Puro clarum lumine Phoebum

bouche de miel, dit que li soleus est clers de pure lumiere
seur toutes autres clartez.

³⁵ Bk. V, pr. vi, 10-11; *Romania*, XLII, 344. B and C have: "Eternité est parfaite possession de vie sanz terme, qui est toute ensemble."

³⁶ Bk. II, pr. ii, 53-55; *Romania*, XLII, 345. B and C are as follows:

B

N'apreïs tu pas en ta jonnece
 que au porche de Jupiter a .II. ton-
 neaux, l'un plain de bien, l'autre
 de mal.

C

Quant tu estoies a l'escolle, jones, ne
 aprins tu mie que au porche Jupiter
 avoit deux tonniaulx, l'un plain de
 bien et l'autre plain de mal.

³⁷ The remarkable gloss (Bk. I, pr. iv, 53 ff.) which describes how Boethius defended the people of Campania against Theodoric's "coemption" is quoted by Liddell from Jean de Meun's version in *Academy*, September 21, 1895, p. 227. A somewhat fuller extract is given by Langlois (p. 341), who also prints (p. 367) the Latin text and the renderings of B and C. I have omitted the passage for lack of space, but the comparison may easily be made.

swete ditees, singeth, that the sonne is cleer by pure light.⁸⁸
Melliflui canit oris Homerus.

Chaucer coincides with Jean de Meun in reversing the order of the two lines of the Latin, and he includes a paraphrase of Jean's first gloss. The next passage is a remarkable one.

Nous avons biens cogueü com grans damages et com
We han wel knowen how many grete harmes and
Novimus quantas dederit ruinas,

grans agraventeürez fist *l'empereür Neron*.^{*}
destruccionuns weren don *by the emperor Nero*.^{*}

Il fist ardoir la cité de Romme et fist ocirre les senateurs;
He leet brenne the citee of Rome, and made sleen the senatoures.
Urbe flammata patribusque caesis,

et fist ocirre son frere,
And he, **cruel**, whylom slew his brother;
Fratre qui quondam **ferus** interempto,

and he was maked moist with the blood of his moder;
Matris effuso maduit cruore;

et *despecier* fist sa mere *par membrez*; et la fist ouvrir
that is to seyn, he leet sleen and slitten the body of his moder,

pour veoir le lieu ou il avoit esté conceüs,
to seen wher he was conceived;

et regarda de toutez pars^{*} dehors et dedens le corps tout froit,
and he loked on every halve^{*} up-on her colde dede body,
Corpus et visu gelidum peierans,

ne onques n'i pleura, *ainçois fu si dur que*
ne no tere ne wette his face, but *he was so hard-herted that*
Ora non tinxit lacrymis, sed esse

il pot jugier de biauté morte.^{*}

⁸⁸ Bk. V, met. ii, 1-2; *Romania*, XLII, 341. B and C are as follows:

B
Le soleil qui a les rais clers
Loe molt li bons clerks Omers.
[*ms. ouvriers*].

C
Le soleil qui est beaus et clers
Loe moult li sages Omers.

he mighte ben domes-man or juge of hir dede beautee.*³⁹
Censor extincti potuit decoris.

Chaucer's dependence upon Jean de Meun in these lines is as unmistakable as in the passages already quoted. The pair of words by which he translates *ruinas*; the naming of "the emperor Nero"; the phrasal translation (identical with Jean de Meun's) of the ablatives absolute in *urbe . . . caesis*; the concurrence in the remarkable gloss which deals with Nero's treatment of the body of his mother;⁴⁰ the agreement (especially in the paraphrase of *per-* in *pererrans*) in the translation of *visu . . . pererrans*; the "hard-herted" gloss, and the striking "dede beautee"—all these, singly and together, are conclusive. On the other hand, it is no less clear that Chaucer had the Latin text also before him. "Cruel" is the *ferus* of the Latin; *matris . . . cruore* is fully translated, as well as Jean de Meun's gloss; instead of Jean's prosaic *ne . . . pleura* Chaucer adopts the vivid *Ora . . . lacrymis* of the original; and he retains the *Censor* of the line last quoted. But it is obvious that it is Jean de Meun whom he is supplementing by the Latin, not the reverse.

The immediately following lines in the sixth Metre are no less significant.

And nathales, yit governede this Nero by ceptre alle the poeples
Hic tamen sceptro populus regebat

that Phebus the sonne may seen, cominge from his
Quos videt condens radios sub undas

³⁹ Bk. II, met. vi, 1-9; *Romania*, XLII, 347-48. B and C are as follows:

B	C
Bien savons les destructions	Les douleurs vous recorderons
Que fist l'emperere Neyrons;	Que fist l'empereur Noïrons:
Rome mist a feu et a flame	Par son command fu arse Romme
Et aux senateurs tolli l'ame,	Et mort li ancien (saige) preudomme,
Comme felons occist son frere,	Et [si] fist occire son frere,
Et fist tranchier le corps sa mere;	Et par mi fist fendre sa mere;
Le corps mort prist a regarder	Quant occis l'eust a grant douleur;
N'onques pour lui ne vouldst plourer,	Pour luy ne fist ne doeuil ne pleur,
Mais tant dit quant l'ot avisé	Fors tant dist quant eult perdu l'ame
Que belle femme avoit esté.	Qu'elle avoit esté belle femme.

⁴⁰ It is of course entirely possible that this gloss was found in the Latin MSS. used by both Chaucer and Jean de Meun. See Langlois, pp. 346-48. In the light of the other correspondences, however, the overwhelming probability is that Chaucer took it over directly from the French.

that is to seyn, he governed all the poeples by ceptre imperial
Et toutevois gouvernoit il par sceptre emperial touz les peuplez
that the sonne goth aboute, from est to west.⁴¹
que li soleuz venans voit en oriant et en occident et en midi et en sep-
tentrion.

la fuitive bataille des Turcs getent et fichent* leurs javeloz
the fleeing bataile ficcheth*⁴⁸ hir dartes,
ubi versa sequentum Pectoribus figit spicula pugna fugax.

B	C
Si estoit il sires du monde	Et si gouvernoit il le monde
De toutes pars a la reonde.	Tant comme il dure a la reonde.

Just as Jean de Meun has condensed ll. 2-6 of the Latin (see n. 42 below for ll. 4-6) into *que . . . septentrion* above, so B and C have each reduced the same five lines to *one* (*De [Tant] . . . reonde*).

Chaucer translates (13-15) the first line, and adds: "*this is to seyn, he governede all the poeples that ben under the party of the north.*" This seems to be Jean de Meun's *en septentrion*. Similarly Chaucer translates (17-19) the next two lines, and adds: "*that is to seyn, alle the poeples in the south*"—which is apparently Jean's *en midi*.

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retournez es piz de ceulz qui les suivent.
 returned in the brestes of hem that folwen hem.⁴⁴

The evidence here presented is conclusive. It differs from that already adduced by Stewart and Liddell only in being more extensive. But that difference is sufficient to turn the scale from doubt to certainty. And it places beyond all question the fundamental importance of the parallel-text edition long ago proposed by Professor Liddell. To make that fact clear, indeed, has been one of the chief objects of this article. Even apart from his prior claim, Professor Liddell is from every point of view the one to carry out the undertaking. The Chaucer Society, unhappily, is practically dead. Is it too much to hope that, on the advent of happier days, a New Chaucer Society, representing this time not only England but also America, may be formed to carry on the work so splendidly begun by Dr. Furnivall? If so, Professor Liddell's edition of Boethius should be among its earliest volumes. If not in this way, then in some other way American scholarship should stand sponsor for its publication.

Until the full text of Jean de Meun's translation is available, most of the conclusions to be drawn from Chaucer's use of it must remain tentative. That use itself is certain, but it is certain too that Chaucer kept his eye pretty steadily upon the Latin text as well. Just how steadily, it will be a nice question to determine. So far as the evidence before us goes, it suggests a more or less eclectic *modus operandi*. When (apparently) the Latin seemed to be more vivid or expressive than the French, it was the Latin that was followed. Speaking under subsequent correction, I should say that Chaucer's resort to the phraseology of the Latin was in the main for literary rather than linguistic reasons. His translation of the French translation is close, not slavish. And the further study of it, when possible, will open up an uncommonly interesting field. Moreover, the comparison (already suggested by Liddell)⁴⁵ with Chaucer's prose translations from other French originals, notably the *Tale of Meli-*

⁴⁴ Bk. V, met. i, 2-4; *Romania*, XLII, 340, n. 5. B omits the lines altogether; C has simply "souz le mont d'ile duiere."

⁴⁵ *Academy*, September 21, 1895, p. 227.

beus, is one which should offer fruitful results. And an examination of his numerous borrowings from Boethius, in the light not only of the Latin and the English, but also of the French, is of no less importance. For in some cases, at least, in which Chaucer has seemed to be following his own English rather than the Latin, it is entirely possible, in view of the closeness of the English to the French, that it is after all the French version that he had in mind. The bearing of this on the date of Chaucer's *Boethius* is obvious. Passages which have hitherto been regarded as *following* that translation, on account of their supposed agreement with the English as against the Latin, may quite possibly have instead *preceded* it. The problem of the glosses is also intimately involved. I have already pointed out⁴⁶ that the two glosses in Miss Petersen's list which are included in the extracts printed by Langlois are derived from Jean de Meun and not from Nicholas Trivet. Without the full text of the French translation it is impossible to tell how far the same explanation may apply to the rest. It is clear even now why Chaucer translated the metres into *prose*; his consistent use of the French form "Boece" is also explained; and it is possible to see something of the extent to which his prose style and his prose vocabulary were influenced by French. Beyond that, at this point, it is scarcely safe to go.⁴⁷

One further fact, however, stands out clearly. Jean de Meun wrote in his dedication to Philippe le Bel: "envoie ore Boece de Consolation, que j'ai translaté de latin en francois, ja soit ce que tu entendes bien latin, *mais toutevois est (de) moult plus legiers a entendre le françois que le latin.*"⁴⁸ It seems quite certain that Chaucer, no less than Philippe le Bel, found it so. Nor is it in the least remarkable or disconcerting that he should.⁴⁹ And without waiting for the complete evidence, which seems daily more remote, I

⁴⁶ See notes 21 and 24, above.

⁴⁷ If, as Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, II, x, xxi) and Fansler (*Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose*, pp. 12-13) suggest, it was Jean de Meun who, through the *Roman de la Rose*, first inspired Chaucer with the idea of reading Boethius, Jean de Meun's own version was the one to which he would naturally turn.

⁴⁸ *Romania*, XLII, 336.

⁴⁹ See my note in *The Nation*, vol. 103, No. 2686 (December 21, 1916), pp. 2-3 (Supplement).

shall print as soon as possible the facts which I already have, in support of my belief that Chaucer made use of French translations (in a different fashion, but unmistakably) in his renderings of still other Latin writers. Meanwhile, his procedure in the case of Boethius establishes a strong presumption in favor of such a view.

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NOTES ON THE METRE OF THE POEM OF THE CID

(Continued from p. 278)

III, 2

But beneficial for the advance of refinement and letters in Castile as were the cultural influences of France, it must be admitted that they could not but have a disturbing effect upon the natural development of its traditional folksong. The long persistence of Latin in popular or semi-popular verse accounts no doubt for the fact that several types of the popular muse appeared only late, if at all, on the literary record. Not to mention the dramatic forms whose representation is prohibited in the *Siete Partidas*,¹⁶² it may be noted that we have no examples of *cantigas d'escarnio* in Castilian from the thirteenth or preceding centuries, this class of poetry coming to the surface for the first time in the *Cancionero de Baena*.¹⁶³ Yet we have the positive statement of the *Siete Partidas*¹⁶⁴ that such satirical songs circulated freely, even in written form, in those days, and served as dreaded weapons, precisely as the satirical songs of France and the Germanic North.¹⁶⁵ In this

¹⁶² *Pta.*, I, t. 6, l. 34. Cf. Schack, *Geschichte der dramat. Kunst in Spanien*, I, p. 112 ff.

¹⁶³ See, e. g., nos. 140-142, 499-502. In the works of the Gallego-Portuguese School such songs are numerous. Thus *CBB.*, 457-476, 1500-1578; *CVat.*, 904-1025, 62-79. Cf. also *CM.*, 316. To Juan Manuel, *Tratado de las armas* (Rivadeneira, 51, p. 260), we owe the preservation of the refrain of a satirical ballad on James I of Aragon sung by the troops of Alphonse X in 1257. See on this song C. Michaelis in *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 27, pp. 257 and 721.

¹⁶⁴ *Pta.*, VII, t. 9, leyes 3, 10, 21. Cf. the remarks of Rios on this matter, *l. c.*, 3, pp. 66-67, 500-501.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Steenstrup, *The Medieval Popular Ballad* (Boston, 1914), p. 249. The frequent use of written satirical songs censured by the *Siete Partidas* need not surprise us in view of the abundant production of paper in that period, a fact which again renders it highly probable, if not certain, that among other sources of information, the compilers of the *General* had at their disposal written copies of *romances*. For the use of paper see C. M. Briquet, "Recherches sur les premiers papiers," in vol. 46 (1886) of the *Société des Antiquaires de France*, p. 165: "En Afrique, la ville de Cepta était réputée pour son papier dès le milieu du XII^e siècle, en Espagne, à la même époque, il était objet d'une industrie importante à Tolède, à Valence et à Xativa."

case, then, the favorite contention that a poetic species is new at the time when it first appears in literature, is completely refuted by an earlier and unimpeachable testimony. Now, what valid reason has ever been brought forward for the assumption that the age in which the composition of satirical songs was so common among the people of Castile as to call for legislative action, did not also produce the narrative lay? As elsewhere, the satirical ballad arose under the same conditions as the more purely narrative lay, and both were sung in the communal dance, as they still are in Asturias to-day.¹⁶⁶ As we have seen, the *romance*-type is in point of fact announced in the thirteenth century in the miracle-lays attributed to Alphonse X,¹⁶⁷ and there is good reason for regarding it as directly referred to in the *romances et cantares* cited by the *General* as historical sources.¹⁶⁸ It will be difficult, then, to contend that Du Ménil was wrong in saying¹⁶⁹ that it was the long continued interest in Latin poetry that was largely responsible for delaying the transfer of the *romance* from oral circulation to the literary record till the fifteenth century.

The continuance of Latin poetry was not, however, the only cause of interference with the free unfolding of the native folksong. Another factor, no less potent, was the already mentioned rise of a literary art in Castilian, the *mester de clerecia*. This new art, as might be expected, and as terms like *escriptura*, *prosa*, *dezir*, *dictado* tell us,¹⁷⁰ was intended to be read and recited, not to be sung. It addressed itself therefore only to the very restricted circle of those who were able to read, thus separating from these the masses of the nation who remained unlettered and to whom the oral poetry,

¹⁶⁶ Cf. G. Paris, *Histoire poétique*, p. 1:

La poésie est alors une affirmation éclatante et enthousiaste de la nationalité; elle est en même temps le stimulant du courage et de la vertu civique; c'est elle qui mène aux combats . . . et qui devient la plus haute récompense des bien-faisants, la plus sanglante punition des traîtres ou des lâches.

It is not necessary to remind the reader of the *male cançon* of the French epic (as *Chanson de Roland*, ll. 1008, 1066, 1473-4); and the *συγερή ὑδρία* of Homer (*Odyssey*, 24, l. 200; cf. *Iliad*, 6, l. 358).

¹⁶⁷ See above, pp. 252, 257, 275.

¹⁶⁸ See II, pp. 304-315.

¹⁶⁹ *Poésies populaires latines du moyen-âge*, p. 295.

¹⁷⁰ Thus *Milag.*, 131, 161, 866; *Sacrif.*, 1.

formerly interesting all alike, now began to be abandoned.¹⁷¹ And since the native poetic forms were not prepared to serve as the medium of the ecclesiastic and other learned themes which had long been cultivated in French, the Castilian poet left them to the popular muse and sought to reproduce the metrical art of his models. From now on the Castilian nation is divided into a reading and a non-reading class, and its popular poetry coexists with a literary art by which it is more and more overshadowed and influenced. It is this intellectual divorce of lay-society, the capital event of the thirteenth century in Western Spain, that is voiced by the author of the *Libro de Alexandre* in his contrast between the minstrel's and the cleric's art (*copla 2*):¹⁷²

Mester trago fermoso, non es de ioglaría,
Mester es sen pecado, ca es de clerezia ;
Fablar curso rimado per la quaderna vía,
A syllauas cuntadas, ca es grant maestria.

With Berceo the quatrain of single-rhymed Alexandrines came to be recognized as the regular form of narrative and didactic verse in Castilian, and remained in this position to the end of the fourteenth century. It affected not only the two currents of narrative inspiration which quite generally informed the learned vernacular literature of the Middle Ages, that is, the ecclesiastic and the chivalresque, but also the native heroic traditions. It is precisely in the poetic treatment of its national legends that Castile stands in marked contrast to France. In the latter country, as is well known, the literary epic based upon native tradition had a metrical form of its own, distinctive of the entire vast production of poems during more than two centuries. Not so in Castile. Of the three metres clearly distinguishable in the late and unique extant copy of the *Poema del Cid*, the double *verso de redondilla mayor*, the Alexandrine and the epic decasyllable,¹⁷³ only the first mentioned is of native character. But this metre, frequently called the

¹⁷¹ The relation between oral and inscribed literature has recently received careful treatment in the excellent work of Professor R. G. Moulton on *The Modern Study of Literature* (Chicago, 1915), p. 20 ff.

¹⁷² Cf. II, p. 303.

¹⁷³ See I, pp. 25-26.

romance-verse, is not found employed as the regular metre of any class of Spanish poetry,¹⁷⁴ and indeed is but seldom met with outside the *Poema del Cid*.¹⁷⁵ This scant use of the double octosyllable is all the more significant as the Alexandrine never became nationalized in Spain and bears clear traces of unskilful imitation even in practitioners of the *cuaderna vía* who, like Juan Ruiz¹⁷⁶ and Pero Lopez de Ayala, were the heirs of more than a century of practice in its use. When the Alexandrine was abandoned, it was the *verso de arte mayor*, not the double octosyllable, that took its place, a fact which is certainly far from supporting the theory that at that very time the latter long line became the basic form of the *romance*. As we saw,¹⁷⁷ the *verso de arte mayor* dominated narrative and didactic verse from the first half of the fifteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth, and was thereafter more and more superseded by the Italian hendecasyllable. What has been said leads to the conclusion that, at the beginning of vernacular literature the long line of the most national verse of Spain had not firmly established itself in the metrical practice of the nation. Yet it would hardly have failed to do so if Castile had had the vigor of epic and artistic life implied in the fancied production of some twenty extensive poems during the period from 950 to 1200.¹⁷⁸ There are still other aspects of the question which serve to confirm this view. One of these may be briefly considered in this place. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have left us a number of compositions in which national legends are treated in native measures other than the double octosyllable. To say nothing of the repeatedly cited one hundred and eighty miracle-lays ascribed to Alphonse X, which are composed in stanzas of eight octosyllables divided into quatrains,¹⁷⁹ and which no one conversant with the subject fails to

¹⁷⁴ Evidence is presented, II, pp. 324-337.

¹⁷⁵ Even in the *Poema del Cid*, as was seen, I, p. 27, the full tetrameter line is preserved to so limited an extent—only about 300 verses out of a total of 3700—that some critics even fail to recognize the octosyllable as its basic principle.

¹⁷⁶ Though Juan Ruiz promises in his prologue to give a lesson in all the rhythmic forms and combinations required by the poetic art of his day, he employs the full tetrameter line only sporadically. Cf. II, p. 325, note 163.

¹⁷⁷ II, pp. 327-337.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. II, p. 326 ff.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. II, pp. 323, 333 ff.

recognize as examples of narrative poetry, we have in no. 63 of the same collection (i. e., the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*) a miracle-lay on a knight of Count Garci Fernandez. This composition, consisting of eighteen stanzas of four lines each and a refrain of two lines, with the rhyme-order aaabBB, has a twelve-syllable metre which is in all probability closely related to the *verso de arte mayor*.¹⁸⁰ Each stanza has a new set of rhymes. By no stretch of the term can this poem be dismissed as a lyric.¹⁸¹ Another example is preserved in the Vatican collection of Gallego-Portuguese verse (no. 466). It is by the gifted Galician *clerigo* Ayres Nunes, the collaborator of Alphonse X in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*,¹⁸² and deals, as Madame Vasconcellos has shown,¹⁸³ with the sons of Fernando de la Cerda, the oldest son of Alphonse X.¹⁸⁴ This song has three stanzas of the same rhyme-order as the preceding instance, and is written in lines divided into hemistichs, of which the first is mostly a heptasyllable, the second a hexasyllable. Considering that a number of other compositions of the same strophic and verse structure, preserved in the Gallego-Portuguese collections of the thirteenth century, are also narrative in character, we cannot go very far astray in supposing that we have here a form of narrative lay or *romance* current in that period.¹⁸⁵ Finally, a third example is the well-known *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, a rhymed chronicle by Ruy Yañez called forth by the battle of the *Salado* (1340). Though the language of the incomplete text in which we have the work, is

¹⁸⁰ See II, p. 323, and notes 142, 143. Other instances of the same metre are nos. 27, 74, 82, 86, 123, 131, etc.

¹⁸¹ Let it be repeated here that all but 60 of the 418 compositions collected under the title *Cantigas de Santa Maria* are unmistakably narrative in character.

¹⁸² His name is written in the same hand between the two columns containing no. 223 of the *Cantigas* in MS. j-b-2 of the Escorial.

¹⁸³ *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 26, pp. 219-229.

¹⁸⁴ Menéndez y Pelayo (*Antol.*, 3, pp. xlii-xliii) pronounced this piece "un vestigio milagrosamente salvo de legitima poesía épica," a fragment of the supposed *cantar de gesta* on Ferdinand I of Castile (1037-1065). Cf. also *l. c.*, 10, p. 237. Later, however (*Antol.*, 12, 549), this idea was abandoned. The events alluded to in the piece are related in the Chronicle of Sancho IV, for the year 1286, cap. III, pp. 74-75.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. *CVat.*, 468, 734; *CCB.*, 140, 368b, 463. A more correct idea of the original form of the verse in the poem under discussion might be obtained from the version preserved in the Colocci-Brancuti manuscript now owned and rendered inaccessible by E. Monaci.

mixed with Galician and Leonese forms, it was doubtless intended to be Castilian.¹⁸⁶ Its form, the quatrain of octosyllables with the rhyme-order *abab*, is identical with that of the fragmentary Portuguese poem by Affonso Giraldes on the same battle, and of the Castilian *Proverbios Morales* of Santob. Here, then, we have a variety of metrical forms dealing with national legends, none of which answers in any way to the type of versification, whether of regular or irregular structure, postulated by some critics as the norm of heroic song in Castile. The specimens we have cited are not, it is true, popular compositions in the redaction in which we possess them. But the same comment applies to the *romances* of the collections of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which are nevertheless treated as popular by the very critics who would derive them from aristocratic epics. These *romances* are copies or redactions of versions gathered from the floating oral balladry of their day, and thus made permanent.¹⁸⁷ They are none the less literary in character for being partly anonymous. But more than this. The *romances* of that period, whether preserved in the collections or in the memory of the Hispanic world, exhibit a like mobility of form. This is a matter that will receive more careful consideration later; in this place, a few general remarks must suffice. The regular metre of our ballads is the octosyllable; occasionally, however, the *verso de redondilla menor* is found.¹⁸⁸ The refrain also occurs, though recorded far less frequently than in the kindred balladry of other

¹⁸⁶ Cf. I, pp. 326, 332. Baist, who regards this poem as a rhymed version of a chronicle-account (*Grundriss*, II², pp. 418, 422), holds it as originally written in Galician. Far more in harmony with the literary conditions of the time, however, is the opinion of Madame Vasconcellos (*Grundriss*, I. c., pp. 203-205, and *Estudos sobre o Romanceiro*, Madrid, 1907-1909, pp. 330-331) that it was Castilian. No one who reflects that the vernacular of the Christian conquerors and colonists was carried from North to South will be surprised at the presence in the earlier Castilian texts of linguistic forms belonging to the Northwest.

¹⁸⁷ See II, pp. 320-321. Bertoni (*Il Cantare del Cid*, pp. 182-183, and note 1), who sees in the ballads of the collections versified chronicle-texts rather than artistic redactions of versions obtained from oral poetry, declares himself positively opposed to Milá's theory that "grazie ai *romances* emanati dai cantari, siasi trasformata in popolare la poesia eroica."

¹⁸⁸ Wolf, *Studien*, p. 457, note 2; C. Michaelis, *Grundriss*, I. c., pp. 155, note 2; 166, note 10. Cf. II, pp. 323-333.

nations.¹⁸⁹ We may repeat, therefore,¹⁹⁰ that it is only in the predominance of assonance over rhyme, and in the absence of regular variation of the rhyme from stanza to stanza, that our ballads differ essentially from the literary redactions of the type illustrated in the miracle-lays of Alphonse X. Finally, a similar fluidity of form characterizes the *romance* surviving in the oral tradition of to-day.¹⁹¹ The logical inference from the facts here briefly recited would seem to be that at the rise of Castilian literature the traditional poetry of the people had not yet developed a tendency towards higher art sufficiently strong to establish as a controlling principle a stable, unified form adapted to large, synthetic conceptions, and that it was checked in its further organic growth in that direction by the action of foreign and scholastic ideals.

That this traditional poetry had none the less attained to considerable vigor appears both from its later history and from the incisive impression it has left upon the metrical structure and the style of the *Poem of the Cid*. Its freshness and vitality in the succeeding centuries, its persistence to the present day as the only national form of epic song, are the natural result of the political and religious struggle against the Crescent, the intensity and long duration of which could not but deepen the affection of the people for its poetical tradition. In the age of Columbus, as everyone knows, the ballads were in the possession of the whole Hispanic race, in

¹⁸⁹ Wolf, *l. c.*, pp. 456-457, and note 1; Rengifo, *Arte poetica*, p. 40; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, pp. 100-102. Cf. II, p. 332. According to Gummere (*Popular Ballad*, p. 74, note 2), of the 305 ballads in Child's collection, 106 show in some versions evidence of chorus or refrain. Of some 1250 versions in all, about 300 have a refrain. Steenstrup, *l. c.*, p. 96, states that of the 540 Scandinavian ballads examined by Grundtvig and himself, only about 20 are found without a refrain.

¹⁹⁰ See II, p. 332.

¹⁹¹ Cf. C. Michaelis, *l. c.*, p. 155, and note 5, where the important fact is noted that the refrain, while hardly ever found in the printed ballad, is occasionally heard between every two lines. That this feature is no modern innovation is shown by its occurrence in the older tradition, as in the lay woven by Lope de Vega into his play "El Villano en su rincón" (act III, sc. 2; see the fragment printed in *Antol.*, II, p. 101):

Deja las avellanicas, moro,
Que yo me las varearé,
Tres y cuatro en un pimpollo,
Que yo me los varearé, etc.

Spain, in Portugal, in the colonies of the New World and the Old. This state of things is well described by Menéndez Pidal:¹⁹²

y cada conquistador y cada mercader que se hacía al mar llevaba entre los más tenaces recuerdos de su infancia un girón del romancero que allá en la expatriación evocaba en cualquier trance de la vida nueva, renovando soledades de la tierra natal.

It is strikingly illustrated by the history of that epoch. Thus Bernal Diaz del Castille, a soldier of Cortés, and later his trustworthy historian, relates the following incident:¹⁹³ As the Spanish fleet was sailing along the coast of Mexico, and some of the soldiers pointed out places known to them from a previous expedition, Alonso Hernandez de Puertocarrero, one of the valiant cavaliers of Cortés, recited the beginning of the ballad:

Cata Francia, Montesinos,
Cata Paris, la ciudad,
Cata las aguas de Duero
Do van a dar en la mar.¹⁹⁴

whereupon Cortés replied with verses from another Carlovingian ballad:

Denos Dios ventura en armas
Como al paladin Roldan.¹⁹⁵

To appreciate the value of this story for the question in hand, it must be borne in mind that Bernald Díaz left Spain in 1514 and wrote his work in Guatemala from personal knowledge.¹⁹⁶ Another occurrence of similar character is related by Antonio de Herrera,¹⁹⁷ with reference to the conquest of Peru. When Diego de Almagro, first companion, then rival of the Pizarros, was to be attacked by Gonzalo Pizarro after his interview with him at Mala,

¹⁹² *Romancero español*, p. 92.

¹⁹³ *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva España* (written 1568, first published Madrid 1632), cap. xxxvi, p. 24b. The same story is cited, together with some others, by Menéndez Pidal, *l. c.*, pp. 93-96.

¹⁹⁴ *Canc. s. a.*, 193; *Primavera*, II, 176.

¹⁹⁵ *Canc. s. a.*, 103, ll. 11-12; *Primavera*, II, no. 171: Dete Dios, etc.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, 2, p. 459 f.

¹⁹⁷ *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas, etc.* (Madrid, 1733), dec. 6, l. 6, c. 9; cf. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, 2, p. 98.

Nov. 13, 1537, an honorable cavalier of the opposite party warned him of his danger by citing the lines:

Tiempo es el caballero,
Tiempo es de andar de aquí.¹⁹⁸

The question naturally arises how this ballad lore had come to be so deeply rooted in the hearts of the whole race, how it came to be to such a degree an integral part of its mental life that it could be applied with such readiness to its daily experiences, and has persisted in the oral tradition of the colonies to the present day as it has in the Peninsula. This is a question which has not, so far as we are aware, received sufficient attention from those who ascribe the origin of the *romance*-type to a literary process, such as the versifying of chronicles or derivation from degenerate epics, with the end of this process placed in the first part of the fifteenth century.¹⁹⁹ Critics of this persuasion take it for granted that a poetic type so conceived could within barely a hundred years pass into the choral dance and the memory of a whole race in widely separated and differing parts of the world.²⁰⁰ But this assumption is untenable from every point of view. As we have seen,²⁰¹ the testimony of Encina, Nebrija, Santillana and others, the literary use of the *romance* in the *Cancionero de Stúñiga*, and the appearance of the border ballad in 1368 show the type to have been in use at least as early as the middle of the fourteenth century. Additional, and

¹⁹⁸ See *Primavera*, II, no. 158. It is quite probable, of course, that the ballad from which these verses were quoted was different and older than the one of Gayferos now extant. Compare also the story told by Gomara, *Historia de las Indias*, c. 180 (Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, 2, p. 314), of Carbajal, a follower of Gonzalo Pizarro, who received the news of the desertion of their comrades by humming the *estribillo*:

Estos mis cabellicos, madre,
Dos a dos me los lleva el aire.

¹⁹⁹ See the literature cited III, 1, note 101; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 2, p. xxx; Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero español*, pp. 9-10; *Épopée*, pp. 137-167.

²⁰⁰ See, e. g., Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero*, p. 71 ff., 92 ff.; *Épopée*, p. 183 ff.

²⁰¹ II, p. 304 ff.; 329 ff.; 343 ff. The significance of the *romances* of Carbajal in the *Cancionero de Stúñiga* for the age of the species is pointed out by Rajna, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, 6, pp. 7-8.

no less positive proof is involved in the admitted fact²⁰² that the *romances* surviving in Madeira (colonized since 1420), on the Azores (since 1450), on the Canary Islands (since 1404), among the Jews of Tangier and the Levante, and in America, frequently present a more archaic tradition than those of the Peninsula. It is doubtless in view of data like these that Menéndez Pidal, believing as he does in the priority of the so-called historical ballad to the *romance fronterizo*,²⁰³ represents a more primitive version of the extant *romance* "Castellanos y leoneses" as having arisen out of a popular epic on Fernan Gonzalez sometime before 1344.²⁰⁴ Without inquiring at present into the nature and the successive steps of the process by which this first *romance* is supposed to have evolved out of a long continuous poem between the completion of the *General* in 1289 and the Chronicle of 1344, that is within a period of at most fifty-five years, let us repeat our question whether a poetic type formed at that time and in that manner could within the space of two hundred years have obtained the firm hold upon the social and mental life of the race which it manifestly had in the days of Columbus. The answer must be emphatically in the negative. We are not dealing, let it be remembered, with the acquisition of a ready command of certain songs, or a series of songs, by certain circles or classes of the race, within a given limited time; we are not dealing with a more or less temporary, literary or popular fashion. We are dealing with a rich and varied body of verse, moulded in a truly characteristic form, in which the glorious deeds and the passions of the Hispanic race have been borne down the tide of popular song to the living generations. Though no longer serving, to the same extent as it did in the period of the Conquerors, as the medium of poetic expression of the people as a whole—by which term we

²⁰² See II, p. 346, note 301; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 10, p. 229:

Ya he indicado la sospecha de que en Canarias puedan existir viejos romances llevados allá en el siglo XV por los conquistadores castellanos y andaluces. Si se encontrasen, sería buen hallazgo, porque en casos análogos se observa que las versiones insulares son más arcaicas y puras que las del Continente, como sucede en Mallorca con relación á Cataluña, en Madera y las Azores con relación a Portugal.

²⁰³ *Romancero español*, p. 32 ff.; *Épopée*, p. 169 ff.

²⁰⁴ *Homenaje*, pp. 445-461.

mean the people as defined above,²⁰⁵ with essential uniformity of mental development, not what is understood by the "populace" of our modern cities—it still lives to-day, as Menéndez Pidal himself tells us²⁰⁶ "entre la gente iletrada: las danzas corales de los labradores;²⁰⁷ las reuniones de las mujeres del pueblo para hilar, cardar lana, ú otras trabajos colectivos; los juegos infantiles; las bodas de los judíos españoles; hé aqui las ocasiones principales de recitación de romances en común." It is significant for the age of the ballad in the Peninsula that its close union with the choral dance, in which it doubtless originated, is preserved in Asturias, Galicia and Northern Portugal, that is, precisely in those Northwestern regions which, in addition to poetic ties, are also linked together by that of continuity of linguistic development.²⁰⁸

Now, no one at all familiar with the history of institutions and customs will fail to see that a poetic type of the character described can no more be created and fixed in the collective memory and practice of a race within one or two hundred years than a whole nation can be made to speak a newly created language during the same space of time. To become thus established, its growth must be

²⁰⁵ III, 1, pp. 244, 250 f. It is not without interest in this connection to note that neither the conqueror of Peru, Francisco Pizarro, nor his rival, Diego de Almagro, was able to read or write. See A. de Zarate, *Descubrimiento y Conquista de la provincia del Peru*, I. 4, c. 9, and for other reliable authorities, Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, 2, pp. 168-169.

²⁰⁶ *Romancero español*, p. 104; cf. I. c., p. 74.

²⁰⁷ The fact that in the Middle Ages, as to-day, the *romance* was sung to the step of the choral dance, is attested, among others, by Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés who, speaking in his *General y Natural Historia de las Indias* (composed 1533, printed at Salamanca in 1547), Pte., I*, I. V, c. 1, of the *areytos* or choral dances and heroic songs of the Mexicans, writes as follows:

Y no parezca al Lector, que esto que es dicho, es mucha salbagez, porque en España se usa lo mesmo, y en Italia; y en las mas partes de los cristianos pienso yo que se debe hacer así. ¿Que otra cosa son los romances y canciones que se fundan sobre verdades, sino parte de las historias pasadas? A lo menos entre los que no leen, por los cantares saben que:

Estaba el Rey D. Alonso
En la ciudad de Sevilla,
Y le vino al corazon
De ir a cercar a Algecira.

Asi lo dice el romance, y en la verdad asi fue ello, que desde Sevilla partiò el Rey D. Alonso XI a cercar a Algecira quando la ganò a 28 de Marzo de 1344 años. Asi que hay 189 años que tura este cantar, o Areyto.

²⁰⁸ See I, pp. 18-23; II, p. 302, and above, III, 1, note 122.

bound up with that of the nation itself from its incipience, with its language and other social institutions. We are, therefore, once more brought to the conclusion²⁰⁹ that it was the *romance*, or at any rate a poetic type closely akin to it, that was the form in which the people of the Northwestern part of the Peninsula from the very beginning of the Reconquest found an outlet to their creative power and the cravings of collective pride.²¹⁰

Now, in contending, as we do, for the existence of a traditional balladry in Castile antecedent to literary activity in the vernacular, we do not wish to be understood as seeing in the *Poema del Cid* the result of a stitching together of a series of rhapsodies with more or less modification. While the construction of heroic poems approaching the scale of the epic out of a number of separate lays, or by the elaboration of one, is by no means unknown to modern epic criticism,²¹¹ there is no good reason to think that the *Poema* came into being through such processes as these. Neither the *Poema* itself which, as will be seen later, is characterized among other things by a unity of plot testifying to no mean degree of individual control, nor the extant *Cid*-ballads, whose matter and spirit differ largely from those of the *Poema*, permit such an assumption. What may be taken for granted, however, is that the native folk-song, the growth of which had doubtless been much stimulated by the increasing strength of the historical sense of the nation,²¹² had slowly prepared for the author of the *Poema*, beside much legendary material, the indispensable elements of form,—the language, the style, the metrical technique. That the language of our epic owes its comparative maturity and flexibility to a preceding folk-song, echoing the primitive society in which it sprang up, appears not only from its noticeable freedom from the Latinisms which mark the subsequent narrative works in the vulgar tongue, but

²⁰⁹ See II, pp. 322, 337, 342 f.

²¹⁰ Had the national legends from their very start been sung in extensive epics, and had these epics continued to be composed and recited into the very fifteenth century in the manner described by some critics, certainly some of them ought to be traceable as such in Peninsular or colonial tradition.

²¹¹ See, e. g., Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 102, on the poetry of the Slavs; Gummere, *Popular Ballad*, p. 270 ff.; Hart, *Ballad and Epic*, p. 88 ff., 311. For the *Poem of the Cid* this process has been assumed by Restori, *Propugnatore*, XX, 2, p. 133.

²¹² See II, p. 341.

from that simplicity of style, that tendency to repetition, and that prominence of standing epic formulae which, as is well known,²¹³ are typical traits of the ballad. As we saw before,²¹⁴ the octosyllable represents 28 per cent. of the total of 7460 hemistichs of the *Poema*, and is especially numerous in the second part of the line, where assonance tended to protect it from change. Combined with the fact that the octosyllable is identified with a large number of irreducible epic formulae, the assonance clearly shows that this verse, instead of being of later introduction, as some contend, was the basic metrical principle of the *Poema*. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that the emendation of the assonance or the sense, or of both, in many lines, as carried out by Menéndez Pidal himself, has in the majority of cases resulted in the restoration of the octosyllable,²¹⁵ that further work in this direction bids fair to reduce still more the deviations from this type,²¹⁶ and finally, that the same metre has imposed itself to the extent of not less than 25 per cent. upon Berceo and the other disciples of the Alexandrine verse of the thirteenth century.²¹⁷ Indeed, so unmistakable is the influence of the octosyllable upon the metrical practice of the period from Alphonse VII to Peter I, that even Menéndez Pidal,²¹⁸ though he formally declares in one place of his edition of the *Poema*²¹⁹ that he does not believe in the octosyllabic metre, finds himself elsewhere moved to a reflection in which the existence of a regular heroic metre and of a ballad-type before the composition of the *Poema* are practically admitted:

Falta, pues, explicar por qué en el Rodrigo y el Cantar de los Infantes de Lara el octosilabismo es ya predominante y viene á ser regular en los romances. *Quizá siempre fué la base de la poesía popular, y sólo en una época dada, que es la del Mio Cid, por influencia de los dos metros épicos franceses, de 5 + 7 y 7 + 7, vino*

²¹³ Cf. above, III, 1, p. 269, and note 118.

²¹⁴ I, p. 26 ff.

²¹⁵ Cf. I, pp. 27-29.

²¹⁶ II, p. 297, and Hanssen, *Bulletin de Dialectol. romane*, 4 (1912), p. 136.

²¹⁷ I, pp. 24-25; II, p. 303.

²¹⁸ *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, p. 307.

²¹⁹ *L. c.*, pp. 102-103. Cf. I, p. 5. Rajna, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, 6, p. 39, appears inclined to agree with this view of the octosyllable, but nevertheless declares (p. 31): "Nel caso del Cid un modulo fisso da potersi dire fondamentale, nè appare, nè traspare."

á imponerse la base heptasilábica, abandonada luego que aflojó esa influencia francesa.²²⁰

It is obvious, therefore, that the somewhat boastful reference of the author of the *Libro de Alexandre* to his mastery of the new art, "a syllabas cuntadas," does not signify, as is still assumed by some, that the metrical irregularity of the copy of Per Abbat represents essentially the original versification of the *Poema*. Who tells us that he had our *Poema*, or anything like it, in his mind at all? When, in the course of his work, he refers to the celebration of mighty deeds in song, he uses the terms *canciones* and *cantigas*, whereby he assuredly did not mean anything more than brief lays.²²¹ Thus *copla* 1806:

Metidas en canciones las sus cauallerías,
Onde seran cantadas fasta que venga Helias.

and *copla* 2127:

Seran las nuestras novas en cantigas metidas.

His situation was that of the Marques de Santillana two hundred years later.²²² Accustomed to hear, and to use in singing, if not in composing, an inherited metre which, as we saw, forced itself into his Alexander-epic to the extent of twenty-five per cent., his efforts to master a new verse of different rhythm impressed him for the first time with the importance of counting syllables, of which he had not been conscious before.

In view of the conditions just described, namely: on the one hand, the vigor of the traditional folksong of Castile, and, on the other hand, the failure of this folksong to mature and to establish firmly in the metrical practice of the nation, a unified, stable form suited to a higher narrative art, the presence of the *Poema del Cid* cannot but appear somewhat singular. One cannot but ask why a popular poetry so flourishing did not ripen more than one great epic

²²⁰ Cf. I, p. 24; II, p. 303.

²²¹ The miracle-lays of the school of Alphonse X are likewise termed *cantigas*.

²²² Cf. II, pp. 315-319.

poem,²²³ or how, on the other hand, the one we do have could have come into being. Without in the least pretending to offer anything like a complete or final answer to these questions, questions which are only a few of the many raised by every early epic, we shall endeavor here to contribute to their solution by the indication of a few more or less important points, reserving the discussion of others for a later occasion.

The hero of our *Poema* is celebrated in three well-known Latin works,²²⁴ the hymn on the Cid, obviously intended to be sung before contemporary audiences,²²⁵ the *Gesta Roderici Campidocci*, and the *Poema de Almería*, of which at least the first two, if not the third, are earlier than the *Poema*. Now, it is unquestionably noteworthy that men like Fernan Gonzalez and Ferdinand I, whose achievements in the cause of their country's independence and faith were far greater than those of the Cid, should not have received anything like such commemoration; and it is no less noteworthy that in addition to this a long vernacular poem in praise of the same personage should have become possible within so short a time after the appearance of the first examples of the French epopee, which was so long in maturing.²²⁶ Manifestly, the origin of the *Poema*, as well as of the Latin writings dealing particularly with the Cid, must be due to a combination, in the closing hours of the brief heroic age of Castile, of especially favorable conditions—the stirring sense of nationality and power which had reached its height about that time, the unusual position held in the memory of the people by one of its last heroic figures, and, what is equally important, the formation of a literary atmosphere which clearly distinguishes the reign of Alphonse VII from that of his predecessors. This cultural atmosphere, without which no hero, however great, can become the central fact of a poem serving as a nation's expression of its ideals

²²³ As was pointed out before (II, p. 340, note 254), the *Rodrigo* cannot be taken as an example of an epic. Cf. Dozy, *Recherches*, 2, p. 90 ff., Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 11, pp. 337–338. Like the Greek *Cypria* (see Proclus, *Chrestom. gramm.*, and Müller, "Griechische Litteratur," in *Handbuch der Klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, VII, 1, p. 96), it is an amalgam of various legends, a versified chronicle without unity of origin or of treatment.

²²⁴ See III, 1, p. 273.

²²⁵ See stanza 5.

²²⁶ III, 1, pp. 266–270.

of life and art,²²⁷ was due to the general and generous contribution which France had been making to the whole religious and social life of Spain for a century.²²⁸ It is in this all-pervading and creative influence, and not merely in certain isolated details, that the indebtedness of the *Poema del Cid* to France is to be seen. There are, however, facts of a more special order connected with the history of our masterpiece which deserve more careful consideration than has so far been bestowed upon them. As has already been said,²²⁹ the first positive evidence we have of the introduction of the French epic into Spain is the prose-redaction of the poem on Roland contained in the so-called Chronicle of Turpin. A version or versions of the *Chanson de Roland* itself must soon have become known through recitation and written texts. When we bear in mind that we owe the earliest vernacular document of the Peninsula, the Navarrese glosses, to the adoption of the Penitential of Cluny by the monasteries of Navarre, that from them the rule of Cluny was extended to those of Castile even before the accession of Ferdinand I, and that the Chronicle of Turpin itself was in all probability due to the influence of Cluny in Santiago,²³⁰ it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was in Santiago, Silos, Arlanza and Cardeña, the foremost seats of learning in Western Spain, that copies of French texts were first obtained and reproduced, and that it was consequently in one of these places that the author of the *Poema* made himself familiar with the *Chanson de Roland*. For, that the knowledge of the French epic as reflected in the *Poema* was based upon something more than mere recital, is rendered very likely at least, among other things, by the fact that part of the account of the Cid's achievements must have depended upon written

²²⁷ Menéndez Pidal (*Épopée*, p. 119) says advisedly: "Par ce Poème la Castille a exprimé pour la première fois son idéal de vie et d'art, alors qu'aucun des autres peuples de la Péninsule n'avait encore une littérature, ni même la claire conscience de sa propre valeur." But is not this admitting that Castile had no earlier epics worthy of the name? As for the priority of Castilian literature in the Peninsula, it depends somewhat on the date of its first monument. It must be conceded if the assignment of the *Poema* to the first half of the twelfth century proves to be correct. If, however, the *Poema* belongs to the latter part of that century, the court-lyric of Portugal shares the honors with it.

²²⁸ III, I, p. 272 ff.

²²⁹ III, I, p. 274.

²³⁰ See preceding note.

sources.²⁸¹ This being so—and we have here one of the keys that have not yet been tried in this difficult lock—the home of the *Poema* must be sought in a place where the atmosphere and the means for the writing of such a work existed. Amador de los Ríos²⁸² was probably the first to call attention to the remarkably minute knowledge which the author displays of the region between San Esteban de Gormaz and Medinaceli, and to conjecture that he may have been a native of the former place, to which he pays especial tribute. Menéndez Pidal, on the other hand, while led by his careful study of the region and of the Cid's itineraries to the practically identical conclusion that “el juglar reparte su cariño y sus recuerdos entre Medinaceli and San Esteban de Gormaz. . . . La tradición local de San Esteban le dió el episodio fundamental del Cantar” is of opinion that the poet was more likely a native of the district of Medinaceli, and that in any case the epic was written (“se escribió”) in what is now the province of Soria, the extreme South-east of Old Castile.²⁸³ Now, whichever of these two places, if either, may have been the birthplace of the author, there can scarcely be any doubt that he was intimately acquainted with the region lying between them. But from this it does not necessarily follow, as Menéndez Pidal seems to think, that it was there that the *Poema* was originally produced and written. Nor is such an inference favored by the language and other features of the work.²⁸⁴ In so far, then, as our present information on this matter goes, it is at least quite as

²⁸¹ Among recent critics at least, Bertoni is the only one that we know to have noted this important fact, *Il Cantare*, p. 18:

La leggenda, nel Cantare, si mischia con la storia, e gli avvenimenti, reali o fantastici, si svolgono con tanto ordine e precisione, da far credere che l'autore abbia attinto a qualche scrittura, a qualche vita del Cid, composta da un chierico in latino, come si usava, o nel monastero benedettino di Cardefia, dove il Beer pensò fosse stato scritto addirittura il poema, o fors'anche altrove.

Cf. also what Bertoni says, pp. 21 and 167, of the proper name *Adria* of the *Poema* (l. 1971), which the “edición crítica” of Menéndez Pidal has replaced by *Alexandria*.

²⁸² *Historia crítica*, 3, pp. 157 and 214.

²⁸³ *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, pp. 70-73; *Épopée*, I, 110-112, 120. It is only fair to say in this connection that Damas Hinard was the first to point to the eastern frontier of Old Castile as the original home of the poet (*Poème du Cid*, 1858, p. lxx ff.) and that an English critic had advanced the same view (*Quarterly Review*, 12, p. 64).

²⁸⁴ Cf. *Cantar*, I, c., pp. 73-76.

reasonable to locate the composition of the *Poema* to the West of San Esteban. Another problem, however, is far more important. As was briefly noted above,²³⁵ and as Menéndez Pidal himself rightly contends,²³⁶ the *Poema* must have been written down at the time of its composition. This being so, the question naturally arises where such writing could have been done. To appreciate its importance, the reader must recall²³⁷ that writing in the vernacular was still a new experience in the twelfth century, and that there are good reasons against thinking that it had been applied to the preservation of poetry in the mother-tongue before the composition of the *Poema*. We must also bear in mind that there was at that time absolutely no reading public outside the priestly and other very restricted scholastic circles, amid which Latin was still the absorbing interest.²³⁸ There is not, to our knowledge—and Menéndez Pidal does not himself cite one—any record of the production of a manuscript, whether Latin or vernacular, outside of monasteries, royal chancelleries, and schools.²³⁹ And as for schools, or *Estudios*, as they were called, they were themselves still clerical in the twelfth century, as we know from the *Siete Partidas* and other documents of the following period.²⁴⁰ They were consequently still identified with the monasteries during the time under review. Similar conditions are, of course, found to prevail in Portugal. As Da Gama Barros informs us, a large number of documents extending into the twelfth century testify to the fact that even in contracts concluded between laymen the notary employed was as a rule a cleric. No less significant for the almost exclusive possession of the art of writing by the clergy is the following clause in a donation made by Count Affonso Henriques in 1128 to the Cathedral of Braga: "Insuper etiam dono . . . in curia mea totum illud, quod

²³⁵ Cf. above, and note 231.

²³⁶ See note 233, and *Cantar*, I. c., pp. 28-33.

²³⁷ Cf. III, 1, p. 267 ff.

²³⁸ See preceding note.

²³⁹ See, e. g., Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, p. 385 ff.

²⁴⁰ See especially *Pta.*, II, 31, 1; I, 6, 7; Rodrigo de Toledo, *De rebus Hisp.*, I. vii, c. 34; Rafael de Floranes, "Origen de los Estudios de Castilla, etc.," in *Colección de Documentos inéditos de la historia de España*, xx, p. 51 ff.

ad clericale officium pertinet, scil. capellaniam et scribaniam."²⁴¹ If, in addition to this, we consider that, as is well known,²⁴² the royal chancelleries did not begin to write in Castilian before the accession of Ferdinand III (1230-1252), we must come to the conclusion that in so far as our evidence goes, the writing of vernacular texts was not practiced outside of monasteries having their own *scriptoria*.²⁴³ If there are cogent reasons for regarding Spain as being in advance of the rest of Europe in this important matter, and for seeing in our *Poema* an example of presumable exceptions to the general rule, such reasons might long ago have been fully stated. They are all the more requisite in a case like the one before us, where the production of a manuscript in the vernacular is assumed to have taken place in a district of Castile conspicuously unfavorable to the accomplishment of any literary task, to say nothing of one so new. For this region, as Menéndez Pidal himself admits,²⁴⁴ had been laid waste in consequence of the wars waged for its possession by Alphonse I of Aragon and Alphonse VII of Castile.²⁴⁵ Where, and how, could even a practiced scribe, let alone a minstrel represented as too clumsyfingered to compose in a regular metre, find here the means of writing a poem covering seventy-four quarto leaves in the copy we now have? We know that even professional scribes required weeks or months to reproduce manuscripts; that, to cite only one instance, at Venice in 1389 it took thirty days to

²⁴¹ *Historia da Administração pública em Portugal*, I, p. 212; Amaral, *Memorias da Academia*, VI, pt. 2, p. 35. Cf. also J. P. Ribeiro, *Memorias autenticas para a historia do Real Archivo*, Lisboa, 1819, p. 85, and Braga, *Historia da Universidade*, p. 196.

²⁴² Cf. III, I, p. 276 f.

²⁴³ According to Wattenbach, *l. c.*, p. 404, from the tenth to the twelfth century few laymen practiced writing outside of Italy. How much value was attached to the possession of parchment even in the thirteenth century, when the use of paper had become quite general, may be gleaned from the following law of the *Siete Partidas* (III, 28, 36): *Escruiendo algund ome en pargamino ageno algund libro de versos, o de otra cosa qualquier, este libro atal deue ser de aquel cuyo era el pargamino en que lo escriuiere.*

²⁴⁴ *Cantar*, I, c., pp. 74-75.

²⁴⁵ See *Chronica Alphonsi Imperatoris*, p. 325 ff. Rodrigo de Toledo, *l. c.*, VI, c. 22; Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, I, I, c. 47. There was, however, a monastery at San Esteban de Gormaz, the ancient church of which is now the principal parish-church of the town. See Férotin, *Recueil*, p. 102, note 2, and p. 108 (docum. of 1187): *ecclesiam sancti Martini quae est apud Sanctum Stephanum*. Cf. below, note 251.

copy the eighty leaves of the third decade of Livy.²⁴⁶ We know that the costliness of writing material led to the continued use of palimpsests and the adoption of systems of abbreviations.²⁴⁷ In the absence of any proof to the contrary, then, it may be regarded as beyond a reasonable doubt that the original manuscript of the first great literary monument of Castile was produced in a monastery prepared for such purposes. Now, there is no record whatever of the existence of such a monastery in the remote Southeast corner of Old Castile where some would fain locate the first written composition of the *Poema*. Nor is it at all likely that this task was performed outside of Castile, in the clerical schools of Zaragoza or Lérida, or in the territory of Barcelona. We must therefore look toward the West of San Esteban de Gormaz. There indeed we find, within a short distance of one another, the monasteries in which practically all the other early documents of Castilian literature are known to have been written: at Oña the Debate of the Soul and the Body, at San Millan de Cogulla the works of Gonzalo de Berceo, at Silos the *Miraculos romanzados* of Pedro Marin, at Arlanza the pious school-epic on Fernan Gonzalez, and finally at Cardeña the prose-story of local traditions concerning the Cid used in the fourth part of the *General*.²⁴⁸ While we do not know where the *Libro de Alexandre* was committed to writing, there is no doubt that its author was a regular priest, and that consequently it also must have originated in an ecclesiastic institution.²⁴⁹ It is not the place here, nor is it necessary, to enter into a discussion of all the pros and cons of the question which one of the monasteries mentioned, or whether any other, has the strongest claim to be regarded as the home of our *Poema*; it will be sufficient for our present purpose to state what seem to be the most important points.

²⁴⁶ See Férotin, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos*, p. 47, note 4: "Rien n'est curieux comme les plaintes naïves que laissent échapper les copistes du moyen âge sur les difficultés de leur tâche, et la joie qu'ils manifestent de l'avoir enfin terminée; also note 5 of the same page on Ericonus; p. 261 on Johannes presbyter, and p. 268. Cf. Wattenbach, *l. c.*, p. 241 ff.

²⁴⁷ Wattenbach, *l. c.*, pp. 242, 257 ff.

²⁴⁸ *General*, p. 638, c. 957 ff.; Rios, *Historia crítica*, 3, p. 588, note 2; Baist, *Grundriss*, II², p. 399 (§ 17); Beer, *l. c.*, pp. 32-40.

²⁴⁹ *Copla* 1662 the author says:

Somos siempre los clérigos errados y viciosos,
Los perlados maores ricos y poderosos.

Several of the Benedictine monasteries named, notably Arlanza and Silos, owned considerable property at San Esteban de Gormaz, and thus had especial opportunity for becoming familiar with the local traditions which occupy so prominent a place in the *Poema*.²⁵⁰ Very near to the scene of those legends were Silos and Cardeña, the former about thirty miles southeast of Burgos, the latter about eight, and both on the Cid's route to San Esteban.²⁵¹ To Silos, the Cid had shown his devotion as early as 1076, five years before his first exile, by donating to it one half of each of two towns,²⁵² and though the *Poema* makes no mention of this monastery—which indeed does not figure in the later history of the Cid—it would not be at all unreasonable to conjecture that it was first written there.²⁵³ Incomparably greater, however, is the claim of Cardeña to this distinction. As has already been seen, the *General's* account of the end of the Cid, his family and cavaliers, is based upon memoranda of the history and local traditions of Cardeña written in that monastery.²⁵⁴ To cite Baist's opinion,²⁵⁵ this monastic story contains beside some insipid matter several genuinely epic traits, such as the victory of the Cid after death, and the conversion of the Jew who seized his beard. It testifies to a considerable survival of popular thought in the clerical author and his environment. Indeed, if there were no other signs of the close connection between Cardeña and the popular tradition of the Cid, the one just cited could of itself hardly fail to suggest to the unbiased student the query whether the monastery did not have some part in the genesis of the *Poema*.²⁵⁶ But such signs are by no means wanting. We may pass over as well known the facts that both according to the *Poema* and the

²⁵⁰ See Loperraez-Corvalán, *Descripción del obispado de Osma*, II, 164-165; Férotin, *Recueil*, pp. 102, note 2; 118, 258.

²⁵¹ Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar*, I, p. 41.

²⁵² See III, I, p. 253, note 48, no. 19.

²⁵³ According to Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 240, Silos maintained its scriptorium down to the invention of printing. For its school of copyists, see *l. c.*

²⁵⁴ Such memoranda, or *memorias de la casa*, as they were called, are frequently referred to by Berganza in his meritorious work on *Antigüedades de España*, as, e. g., I, I, 5, cap. 27 and 39. They may be regarded as vernacular versions of originally Latin records made in the twelfth and preceding centuries. An edition of part of such *memorias* dating from the thirteenth century is offered by Berganza, II, pp. 587-590. Cf. Dozy, *Recherches*, 2, p. 75.

²⁵⁵ *L. c.*

²⁵⁶ Cf. Beer, *l. c.*, p. 40; Bertoni, in the passage cited above, note 231.

memorias antiguas of the monastery, the Cid was its tutelary hero, that his wife and daughters were sheltered there from the time of the exile in 1081 to the conquest of Valencia in 1094, that the *memorias* apparently gave a detailed account of San Esteban's experiences during the period of the Reconquest, that the people of that town contributed to the *Poema* much of its heroic tradition, and are repeatedly praised in it for their valor. It is chiefly from facts like these that Beer arrived at the conclusion that Cardeña must have been the monastery in which the *Poema* was first written down, if not conceived.²⁵⁷ This conclusion is positively rejected by Menéndez Pidal.²⁵⁸ Without so much as attempting to refute Beer's main argument that a literary monument of the character and the period of the *Poema* could not have been produced outside one of the few established seats of culture, this critic²⁵⁹ confines himself to take issue on matters of minor detail. Of the 200 lines of the poem which speak of Cardeña or of things which happened there, 160, we are told, relate the hero's visit to the monastery to say good-bye to his wife (232-391), a necessary episode on which all the other passages (209, 1285-1286, 1391-1430) depend, and one which does not disclose, on the part of the author, a greater affection for Cardeña than for other places mentioned. As for the value of this last point, others may judge.²⁶⁰ As for the episode of Cardeña, how did it come to be necessary, if not through the particularly intimate relations existing between the Cid and Cardeña? Is it not significant that this 'necessary' episode should have taken place in one of the few seats of learning in Castile where a literary monument like the *Poema* could have come into being, and in the very one which about a hundred years later provided the chroniclers of Alphonse X with further records of local tradition concerning the Cid? Is not the Cid's necessity to visit Cardeña in order to see his family an evidence in favor of, rather than against, the opinion of

²⁵⁷ *L. c.*, pp. 29-45.

²⁵⁸ *Cantar*, I, pp. 38-41.

²⁵⁹ As does also Ducamin, *Revue des langues romanes*, 1899, pp. 372-378.

²⁶⁰ Cardeña seems to have felt quite differently with respect to this matter, if we may judge from an old *necrologium* according to which the Cid was remembered as a benefactor of the monastery, and his memory celebrated by an anniversary, the *fiesta del Cid*. See Berganza, *l. c.*, I, l. 5, c. 32.

Menéndez y Pelayo²⁶¹ and others that Cardeña was as closely united to the glory of the Cid as Arlanza to that of Fernan Gonzalez? While duly considering that the learned element is far more abundant and evident in the epic on Fernan Gonzalez than in the one on the Cid, one cannot help asking why only five lines out of over 2800 of the former poem referring to the hermitage of San Pedro de Arlanza, and the four lines alluding to written sources, should be accepted as sufficient evidence of its origin in that monastery, if the two hundred lines of our *Poema* relating to Cardeña, a veritable Pantheon of the Cid's glory, are denied similar significance. As well might one adopt Capmany's dictum regarding our epic that such poetic value as it has is nothing but the natural consequence of the poetic genius of the nation.²⁶² Attention is next called to the fact that San Pedro, the tutelary saint of Cardeña, is mentioned only once by Ximena and once by Minaya, while the Cid does not invoke him at all, only showing devotion to the Virgin. If, so continues the argument, the *Poema* were indebted to Cardeña for any part of its redaction, it would at least have told us that the Cid was buried there, even though not so explicitly as the Chronicle. In so far as the argument from the Cid's especial devotion to the Virgin is concerned, it need only be recalled here that the cult of the Virgin was at its height in that epoch. As for the rest, it is well to remember that, even if the author was really a monk of Cardeña, he was a poet rather than a mere chronicler, and that his theme was the Cid, and not Cardeña.²⁶³ It is finally contended that a monk having at his disposal the archives of Cardeña, would not have omitted from his work the real abbot of the Cid's time, San Sisebuto (from 1056-1081), or his coadjutor D. Sebastian,²⁶⁴ and put in his place a fictitious one by the name of *Sancho*. Granting for the sake of argument that a monk inditing a poetic narrative can be held to such exactness of detail as is here demanded of him, we submit that it is

²⁶¹ *Antol.*, 2, p. lxxx.

²⁶² *Teatro de la Elocuencia española*, I, p. 1.

²⁶³ It is worthy of note, however, that, barring error, the already mentioned *memorias antiguas* of Cardeña do not refer to the death of the Cid, while they do record that of Alvar Fafiez.

²⁶⁴ Berganza, *l. c.*, I, l. 5, c. 15, p. 444 ff. D. Sebastian became bishop of Leon in 1086, and Sisebuto assumed once more the duties of abbot, but died in the same year (see *l. c.*, c. 8, pp. 383-348).

quite conceivable that within the sixty or more years intervening between him and the events he relates, the records at his command may have become faulty or susceptible of misinterpretation. This is indeed a matter of common occurrence. That this argument applies to our case is rendered likely by a suggestion of Berganza in an interesting note on San Sisebuto to which Menéndez Pidal himself refers:²⁶⁵ “. . . al Abad de Cardaña San Sisebuto, a quien la Cronica llama D. Sancho, acaso por aver encontrado en la Historia latina Sanctus, y despues traduxeron Sancho.”²⁶⁶ Here, certainly, we have an explanation of the matter which is at least plausible, and which will appear still more so when we consider that the use of written, most likely Latin, sources, must be assumed for this part of the *Poema*. Menéndez Pidal observes correctly that the repeated occurrence of the name *Sancho* in the assonance (243, 256) forbids its being regarded as a mere scribal error. He might further have considered that *Sancho* fits admirably into the assonance *á-o*, one of the most frequent combinations, whereas *Sisebuto* does not serve at all, the sequence *ú-o* not occurring in assonance either in the *Poema* or the extant old ballads, though in the former document such forms as *metudo*, *vençudo* are met with repeatedly in the interior of the verse.²⁶⁷ The fact that the name *Sebastian*, though suited for one of the commonest assonance-formulas, was not used by the poet, cannot but lend color to the impression that he was misled by a written source. Neither this argument, then, nor the others above reviewed, can invalidate Beer's main thesis that the *Poema* owes its existence to a very considerable extent to the interest of the monastery of Cardaña in the *Cid*, to the fact that this monastery was one of the few seats of culture where such a literary work could be produced in that epoch,²⁶⁸ and to the existence, in that same monastery, of regular annals, whose extant remains, dating from the

²⁶⁵ *L. c.*, p. 40, note 2, where a somewhat condensed version of it is given.

²⁶⁶ *L. c.*, p. 444. Compare *ibid.*, p. 501, the use of the name San Fructuoso.

²⁶⁷ Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar*, I, p. 283 (§ 97). According to Berganza, *l. c.*, II, l. 7, c. 3 (p. 154), the first abbot of the name *Sancho* reigned from 1312-1336.

²⁶⁸ Beer, of course, went far beyond the warrant of his evidence in regarding it as proved that the *Poema* was composed in the interest of Cardaña (*l. c.*, p. 36).

second half of the thirteenth century, bear traces of derivation from earlier redactions.²⁶⁹

We may now pass to a brief consideration of some other elements of the question before us which point in the same direction, but which have received rather less attention than those traits of the *Poema* which are more on its surface. Whether the marriage of the Cid's daughters with the Infantes de Carrion be thought historical or not, the charges of cowardice, cruelty and treachery which the *Poema* brings against the members of that Leonese family, cannot but arouse the suspicion that the poet had in mind not only to sing the triumphs of the Cid, but also to commemorate, as has been repeatedly suggested,²⁷⁰ the bitter feeling entertained by the Castilians toward Leon. As this feeling was especially justified and high during the long minority of Alphonse VIII (1158-1214), which was attended by the loss of much Castilian territory to Leon,²⁷¹ one is naturally tempted to see here a reason for accepting the conclusion to which Hinojosa was brought by his examination of the legal usages reflected by the *Poema*, namely, that it dates from the second half of the twelfth century.²⁷² If this be the correct interpretation of the treatment accorded by the poet to the Infantes de Carrion as representatives of Leon, it serves as a further confirmation of the view that the home of the *Poema* was in the Centre or West rather than in the extreme Southeast of Old Castile. One may ask why Alphonse VI, who as King of Leon had himself fought the Castilians, and as King of Castile gave free vent to his wrath against the Cid, nevertheless fares so well in the *Poema*. To this it may be answered with a fair degree of reason, not only that, as the rightful sovereign of Castile, Alphonse VI was well within legal bounds in dealing with a vassal as he did, but, what is more, that as a *hermano de obediencia* of Cluny, and as a devoted friend of Cardeña, he was entitled to special regard from that mon-

²⁶⁹ Menéndez Pidal does not take any notice of the existence of these *memorias* of Cardeña.

²⁷⁰ Dozy, *Recherches*, I, p. 79; Milá, *P.H.*, p. 247; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, p. 313, and the passage cited above, note 124; Ormsby, *The Poem of the Cid*, pp. 21-22.

²⁷¹ Mondejar, *Memorias históricas del Rey D. Alonso el Noble*, 1783, pp. 25-47, cap. vii-xvi.

²⁷² *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, pp. 541-581.

astery.²⁷³ Quite in consonance with the moderation displayed by the *Poema* in dealing with the bitter hostility of Alphonse VI toward the Cid, is the remarkably humane spirit which pervades it. This spirit is one of the traits which notably distinguish our Castilian poem from French epics like the *Chanson de Roland* in which, as Bertoni justly observes,²⁷⁴ the conquered and the infidels are far from being treated with the generosity and toleration accorded to his foes by the Cid. As these qualities cannot have been imparted to the *Poema* by the French epic, nor by popular tradition,²⁷⁵ nor yet can be due entirely to the usual idealizing effect of poetry, they clearly point to the influence of the Church upon our poet. This explanation of the trait in question seems all the more acceptable as the same influence also manifests itself in the marked respect for the Church and the clergy appearing almost everywhere in the poem,²⁷⁶ a respect which did not characterize in anything like the same degree or regularity the actual conduct of the warrior of the age.²⁷⁷ These considerations establish, it is believed, a strong presumption in favor of the proposition that the first great literary monument of Castile was written by a cleric. There is, however, a more specific reason for this position, which is that written sources appear to have been consulted by the poet.

We have seen that Cardena kept annals which were used as historical sources by the *General*, and in which the *Poema's* error re-

²⁷³ Cf. Berganza, *l. c.*, I, p. 577 ff. The poet nevertheless betrays his own feeling when (l. 20) he represents the good people of Burgos as exclaiming, on the Cid's departure into exile: Dios que buen vassallo, si oviesse buen señor!

²⁷⁴ *Il Cantare*, p. 16. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 21-22, note 3, and also the fine observations on the part assigned by the poet to the Cid's wife and daughters.

²⁷⁵ See for the usual treatment of the Moslem in Christian Spain the order of Sancho of Aragon in the *Fueros de Jaca* of 1090, as cited by J. A. Llorente, *Noticias históricas de las provincias vascongadas*, 3, p. 456, and further evidence in Dozy, *Recherches*, II^s, p. 219 ff. Cf. also Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, pp. 311, 315-317.

²⁷⁶ Cf. Bertoni, *l. c.*, p. 160: "Colgo l'occasione per avvertire che in tutto il 'Cantare' si nota una grande deferenza per il clero. Il carattere, dirò così, clericale del nostro monumento è veramente notevole. È, in esso, più accentuato anche che nelle *chansons de geste*."

²⁷⁷ Cf. e. g., the account of the "Historia Compostelana" (in *España Sagr.*, 20, p. 117) of the acts of sacrilege committed by Alphonse I of Aragon, and the reports of the Cid's mode of warfare as reviewed by Dozy, *l. c.*

garding the name of the abbot finds a natural, though by no means proved, explanation. Now, it is significant that in part at least it was the annals or *memorias de la casa* accessible to Berganza that led that conscientious investigator to substantially the same conclusion as that reached by Menéndez Pidal after a thorough and more comprehensive study of the question,²⁷⁸ the conclusion, namely, that the Infantes Diego and Fernan Gonzalez were historical personages and belonged to the family of the Vanigomez, as stated by the bard. The Madrid critic sees in this what he regards as an additional proof of his theory that the *Poema* is far more historical than is commonly supposed, and that what he terms the popular epopee of Castile is profoundly historical.²⁷⁹ This is a proposition to which we shall have to return in another chapter; for our present purpose it may suffice to inquire briefly into the means by which the unusual precision of geographical and other indications which marks the first part of the *Poema* was obtained.²⁸⁰ Supposing that our splendid epic, as is taken for granted by many, was composed in or before the year 1140, that is, sixty years after the beginning (1081) of the events narrated in it, is it at all likely that the described historical accuracy would have maintained itself so long, if it had existed only in memory?²⁸¹ Again, supposing the oral tradition of the last quarter of the eleventh century had been cast immediately into poetic form, would the assumed result have been obtained in that case? A moment's reflection, it is believed, will show that long poems embodying a connected historical account cannot arise immediately under the impression of the events they relate, but require a long process of maturing; and it will also show that such short, simple songs as could spring up synchronously with the events, are incapable of developing a connected account, and vary rapidly if

²⁷⁸ Berganza, *l. c.*, 1, pp. 512-522; Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar*, 2, pp. 535-559.

²⁷⁹ *L. c.*, 559; *Épopée*, pp. 33-34, 54.

²⁸⁰ It is presumably with reference to this aspect of the *Poema* that Menéndez Pidal defines the Castilian epic as a *crónica ó novela rimada*, as in *Romancero español*, p. 5.

²⁸¹ This question was long ago answered by G. Paris (*Romania*, 13, p. 602): A mon sens, il n'y a pas de tradition historique orale; les faits les plus importants s'oublient en une ou deux générations s'ils ne sont pas conservés par des récits poétiques. Cf. also Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 36.

left to the caprice of oral transmission.²⁸² Such exact accord with geographical and historical facts, then, as may be held to characterize portions of our epic, cannot in any appreciable measure have been handed down to it by word of mouth, even if the epic was composed about 1140, and not, as seems more likely, during the reign of Alphonse VIII. It must therefore be due to the use of written sources, without the aid of which, indeed, historical accuracy can hardly be said to exist. Wherever such sources may have been consulted by the author, whether at Cardeña or Silos,²⁸³ or at some other monastery which some one may prove to have a better claim to the honor, the all-important fact is, that a due recognition of their use is essential to a correct interpretation of the character of the *Poema*.²⁸⁴ If exception be taken to this view on the ground that a writer having such documents at his disposal would not have committed such errors as placing the capture of Murviedro before that of Valencia, we would again ask the reader to consider that historical exactitude was not the primary concern of the poet, and in all probability was not to be found in his originals. The poem on Fernan Gonzalez, the indebtedness of which to Latin and vernacular writings no one doubts, is far from being faultless in this respect,²⁸⁵ and as much is true of the chronicles of the time. In the extant text of the *Chronicon Malleacense*, for example, dating from about 1134, the year of the Cid's death is recorded correctly, but the banishment of the Mozarabic liturgy,

²⁸² Menéndez Pidal, *Homenaje*, I, p. 467:

Si el estudio histórico fuera siempre posible, se vería cuántas de esas baladas místicas y simbólicas no eran más que el resultado de una lenta y feliz transformación de la materia épica en las inhábiles manos del pueblo, incapaces para conservar el tono de la antigua poesía heroica.

²⁸³ Concerning the relations between Silos and Cardeña, Férotin says in his excellent work on the history of the former (p. 54): De nombreuses chartes portent la confirmation de l'abbé de Silos pendant la période qui s'étend de 1042-1072. La plupart de celles que nous avons pu consulter appartenaient à Saint Pierre de Cardeña, abbaye qui semble avoir été dès cette époque dans des rapports très intimes avec notre monastère.

²⁸⁴ As early as 1887 Restori expressed himself as follows with regard to the first part of our epic (*Propugnatore*, XX, 2, p. 133): "... la stessa quasi sempre esatta veridicità dei particolari storici e geografici mostra d'essere originata da una qualche cronica anzi che dalla libera fantasia del popolo," an opinion which should ere this have been taken into account, or else shown to be false.

²⁸⁵ Cf., e. g., Rios, *l. c.*, 3, p. 341 ff.; Milá, *P.H.*, p. 182 ff., and Baist, *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 393.

related with the usual legendary detail, is placed in the year 1069, the capture of Valencia by the Cid in 1089, of Saragossa in 1109, while that of Murviedro is not mentioned at all.²⁸⁶

We see, then, that there is abundant reason for recognizing in the one real Castilian epic which we have²⁸⁷ the presence of not a little ecclesiastic interest and labor; we see, as Restori was again one of the first to state clearly,²⁸⁸ that it is manifestly not an example of popular poetry in any true acceptance of the term. Quite apart from the immixture of foreign metres, it is popular only in the wider sense that its theme and its basic poetical technique are national, and that on the whole it faithfully portrays the spirit and the aspirations of the Castilian people. Nor can its author have been what is usually understood by a popular minstrel. The originality and unity of his work, and the independence in the treatment of materials of various provenience, show him to have been a poet of unusual maturity and force. But more than this, his use of written sources places him in the learned class of his time. He must have been thinking of such documents when, in writing of the *Poyo del Cid* (ll. 901-902), he announced that as long as there be Moors and Christians "assil lo diran por carta."²⁸⁹ His individuality is none the less real for having remained anonymous. In the light of these facts, it must seem particularly unreasonable to hold him responsible for the

²⁸⁶ "Sancti Maxentii Pictavensis Chronicon," in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, p. p. Marchegay, 1869, p. 351 ff.

²⁸⁷ Accepting here, in the main, the view of Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar*, 1, p. 27: "En suma, no hay motivo para creer que el Cantar conservado no sea el mismo compuesto en tiempo del *Buen Emperador*, el mismo *Cantar de Mio Cid* (Mio Cidi de quo cantatur) que había oído el autor del Poema de Almería, la misma primera redacción, compuesta entre 1140 y 1157."

²⁸⁸ *Le Gesta del Cid*, 1890, p. 7. Cf. Comparetti, *l. c.*, p. 330.

²⁸⁹ The poet may very well have seen this name actually used in some such document as the *Fuero de Molina* of 1154 (quoted by Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar*, 2, s.v. *Poyo*). It is interesting to note that Milá, *P.H.*, p. 240, note 1, remarks with regard to the *Poema's* reference to a *carta* in this connection (l. 902): "Se ve que el poeta se informaba de las tradiciones locales, no sin pretensiones de analista, como cuando advierte del nombrado poyo del Cid que 'assil diran por carta,'" while Menéndez Pidal, in the vocabulary of his edition, s.v. *carta*, omits this passage altogether.

anomalous metrical appearance of the only extant copy of his masterpiece.

The creation of the *Poema*, as we have seen, was coincident with the waning of the heroic age of Castile, and was rendered possible by the rise of a vernacular literature under the influence of France.²⁹⁰ The first part of the thirteenth century was rich in war-like triumphs worthy of celebration by the popular muse. Notable among these are the great battle of Navas de Tolosa (1212), the capture of Cordoba (1236), of Jaen (1246) and the conquest of Seville (1248). We have hardly any evidence, or even a record, of songs commemorating these events, though some of them are echoed in the verse of the Gallego-Portuguese school.²⁹¹ Nevertheless, there are reasons for assuming that such songs existed. One of these is the fact previously referred to, that the national octosyllable plays a prominent part in the versification of the *mester de clerecia* to its very end.²⁹² Another is the refrain of a ballad on James I of Aragon sung by the troops of Alphonse X in 1257,²⁹³ it being worthy of note that in reporting it Juan Manuel expresses no surprise that it was composed in Galician. This song may be regarded as an isolated example of what must have been a common practice of the time. In close connection with this practice stands a further reason for our assumption, the frequently cited Galician miracle-lays of the literary school of Alphonse X, which deal in a metrical form closely akin to that of the *romance* with the same religious legends as the poems of Gonzalo de Berceo.²⁹⁴ The lack of relics of the secular balladry of this period is to be ascribed to its unconscious character and to the preoccupation of the very small cultured circle with foreign ideals. There is absolutely no evidence

²⁹⁰ Cf. Restori, *Le Gesta del Cid*, p. 7; Bertoni, *Il Cantare*, p. 15 ff., who, however, goes much too far when he says: "Ogni episodio, ogni dettaglio, starei per dire ogni verso respira l'alito delle canzoni francese." A good deal nearer the truth would seem to be the idea expressed by Rajna (*ROMANIC REVIEW*, 6, p. 40): "Sarebbe mai da ritenere che il popolo spagnuolo avesse connaturale il canto epico-lirico e che i poemi costituissero per lui una deviazione temporanea prodotta dall'azione straniera della Francia?"

²⁹¹ E. g., *Canc. Vat.*, nos. 77, 572, 578, 1088.

²⁹² I, pp. 15-16, 24; above, pp. 417-418.

²⁹³ See above, p. 401, note 163.

²⁹⁴ Cf. above, p. 404-405.

that any of the important events of the crusade against the Moors became the theme of a long narrative poem in the native style, as one might expect from the full literary use of Castilian at this time and from the alleged production of recasts of old epics. The explanation of the absence of such poems may be found partly in the already mentioned immaturity of formal development in which the traditional balladry had reached the literary epoch, partly in the change of literary and political conditions which took place in the course of the thirteenth century. The poem on Fernan Gonzalez, which falls between 1250 and 1271,²⁹⁵ and may have been called forth by the epic singing the glory of the Cid, marks the end of the poetical treatment of national legends. More significant still is the advent of historical composition in prose which had been prepared by essays in literary prose in the reign of Ferdinand III and by the celebrated code of law known as the *Siete Partidas*. The supremacy of this new form of historical narrative was definitely established by the compilation, under the supervision of Alphonse X, of the great General Chronicle in which almost the whole treasure of national tradition, Latin as well as vernacular, was embodied.²⁹⁶ In the opinion of some critics, the loss of the conjectured popular epics is to be attributed to the greater favor in which the chronicles stood with the public.²⁹⁷ But with what public? The rank and file of the people in the Peninsula were far more uniformly illiterate in that age than they are now; they did not read heroic legends in any form; they only listened to their recital or sang them themselves.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Marden, *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, pp. xxviii-xxx.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Baist, *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 399.

²⁹⁷ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, pp. 41-43. Believing, in contrast to Menéndez Pidal's theory, that *cantares de gesta* and *romances* did not exist at the same time (*Antol.*, II, p. 95), this critic expresses the opinion (*l. c.*, p. 163) that the disappearance of the conjectured epics and their not surviving in the fragmentary form of romances can be easily explained by the interposition between one and the other epic type of a third, even more degenerate form, the prose legend. Later, however (*l. c.*, pp. 172-173), he cites himself *romances* of the modern oral tradition dealing with the same matter as a prose-chronicle of the fifteenth century. Menéndez Pidal (*Leyenda*, p. 39) also ascribes the vanishing of the epics to the public's preference for the chronicles, but only a few pages later (*l. c.*, 42-43) is found to dwell on the popularity of the recasts of the old epics with the very same public, attributing this popularity to the extraordinary adventures and exaggerations which these recasts contained.

Besides, it is precisely for the benefit of their less educated taste that the same critics suppose the *romances* to have been derived from epics and chronicles.²⁹⁸ As for the almost equally unlettered aristocracy,²⁹⁹ it was scarcely more eager to read prose texts than the rest of the people, to say nothing of the fact that the alleged poems 'aux vastes proportions,' if we are to believe the current dogma, were particularly intended for that class, and underwent an uninterrupted process of rejuvenation for more than a hundred years after the completion of the *General*. The opinion under review therefore proves untenable. As a matter of fact, the appearance of historical prose in the second part of the thirteenth century is not a cause of the cessation of epic activity and of the loss of alleged old epics, but an effect of intellectual and social circumstances most of which have already been pointed out. In the particular period under discussion, however, there occurred a political change which of itself can largely account for the failure to produce epics of national spirit and form. By the conquest of Seville and the acquisition of Murcia the kingdom of Castile had become the only state in the Peninsula which was directly interested in the war against the Moors, Aragon and Portugal no longer bordering on their territory. Partly for this reason, partly in consequence of the internal discords and the foreign interests in which Castile became involved, the great national and religious struggle against the Moslem came to a standstill which was only to be broken in the reign of Alphonse XI. Nothing more natural, therefore, than that a period so devoid of heroic effort should also be sterile in heroic song; nothing more unlikely than that between 1289, the date of the completion of the *General*, and 1344, the date of the chronicle named after that year, Castile should have brought forth, in addition to the scholastic poem on Fernan Gonzalez, a popular epic on the same personage.³⁰⁰ If Castile, as alleged, had been composing popular epics down to the very days of the Marques de Santillana, it would require a deal of explaining why the only poem on Fernan Gonzalez of the existence

²⁹⁸ See, e. g., Baist, *Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 399; Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*, pp. 44, 48, 321.

²⁹⁹ See III, 1, p. 252 ff.

³⁰⁰ Claimed by Menéndez Pidal in *Homenaje*, 1, 447 ff.

of which we have sufficient evidence, is conspicuously not of that type, but is cast in a foreign mould appealing only to a very narrow literary circle.³⁰¹

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(*To be continued*)³⁰²

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³⁰¹ Cf. Restori, *Propugnatore*, l. c., and Rajna, l. c., pp. 40-41, who do not, however, touch upon the question of the conjectured epics.

³⁰² Owing to illness, the completion of the last part of this article must be postponed in order not to delay any longer the publication of the part already done.

THE *MANUEL DES PECHIEZ* AND THE SCHOLASTIC PROLOGUE

IN the history of Anglo-Norman literature William of Waddington has always occupied a firmly established position. Because the *Manuel des Pechiez* with which his name is connected was made the basis of the *Handlyng Synne*, one of the most interesting of the earlier Middle-English works, it may perhaps be said that he is for many students of mediaeval literature in England the most conspicuous figure among Anglo-Norman writers. It is the object of the present paper to point out that his exact relation to the *Manuel* is really uncertain; and that the problem of its authorship is a complex one, which probably cannot be settled in the present state of our knowledge. In the following pages an analysis will be given of the grounds upon which the usual ascription has been built up, and other evidence will be brought forward which may give hope for the solution of the problem of the authorship of the *Manuel des Pechiez*.¹ In conclusion, the scholastic prologue will be discussed, which seems to have had its influence on the problem under consideration.

I

The sole ground for ascribing the *Manuel des Pechiez* to William of Waddington—and indeed the only sign of such a person's having existed—are the concluding lines of the epilogue, which are as follows:

De le franceis, ne del rimer,
Ne me dait nuls hom blamer,
Kar en engleterre fu ne,
E norri ordine, et aleue;
De vne vile sui nome
Ou ne est burg ne cite.

¹ I wish to thank the librarians of Syracuse, Cornell, and Columbia universities for giving me the hospitality of their libraries at various times during the composition of this paper.

Pur coe prie ioe pur iesu crist
Ke ceus ky lirrunt cest escrit
Pur deu me aient en memoire,
E pur moy prient le ray de gloire,
Ke la ioie me doint de parais
Ov sanz fin veie sun cler vis,
E me pardoint mes pechez
Iesu ky de marie fu nez.
De deu seit beneit chescun hom
Ky prie pur Wilham de Wadigtoun;—
Ky pur autres prie et oure,
Pur sai memes ben labure;—
En deu finist cest escrit,
En pere et fiz et saint esprit. Amen.

Icy finist la soume del Manuel de Peche (p. 413, l. 12, 736 f.).²

The lines just quoted would naturally be said to furnish a very clear statement as to the authorship of the work, and they have always been regarded as decisive. The following lines from the prologue, however, seem never to have attracted attention, though they possibly contradict the passage just quoted:

Mun nun ne vus voil ci nomer,
Car deu sul qeor luer (ll. 121-2).

This statement may perhaps be interpreted as referring to a mention of the author's name in the prologue only ("ci" being then the critical word of the couplet). There is just enough uncertainty however as to the interpretation, to make it desirable to examine the matter a little further.

Though the reference in the epilogue to the name, William of Waddington, is, as has been already remarked, sufficiently explicit, other things being equal, to constitute a declaration of authorship, nevertheless it can hardly be called, as Price called it, "language too peculiar and self-condemning to leave a doubt³ as to the justice

² The *Manuel* has been twice edited, both editions being by Dr. Furnivall and containing also the *Handlyng Synne*. The edition of the *E. E. T. S.* (Nos. 119, 123) contains only those parts of the French work which were used by Mannyng, and therefore the only edition that will be used here is the complete text edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1862.

³ Warton-Hazlitt, *History of English Poetry*, London, 1871, II, 73, n.

of Waddington's claim" to the authorship. It will be noted that no word makes the status of William of Waddington absolutely definite. The most that can be said is that a person of that name asks prayers for himself at the end of the work. The context would make it appear that he was the author, but there are no phrases defining him as such, and as we know from many examples persons bearing many sorts of relations to literary enterprises were in the habit of putting in a request for prayers at the end.⁴ The scribe was quite as likely to make such a request as the author, but like the author he usually in so doing made his capacity clear.⁵ As a matter of fact at least one copy of the *Manuel*—and that one considerably earlier than that from which the text is printed—adds a typical scribe's request for prayers to the last couplet in the conclusion already given. This ending (which is written in slightly larger letters) is as follows:

⁴ For example, prayers are asked at the end of a work for "Sir Roberte soule . . . bat gaf bis boke to bis place" (Cambridge Univ. MS. Ii. I. 36—in this case the prayer is on a separate sheet); for "John of Lindbergh," "bat bis bok gert dight" (*E. E. T. S.*, 101, p. 188—this occurs at the end of one manuscript of the *Cursor Mundi*); for "frere Jan de Kyngtone," who is apparently an owner of the book (*Romania*, XIII, 536—in this case the prayer is scribbled at the top of the page). The *Lumiere as lais* after the prayer for the author asks prayers for the scribe and all future scribes and readers. It is surely a commonplace that every one in any way connected with a pious work in the Middle Ages—whether of literature or architecture or what not—hoped that that connection might improve his condition in the future state.

⁵ Many scribes' signatures appear in the descriptions of the manuscripts of a work like the *Roman de la Rose*, which was copied far and wide (see *Les Manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, par Ernest Langlois, Paris, 1910). Most of them contain some form of identification, such as "qui escrist." There has probably been a good deal of confusion between scribe and author because of the absence of clear-cut definitions in the requests for prayers. For example, M. Meyer takes as author a "Gillebert de Cambres" who asks prayers, and gives some details of himself at the end of a *Lucidaire* (see *Notices et Extraits*, XXXII, Pt. II, p. 72). In this case the interpretation becomes particularly doubtful because the lines occur in only two out of the six manuscripts, and in one copy another name is substituted for "Gilbert." Nevertheless M. Meyer calls the latter name that of a copyist, and two German dissertations have been written trying to show the Picard origin of the work because of the connection supposedly made with Cambrai (which M. Meyer refutes). An author, "Jean Priorat," asks for prayers at the end of his work without defining his quality—which he had already done in the body of the work (*Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, 1875, 124).

En pere en fiz en seint espirist.
deu lui amene qui cest escrist. Amen.⁶

It is evident that if this had been the reading of the text in which we usually make the acquaintance of the work, there would conceivably have been some hesitation as to whether the name of Waddington were to be attached to the statement (naturally attributed to the author) as to the "vile," or whether it was to be connected with the conclusion (which, on the other hand, is naturally attributed to the scribe). This hesitation would be increased by the discovery that the couplet which succeeds the name:

Ky pur autres prie et oure,
Pur sai memes ben labure;—

is in any case not original. It is apparently one of the *lieux communs*⁷ of mediaeval literature in England, and in another case in a Latin form—and again in Middle-English—it is also found making part of the request for prayers at the end of a work. The close connection therefore of the name "William of Waddington" with the context of the epilogue, which at first sight may seem to connect it inevitably with the author, can now be seen not to be absolutely irrefragable, and one is tempted to go further in testing the accepted attribution.

When we attempt to clear up this uncertainty by recourse to the derivatives of the poem, and by an examination of the variants of the manuscripts, so far as they can be learned, the question is found to be a very complicated one, which is evidently not to be

⁶ Ms. F. 30 of St. John's College, Cambridge, dated by M. Meyer in "la seconde moitié de la xiii^e siècle environ" (*Romania*, VIII, 325), and by Dr. James in his recent catalogue in the "xiii-xiv century." Both quote the lines just given.

⁷ The *dictum* is attributed to St. Augustine in one copy of the "Proverbs of Poets, Saints, etc.," found in the Vernon MS., and other examples are cited in my note on that work (*Modern Philology*, April 1917, pp. 181-2). It also follows the prayer for "Sir Robert," already cited, in MS. li. I, 36, and is quoted in the description of that manuscript in the catalogue of the Cambridge University library. It may be noted that the proverbial character of the lines is indicated in the reading of Harl. MS. 4971:

Ki pur autre prie e heure,
Pur sei memes, dist hem, labure; (Roxburghe ed., p. 414).

solved till a new edition, based on all the manuscripts, has been completed. However, the examination of such material as is available has yielded results sufficiently suggestive to make a tentative discussion seem admissible. The initial contradiction which appears to exist between the prologue and epilogue is not the only circumstance, as it turns out, to throw suspicion on William of Waddington's authorship of the *Manuel des Pechiez*.

II

The only complete edition of the *Manuel des Pechiez*, and the only one in which the epilogue is printed, is Dr. Furnivall's text for the Roxburghe Club, published in 1862. This was printed principally for its interest in connection with the *Handlyng Synne*, which is included in the same volume. For this text there was used a manuscript written for the most part in a hand of about the year 1300; but where, near the end of the work, this earlier hand is succeeded by one of the period of Edward II, a second manuscript is followed, said to be not later than 1307.⁸ In this edition it is somewhat surprising to find Dr. Furnivall saying, in the discussion of Mannyng's omissions, that the latter omits "the end of the French *Manuel*,—which, however, may not be Waddington's, but some later continuer's, who writes for matter and writing sake" (p. xv). No evidence or further discussion is given on this subject, and no reference whatever is made to the fact that the theory of Waddington's authorship—in which Dr. Furnivall evidently has implicit faith—is completely undermined by the hypothesis just made. The epilogue, which is one of the constituent parts thus cut off as not belonging to Waddington, contains our only information as to this person! In the face of such a confusion as this, it is evident that the Roxburghe edition can furnish us no exact materials for the study of our problem.

Two later investigations do however advance us somewhat. The first is the work of M. Paul Meyer who, in the course of his long search for the French manuscripts of England, listed many

⁸ Owing to a variation in the order of subjects followed in the Middle-English and the French text used, the arrangement of the printed text is somewhat confusing. See pp. 349, 369, 395.

copies of the *Manuel*, with some valuable observations as to various points of interest connected with the poem.⁹ M. Meyer discovered eleven manuscripts and one fragment, outside the British Museum. One copy has been discovered since his research ended.¹⁰ The eight copies in the possession of the Museum have been made the object of the most valuable study, for our purposes, which has yet been devoted to the *Manuel*.¹¹ Mr. J. A. Herbert has completely worked out their text, and his investigation really forms the foundation for the present enquiry.

It must be said at once that an examination of the exacter studies connected with the *Manuel* does not increase our hope that the solution of the problem of the authorship can be reached by regarding the final lines of the epilogue as a tag added by a scribe. It is not impossible that that may be the ultimate conclusion, but if it is, any certainty as to the matter in dispute lies beyond our ken, for it is probable that the mediaeval copyists took the reference to William of Waddington as an integral part of the work. At any rate, only one of the manuscripts containing the epilogue omits the lines purporting to give the author's name. The spelling of the name differs in every copy, and the variations are so great that all attempts to identify a town "Waddington" are useless.¹² However, the detailed descriptions of Mr. Herbert have shown—along with many minor deviations—several distinct lines of cleavage in the manuscripts, and not all complete texts contain the epilogue. For our purpose the result of his study is to divide the eight copies under discussion into four classes, as follows:

(1) The first class includes three copies, all of the early fourteenth century, which must be dismissed from our enquiry as not

⁹ *Romania*, VIII, 332-3, XV, 312 *et passim*, XXIX, 47-53. A valuable description of the poem and a study of the sources of the *exempla* are given by M. Gaston Paris in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXVIII, 179-207.

¹⁰ *Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, 1911, p. 221.

¹¹ *Catalogue of the Romances in the British Museum*, London, 1910, III, pp. 272 f.

¹² The town "Waddington" is discussed by Dr. Furnivall (p. xviii), and by Mr. Herbert (p. 273). The conclusion of the latter is as follows: "The acceptance of the form Waddington cannot be regarded as anything more than a convention." Both Mr. Herbert and M. Paris are careful to emphasise the fact that we know nothing of Waddington beyond the details given in the epilogue. See n. 69 for the conventional nature of these details.

capable of furnishing any possible assistance. Two are fragments, and one is a partial text containing two books only—to use the division into books which, on the precedent set by one copy, is used by Mr. Herbert throughout his discussion.

(2) The second class includes the two manuscripts used by Dr. Furnivall, already described. These both supply the full text, which, according to the arrangement followed, is made up of nine books and an epilogue containing, in some form, the name “William of Waddington.” In the older of these two copies (Harl. 273), as has already been stated, a later handwriting succeeds the earlier at the end of Book VII—which is the point¹³ at which the *Handlyng Synne* ends, and at which Dr. Furnivall begins to suspect a continuator.

(3) The third class comprises Arund. 288, of the late thirteenth century (the oldest copy possessed by the Museum), and Roy. 20 B. XIV, of the beginning of the fourteenth century. Both these copies omit Bk. VI, Bk. IX, and the epilogue. They omit also the couplet describing the sixth book in the table of contents given in the prologue.¹⁴ In these copies, as the prologue had led us to expect, the work is anonymous. The Roy. MS.¹⁵ inserts a reference to the book on Prayer (VIII), and its prologue, therefore, gives a complete account of its contents,—the only manuscript, apparently, of which this is true, since no other copy gives any warning as to Book VIII.

(4) The fourth class is represented by a single example, Harl. 4971, of the beginning of the fourteenth century, once belonging to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. This copy has suffered a loss in the middle, and Bk. VI is now lacking. Originally, however, Bk. VI was apparently present, and was preceded by a poem on the Passion, found only in this copy. A few introductory lines are evidently intended to refer to both interpolations and to the fact

¹³ See *supra*, p. 438.

¹⁴ Pus trouerez un sermun de pour,
E coment vus deuez pour auer et amur (ll. 31–32).

¹⁵ Pus i trouerez uus sermun
De les uertues de confessiun.
Pus de orisun siut vn escrit,
Ki uertue fet homme parfit (Herbert, p. 298).

that they were not promised in the prologue.¹⁶ The rest of the complete text is present, but in a peculiar order, which is the basis on which it has been assigned to a class by itself. In this manuscript the epilogue precedes Bk. IX, and the name William of Waddington therefore does not stand at the end. Since Bk. IX is in any case made up of two lyrics (one addressed to Christ and one to the Virgin) which are quite unattached to the rest of the work, the poems by this arrangement appear as separate works, and no signs are visible of any unnatural shift of order.

The importance for our enquiry of Mr. Herbert's descriptions lies in the following facts:

(1) All three elements omitted by the third class of manuscripts are somewhat suspicious on other grounds. Bk. VI, the "Petit Sermon" on the Love and Fear of God, has been shown by M. Meyer to be an adaptation of an Anglo-Norman poem, many copies of which occur in a separate form. Mr. Herbert therefore refers to it as "probably an interpolation" (p. 275). Bk. IX, as has already been noted, is made up of two detached lyrics, and the one manuscript in which they appear as separate works seems to offer the most logical arrangement. Moreover it should be noted that the two lyrics present an entirely different type of piety from the rest of the work. They are strongly mystical, and their ecstatic fervor contrasts strangely with the simple dogmatism and the entertaining *exempla* of the *Manuel* as a whole. As for the third element omitted, the epilogue, some doubt has already been thrown on that part of the work by pointing out the possible conflict between the author's reference to his name in the prologue and the seemingly explicit statement made in the epilogue.

(2) A further important fact for our purpose is noted by Mr. Herbert in the presence in its separate form in both of the manuscripts of the third class, of the poem on the Love and Fear of

¹⁶ Mes de la passiun uoil ore dire,
Ke suffri pur nus nostre Sire;
E apres ceo un sarmun
Ke mut poet aider a meint hum.
E ceo deus choses ne uus promis nient
Ke uoleie dire al comencement;
Mes pur ceo ke mut poet ualer,
E al oaunt e entendaunt profiter,
Jeo les uus ore dirray
Aussi bien cum ieo saueray (*Op. cit.*, p. 290).

God, which in the second class makes the sixth book. It would therefore seem probable that the inclusion of this work in the *Manuel* grew out of the fact that it was found copied into the same manuscript.

(3) The text of the table of contents in the prologue apparently shows variations important for the study of the original form of the work. It may be noted that the ninth book and epilogue seem never to be referred to there in any copy, the eighth only in one, the sixth not in those texts in which it is omitted.¹⁷

If the same details were available for the classification of the twelve copies of the *Manuel des Pechiez* existing outside the Museum as for the eight preserved there, it might be possible to come to a definite conclusion as to whether the original form of the work is represented by the second or the third class. However, the condition of the text in eight of these twelve copies can be determined sufficiently for our purpose.

Of these eight manuscripts four can be assigned positively to the second class. These are the Cambridge MS. Mm. VI. 4, from which the division into nine books is derived,¹⁸ the two copies in the Bodleian, Hatton MS. 99, and Greaves 151, and the MS. F. 30 of St. John's College, Cambridge,—the late thirteenth century copy from which the scribe's couplet has already been quoted.¹⁹ Three manuscripts can be positively assigned also to the first class, as not capable of furnishing any assistance to our enquiry. These are, the MS. XVI. K. 13 in the possession of the York Chapter, which breaks off at the beginning of the fourth book,²⁰ Cambridge MS. Gg. I. 1, which breaks off in Book VI, and Rawl. Poet. MS. 241, at the Bodleian, which is simply a book of extracts. It should be noted however that of these extracts—all have been carefully traced by M. Meyer—none are drawn from the three doubtful elements of the *Manuel*.²¹

¹⁷ It should be noted that the text of the prologue differs greatly in all respects from manuscript to manuscript.

¹⁸ *Romania*, XV, pp. 348-9.

¹⁹ The notes from Oxford manuscripts were made for me by Mrs. A. F. New; those from Cambridge manuscripts by my friend, Miss M. Deanesly, of Newnham College.

²⁰ Ll. 6697 f., of the edition. They are quoted in the account of the manuscripts of the library in *Modern Language Notes*, December, 1888.

²¹ *Romania*, XXIX, pp. 47 f.

Notes which have been taken for me from Cambridge MS. Ee. I. 20 would make it appear that this fourteenth century copy follows a unique type, which specially merits investigation from the point of view of the present study. It seems to contain the first eight books, as in the second class; it furnishes an equivalent for Book IX in an address to the Virgin which does not agree with that which makes part of the text as printed; and it alters the last lines of the epilogue as follows:

De franceys ne de rimer
Ne me deyt nul hom blamer,
Car en engleterre est ey ne,
E nori, leys et ordine.
De *honerette* (*sic*) fui nome,
Que ne esteyt burh, ne cite.
En deus mist cest escrit,
En pere, en fiz, en seynt esprit
Explicit manuel de peches.²²

It will be seen that the name William de Waddington is here omitted, and that a person, apparently emanating from "Honerette," introduces himself in the place of William. No modern village can be traced bearing a name even remotely resembling "Honerette," and, altogether, it is impossible—at least on the scanty evidence now at hand—to decide whether the peculiar text here found represents the original second form of the *Manuel*, or merely an adaptation of the type of text represented by the second class.

Of the four copies remaining, in which the state of the text is doubtful, information that is almost sufficient for our purpose can be given for the thirteenth century copy in the *Bibliothèque nationale*, which, as M. Meyer notes, contains both the sixth book and the epilogue. He does not note the presence or absence of Book IX.²³

As to the last three copies, some information can be given. A second copy in the possession of the York Chapter breaks off in the

²² Quoted from Miss Deanesly's notes. It is interesting to observe that she notes that the Prayer to the Virgin of Book IX is in MS. Mm. VI, 4 granted an indulgence of thirty days.

²³ *Romania*, XXIX, p. 5.

midst of the lyric to the Virgin.²⁴ We know that Lord Herries' manuscript at Everingham Park, once in the monastery of St. Mary's at York, contains the name "William of Wygetone,"²⁵ and that the manuscript of Lord Middleton, at Wollaton Hall, contains the name "William Wuldingdune."²⁶ Whether these last copies completely answer to the type of the second class, is uncertain.

In concluding the account of the manuscripts of the *Manuel des Pechiez* reference may be made to a manuscript described over a century ago by Samuel Pegge in his life of Grosseteste.²⁷ Since Pegge's work is extremely rare, his description will be quoted entire.

He is referring to Bishop Grosseteste's work *De articulis fidei*—beginning "Templum Domini sanctum est": "This book was translated into French verse; and the late Thomas Tyrwhitt, esq., had it with other pieces of the bishop's versified also in French, and bought the volume at Mr. Thomas Martin's sale. The volume consists of 198 leaves in large 8vo and in vellum; the translator is not known (p. 151). There is in the same volume the Roman del Romanus and, page 173, the Château d'Amour, a work of our bishop, for which see below. Note also, that p. 105 the translator of the piece there in hand calls himself *William de Widdindune*; but of this versificator I cannot find any memorials elsewhere, nor is it certain that this person executed all the other performances in the volume" (p. 275).

The manuscript here described cannot be identified with any copy of the *Manuel des Pechiez* among those already listed, nor can it be otherwise traced.²⁸ The spelling of the name agrees with that found in the Paris copy, but the latter manuscript contains no

²⁴ Ll. 12, 550-1, of the printed text.

²⁵ *Historical MSS. Commission, First Report*, p. 45.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 221.

²⁷ Published London, 1791, and especially rare because of a fire which destroyed the remainder of the edition. Columbia University is fortunate enough to possess a copy. It should be noted that Pegge cites the first five books of the *Manuel*, and identifies each with a tract on the same subject somewhere ascribed to the Bishop (pp. 273, 274, 275, 278). He gives no sign whether Grosseteste's name actually appears.

²⁸ The catalogue of the sale of the manuscripts of Thomas Martin does not list any French manuscripts, and Miss Petherbridge, who examined it at the British Museum for me, does not find there any catalogue of Tyrwhitt's manuscripts.

other work. Tyrwhitt's copy is worthy of mention, however, because it bears certain relations to another book in which the *Manuel* occurs, and also because it contains so much of Grosseteste's work alongside the *Manuel des Pechiez*. The Roy. MS. also contains the *Romanz de roman* and the *Château d'Amour*, and the Arundel MS., which resembles it in omitting the sixth and ninth books and the epilogue, contains a translation into French verse of Grosseteste's *De poenis purgatorii*.

III

The significance of the connection of the *Manuel* with works of Grosseteste appears when, in conclusion, the Middle-English translations are considered for the light which they can throw on the question at issue. The *Handlyng Synne*²⁹ of Robert Mannyng of Brunne, a work dated 1303 in the text, has been given the same careful analysis by Mr. Herbert as the copies of the original which we have just been considering. This form of the work omits all three debatable elements, but the import of this fact is uncertain, because it also omits the first book, *De articulis fidei* (which is present in all other copies and promised in the prologue), and the eighth, *On prayer* (which, as we have seen, is slightly open to suspicion because of its omission from the prologue in all copies except one). The translator adds and abridges freely and Mr. Herbert concludes his study of the text by remarking that it differs from all the other texts studied (p. 309). The special interest for our purpose of the *Handlyng Synne* lies in the fact that Mannyng, though he wrote only a generation after the time that has been conjectured for the composition of the work,³⁰ evidently had no idea as to who the author was, and the scribes of two out of the three manuscripts of his work give the heading, "Here bygynneþ

²⁹ Mr. Herbert also analyses a redaction of the *Handlyng Synne* by an unknown Kentishman (p. 313 f.). This also seems to give no clue as to the authorship of the *Manuel*.

³⁰ After some discussion Mr. Herbert concludes that "it would probably be safe to assign it to the latter half of the 13th century" (p. 273). The following remark of M. Paris is worth pointing out in this connection: "Au reste, il est à remarquer que Wilham est assez arriéré dans ses lectures: il s'adresse surtout à d'anciens ouvrages; il ne connaît pas les grands recueils composés en France au xiii^e siècle" (p. 192). This suggests a work contemporary with Grosseteste.

þe boke þat men clepyn yn frenshe Manuele pecche þe whych boke made yn frenshe, Roberd Gros-test, Bysshop of Lyncolne.”³¹ It can be seen that this colophon really gives a more explicit statement as to the authorship of the work than the lines in the epilogue referring to Waddington, which, even if they are to be definitely assigned to the original text of the work, must always remain somewhat ambiguous. In no case is it on record that a manuscript containing the epilogue has transferred a reference as to Waddington’s authorship to a colophon, though many of them head or end the work by some sort of title.³² The manuscript (Mm. VI. 4) which is most systematic in its divisions (dividing, as we have seen, the whole text into nine books) gives several colophons, in all of which the work is referred to as if anonymous: “Cy comence le romaunz ky est apellé Manuel de pechez. . . . Ore comence le prologue del lyvere ke est apelé Manuel de pechez.”³³

Such indefinite colophons probably represent what was before Robert Mannyng, and what is reflected in his reference to the title and authorship of the work:

In þat tymē turnede y þys
On englysshe tunge out of frankys,
Of a boke as y fonde ynnē;
Men clepyn þe bokē “handlyng synne”.
In frenshe þer a clerk hyt sees,
He clepyþ hyt “manuel de pecches” (ll. 77 f.).

In referring to the original elsewhere he always cites by its title alone.³⁴ He omits the author’s reference in the prologue to withholding his name, and it is unlikely that he had heard of the ascrip-

³¹ This is the heading of the two complete manuscripts: the Dulwich copy, which is fragmentary at the end, gives only the title in the heading, but there is, of course, no knowing what it may have contained at the conclusion (see *E. T. S.*, No. 119, p. 1).

³² It should be noted, in contrast, that the name of Pierre de Peckham, author of the contemporary *Lumière as lais*, has been attached to the rubrics of two out of the nine copies of his poem listed. He, however, gives his name twice in the course of his work, both times in terms belonging unmistakably to an author (“Pier ke . . . ceste liver fist,” l. 506 “Pere ke en ad travaillez,” p. 332, *Romania*, VIII).

³³ *Romania*, XV, 348.

³⁴ See index of the Roxburghe edition for two references.

tion to Grosseteste. This follows from the fact that he introduces the famous account of the bishop's love of harping (ll. 4742 f.), which was not in his original, without any sign of connecting Grosseteste in any way with the work. Moreover he shows both in this work and in his chronicle³⁵ such meticulous care in enumerating all the persons and circumstances connected with his enterprise, that it is a fair presumption on grounds of mere human consistency that in this case silence means ignorance, and that he did not connect the work with any author, either Grosseteste or Waddington.

The cause for the connection of the *Manuel des Pechiez* with Grosseteste, if any exists apart from its occurring along with his works in certain manuscripts (as in the cases already noted), is something which only later research can determine. It is worth pointing out here however that Grosseteste's name is connected with several works of a similar type, and that his connection with popular religious poetry may easily turn out to have been an important influence in the Anglo-Norman literature of the thirteenth century,—which, as we must not forget, was one part of the vernacular literature of England. The *Château d'Amour*, of which his authorship is attested in a very large number of manuscripts, apologises for its use of French as an unclerkly language, much as English was apologised for in the next century,³⁶ and quite as if no other vernacular existed in England. An Anglo-Norman poem on the nine daughters of the Devil is ascribed to Grosseteste in one manuscript,³⁷ and the circulation of his works in French verse transla-

³⁵ In the *Handlyng Synne* he gives his name and the location of his priory in terms exact enough to serve a traveller as a guide, the names of three superiors under whom he had lived, with the exact time under each, and the exact date of the beginning of the work. In his *Chronicle* also he gives his name at once, again his location and his prior, and the date (the latter last, in a colophon), and, this time, extremely exact references to his authorities by name, the extent he has used each, etc. (see the *Chronicle of Robert Manning of Brunne*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Rolls Series, London, 1887). The passages in question from the *Chronicle* are quoted by Dr. Furnivall in the Roxburghe edition of the *Manuel* (pp. iv f., xxxi f.). It would certainly seem from the analogy offered by the former that Mannyng had made his references to his author in the latter work as far as his knowledge carried him.

³⁶ En romanz comenz ma reison

Por ceus ki ne sevent mie

Ne letrure ne clergie (ll. 26 f., Caxton Society, 1852, ed. M. Cooke).

³⁷ *Romania*, XXIX, 61.

tions is evidenced by the contents of the Tyrwhitt manuscript already given. He is also credited with a French work on husbandry.³⁸ It should also be noted that the *Prick of Conscience*, a Middle-English work which, as will be shown in another paper, follows in many ways the type laid down in the *Château d'Amour*, is assigned to Grosseteste in two copies,—attributions which, though they do not necessarily prove anything for the origin of the work, perhaps do prove some connection in the popular mind between the poem and certain literary productions connected with Grosseteste.³⁹ As a matter of fact it would be very natural that a reforming bishop of his type, whose zeal for the religious education of the laity is well known,⁴⁰ should impart a great impetus to vernacular religious literature, whether as author or as instigator and patron. A work like the *Manuel*, which follows fairly closely the subjects laid down for the instruction of the people in his ordinances, might easily owe its connection with him to its having become part of a campaign which he had furthered. In this connection it may be emphasised that the sixth book which, as we have noted, is probably an interpolation, may be said to take up the subject⁴¹ of the *Two Commandments*, the Love of God and one's neighbor, which made one of the subjects for the instruction of laymen laid down in the *Constitutions* of Archbishop Peckham in 1281.⁴² It is there-

³⁸ See *Walter of Henley's Husbandry*, ed. Eliz. Lamond, London, 1890, for the Royal Historical Society.

³⁹ This subject will be discussed in my account of the manuscript evidence for the authorship of the *Prick of Conscience*, now under preparation.

⁴⁰ His constitutions urging the clergy to more careful instruction of the laity and several of his sermons on the same subject are printed in E. Brown, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum*, etc., London, 1690, II, 250 f. Priests are to know the ten commandments and expound and preach frequently also the seven deadly sins, the seven sacraments, and what pertains to confession and penitence especially (p. 410). Roger de Weseham, Bishop of Coventry, who was much under Grosseteste's influence, makes very similar "Institutes" (see *Memoirs of the Life of Roger de Weseham*, by S. Pegge, London, 1761, p. 57). On this subject see my article "The Speculum Vitae: Addendum," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, June, 1917.

⁴¹ This seems its first appearance in the episcopal decrees.

⁴² These are: "Quatuordecim fidei articulos; decem mandata decalogi; duo praecepta evangelii, scilicet geminae charitatis; septem opera misericordiae; septem peccata capitalia, cum sua progenie; septem virtutes principales; ac septem gratiae sacramenta" (D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, etc.,

fore possible that its insertion was due to an effort to bring the work more in line with the most recent ecclesiastical legislation. It is evident that some interesting work could be done on the literature provided in England to meet the ecclesiastical ordinances for the instruction of the laity.

There remains to be noted a second translation of the *Manuel* into Middle-English. This is the unedited prose version found in a fifteenth century manuscript in St. John's College, Cambridge.⁴³ It is of interest because it adds a second member to the fourth class of manuscripts described. Like Harl. 4971 it puts the lyrics after the epilogue (in which the name appears in the form "William Wytinde"). My notes unfortunately are not sufficient to make the condition of the rest of the text clear. It does not appear to contain the sixth book at all or the poem on the Passion which is one of the peculiarities of the other member of its class. It contains Bks. I and VIII, which were also omitted by Mannyng. It should specially be noted that it omits the "here" in the reference to the authorship of the prologue, and the refusal is definite: "I nel nat telle my name ffor of god only I aske mede" (f. 1b).

IV

The results of the preceding discussion of the manuscripts and derivatives of the *Manuel*, so far as they are available, may be briefly stated. An examination of seventeen of the twenty copies of the work has disclosed no text in which the sixth book is absent when the ninth book and the epilogue are not also lacking. Though some of these texts are fragmentary, yet enough are complete to make these results of some significance, in view of the fact that

London, 1737, I, 56). These were the statutes of course which remained in force in England till the end of the Middle Ages. It may be noted that the "Petit Sermun" disposes very shortly of the subject of the love of the neighbour and concentrates on the subject of the love of God. The two subjects do, however, appear, though the description of the work given in the couplet of the prologue does not recognise more than the latter. Anglo-Norman treatises probably designed to supply the required instruction for laymen are found also in British Museum Roy. MS. 16 E. IX, Digby 86, etc. (see *Codicum Manu Scriptum Digby 86*, ed. E. Stengel, Halle, 1871, p. 1). I wish to thank Professor Carleton Brown for examining Roy. MS. 16 E. IX.

⁴³ See my note in *Modern Philology*, April, 1916, p. 165 f.

one element omitted is accepted as an interpolation, and some suspicion already attaches to the other two. Though the manuscripts found to lack the three debatable elements are only two, and the existence of another is perhaps proved by a book of extracts, one is among the earliest texts extant, and the many copies of the fuller text need not prove anything more than popularity and "up-to-date" completeness. One translation, which is as early as any but the earliest manuscripts, seems to be derived from the shorter version, and one, which we have no reason for putting earlier than the fifteenth century, seems to be derived from some form of the later. It would seem that the type of text represented by this later translation and by one copy of the original, which also puts the ninth book after the epilogue, may represent a state intermediate between the other two.⁴⁴

The conclusion to be derived from the facts just stated is⁴⁵ that the original form of the work was probably anonymous, as the prologue gave a half-promise that it would be, and that it was probably worked over later, and the sixth book, which had been a separate poem found in the same manuscript, and the ninth, which had perhaps followed the work in one copy, were added.⁴⁶ The interpolator responsible for at least the first insertion was probably Wil-

⁴⁴ This can only be proved by a careful comparison of the manuscripts of this class. It would seem on the face of it that the introductory lines preceding the two interpolations of Harl. MS. 4971 may have emanated from the original text of the first interpolation, though only one of the two texts there introduced "stuck," as it were, and the poem on the Passion is therefore copied only into this one of the existing manuscripts.

⁴⁵ Mr. Herbert has evidently seen the importance of the facts disclosed by his descriptions, even though he has not hazarded any hypotheses leading therefrom. He writes of the "Petit Sermon": "M. Meyer has shown . . . that it is simply an adaptation of a well-known poem on the love of God. . . . It is not in all MSS. of the *Manuel des Pêchés*; e. g., it was evidently not in the MS. used by the translator, Robert of Brunne, nor is it in either Arund. 288, or Roy. 20 B. xiv. It is significant that these two MSS. omit the couplet in the Prologue . . . and that they both contain the poem as a separate article. . . . It may be observed that of the Museum MSS. the two which omit the 'Sermon' also omit the epilogue" (p. 277).

⁴⁶ There is, however, some evidence that the lyrics even in the order in which they occur in this manuscript were considered as part of the *Manuel*, in the fact that they are found in the manuscript at all, since it contains no other work than the *Manuel*.

liam of Waddington, who also added a prologue in which he immortalised himself.⁴⁷ This person may however have been the scribe. It is possible that a later interpolator is responsible for the insertion of the ninth book.

Though the evidence which has been considered in this paper seems sufficiently complete for the formulation of these hypotheses, nevertheless the subject cannot be considered closed until all the manuscripts are worked over. When that time comes, the connection of Bishop Grosseteste with the work will also need to be studied as well as its relation to episcopal decrees.

V

When all the evidence for the authorship of the *Manuel des Pechiez* has been reviewed, it is plain that the author's refusal to tell his name in the prologue, which was the starting point for the

⁴⁷ It may be objected that to regard William of Waddington merely as the author of the epilogue and the interpolator of other parts of the work is to accuse him of dishonesty, since he describes himself in the epilogue in terms that would naturally apply to an author, and allows himself considerable comment on the work just finished, in what from a scribe would be an impertinent manner. It must be pointed out, however, that the dishonesty and impertinence of scribes were one of the commonplace complaints of the Middle Ages. Victor LeClerc wrote as follows of the "Omons" whose signature as he "qui fist ceste veure" to one copy of the *Image du Monde* has caused endless conjecture as to his possible authorship of the work: "Voila les hommes qui, pour grossir un livre que sa réputation faisait rechercher, y ajustaient bien ou mal tout ce qu'ils trouvaient sous leur main, et qui ne méritent certainement pas qu'on leur attribue, comme on l'a fait pour le copiste Omons, des ouvrages dont ils n'ont été trop souvent que les transcripseurs infidèles" (*Hist. litt.*, XXIII, p. 325). Perhaps the conclusive example of the dishonesty of scribes may be found in the condition of the manuscripts of the *Assomption Notre Dame* of Herman de Valenciennes. The author requests prayers for himself ("que ai fete la chançon") at the end of the work, but his name is often suppressed or altered entirely. Six forms found are given by M. Meyer (*Bulletin de la société des anciens textes français*, 1889, p. 91). They vary from Richart to Thomas or Willemme). A sound statement on the activities of scribes is the following from Miss Mary Bateson's *Mediaeval England* (London, 1904, p. 415). "A scribe who penned the whole of a great work might ask a prayer for his soul, or utter a desire for a cup of wine for his thirsty body, at the end of his tedious task, but too many hands were at work on the volume for one man to be often able to put forward a claim to it in his own name. This is also an excuse for mediaeval plagiarism. No one was greatly concerned to know which part of a chronicle was copy or epitome, which original work." The analogy of chronicles is a telling one.

discussion, cannot be lightly disregarded. In conclusion therefore it may be useful to examine some precedents for such a statement.

There exists one almost complete analogy to the reference in the prologue of the *Manuel*. This is the reference in the prologue of the *Miroir*, a contemporary Anglo-Norman work of a similar style. The lines are as follows (what appears to be the crucial word is italicised) :

Mun noun ne voil *uncore* nomer
 Pur les envius rehercer,
 Q'il ne toillent a nous le bien
 Dunt il ne voilent oïr rien,
 Qe custume est as envius . . . (ll. 129 f.).⁴⁸

Eight lines of reproach to the envious follow.

It is evident that these lines present a very close parallel to those of the *Manuel*, but the difference between the indefinite "*ci*" and the more explicit "*uncore*" is just enough to make the introduction of the author's name at the end of the *Miroir* not absolutely unexpected :

⁴⁸ The *Miroir* is unedited, a circumstance which makes it impossible to test thoroughly the interpretation of the lines here discussed. M. Meyer, however, gives considerable description of the work and long extracts in *Romania*, XV, 296-305, and XXXII, 28-37. He lists three manuscripts and two fragments, and two other copies have since come to light in the library at Wollaton Hall (*v. supra*, p. 444). Only two out of all these copies are perfect at the end. Both contain the signature above quoted, but it may be noted that it is not carried over into the Middle-English version known as the *Mirror* in any copy (see my note pointing out the relation between the two works, already cited). The lines from the prologue appear there in a form which lacks the qualifying "*uncore*" entirely, and therefore clearly predicts an anonymous work—as indeed the piece is in this version. The editors of the Wycliffite Bible quote the refusal—"Mi name ne wil I nouȝt nemin, for the enemis that miȝt heren it"—and seem to connect it with the Lollard persecution by remarking: "The preface shows the writer to have had just views as to teaching the gospel in English, and not to have been free from apprehension of blame or mischief to himself in consequence" (*The Holy Bible . . . by John Wycliffe and his followers*, ed. Madden and Forshall, Oxford, 1850, I, xx). The fact that these lines are derived from the Anglo-Norman, of course, deprives them of all significance so far as Lollardy is concerned. It can be seen that the authorship of Robert de Gretham may not be absolutely beyond question, and his connection with the *Corset* of course depends on his claim to the *Miroir* (see *Romania*, *loc. cit.*).

Ici finent les domenées
Brevement espus (e) endité(e)s.
Ore prie tuz ke les oient e dient
Ke il pur ROBERT DE GRETHAM prient
Ki Deu meintenge si sa vie,
Ki par li seit en sa baillie.
Amen, amen chescun en die!

These lines, which give the sole authority for ascribing the work to Gretham, are if any thing more ambiguous than the lines from the *Manuel*. However, the initial refusal of the name had been confessedly temporary, and an analogy can be found in the following conclusion, from a continental French work copied by an English scribe. No initial refusal of the author's name had been made, similar to those which we are considering:

Jo, CRISTIEN, l'ai translâtée,
De latin en romanz turnée,
Meis ne vol el comencement
Metre mun nun presentement,
Por ço ke jo peccheor sui;
Mes par la grant pite de lui,
Lui requer ducement e pri
K'a la fin eit de mei merci.
Amen, amen, chascuns en die;
Deus le m'otreit le fiz Marie.⁴⁹

The fashion of an author refusing to tell his name is further illustrated in works written in England by at least three other examples, namely, the *Speculum Laicorum*,⁵⁰ a Latin manual of *exempla* for preachers, contemporaneous with the *Manuel des Pechiez* (in which the author refuses his name almost in the terms of the

⁴⁹ *Trois versions rimées de L'Évangile de Nicodème*, ed. G. Paris, et A. Bos, *Société des anciens textes français*, 1885, p. 68.

⁵⁰ "Nomina siquidem nostra subticere me compulit malorum ipsa mater invidia"—quoted by Professor Crane in a review of an edition of the work, which unfortunately has not been accessible to me, so that I cannot be sure whether the rest of the prologue follows the scholastic scheme (*ROMANIC REVIEW*, VI, 220). For a Grey Friar who refused to sign his work—"propter aliquorum dedignacionem"—see A. G. Little, *The Grey Friars at Oxford*, Oxford, 1892, p. 60.

Miroir); the *Speculum Spiritualium*,⁵¹ a compendium of at least a century later, prepared especially for mystics; and the Legends of Osbern Bokenham,⁵² of two centuries later. In all these cases the refusal is evidently made in good faith. The first work contains no other indication of authorship, though it has been ascribed to John Houeden:⁵³ our only information as to the author of the second is found in the Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, of at least a century later,⁵⁴ and the attribution to Osbern Bokenham occurs in the unique manuscript of the work in a second hand.⁵⁵ The last instance gives us a clue as to the reason for any such references, which surely seem to need some explanation, since it was more natural than not in the Middle Ages to circulate books anonymously.

Bokenham, in beginning his work, expressly makes known his intention to follow the method which, as we know from other sources, was the daily habit of the University class under the scholastic *régime*.⁵⁶ He will give certain preliminary information as to the composition which is to follow, following the lines laid down

⁵¹ "Hunc librum sequentem cui hic prologus prescribitur quidam cuius nomen diuersis ex causis in hoc opusculo reticet compilauit. . . ." (From the edition of 1510 in the possession of Union Theological Seminary. I learned of the existence of this copy through the review of Professor Crane, above noted, and wish to thank the librarian of the Seminary for my use of it.) The prologue also gives the authorities of the book (in an inclusive mention), the persons for whom it is compiled, the arrangement, and a request for correction and for prayers.

⁵² Edited by C. Horstmann, *Altenglische Bibliothek*, Heilbronn, 1883.

⁵³ By Bale in 1548 (*v. Crane, loc. cit.*).

⁵⁴ Edited by Mary Bateson, Cambridge, 1898, p. 202.

⁵⁵ The colophon is as follows: "Translatyd into englys be a doctor of dyuynite clepyd Osbern Bokenham [a suffolke man], frere austyn of the conuent of Stokclare [and was doon wrytyn in Canebryge by hys son ffrere Thomas Burgh"] (p. 267; xii).

⁵⁶ The "forme des leçons ordinaires" is described by M. Chas. Thurot as follows: "Les leçons se faisaient suivant deux méthodes différentes. Ou on interprétait le texte de l'auteur dans une *exposition* (expositio), ou on le discutait dans une série de *questions* (quaestiones). La méthode des expositions est toujours la même. Le commentateur discute dans un prologue quelques questions générales, relatives à l'ouvrage qu'il expose, et il traite ordinairement de ses causes matérielle, formelle, finale, et efficiente. Il indique les divisions principales, etc. . . ." (*De l'organisation de l'enseignement dans l'université de Paris au Moyen-Âge*, Paris, 1850, p. 73).

in the mediaeval schoolroom. That is, he will state the "four causes,"

Wych, as filosofys vs do teche,
In the begynnyng men owe to seche
Of euery book: and, aftyr there entent,
The fyrst is clepyd cause efficyent,
The secunde they clepe cause materyal,
Formal the thrydde, the fourte fynal.
The efficyent cause is the auctour. . . .
As for the fyrste, who-so lyst to here,
Certeyn, the auctour was an Austyn frere;
Whos name as now I ne wyl expresse,
Ne hap that the vnwurthynesse
Bothe of hys persone & eek hys name
Myht make the werk to be put in blame . . .

(l. 6 f. *et passim*: cf. 199-200).

It is evident enough that Bokenham's reference to his name is made to fill out the complete scholastic scheme for a proper prologue. Such an example is a striking instance of the widely pervasive influence of scholasticism; and—since the "four causes" are derived from Aristotle⁵⁷—of the tremendous influence of Aristotelianism throughout the Middle Ages.

It may seem a far cry from such an explicit procedure as that of Bokenham's to the prologues which we are at present considering, but the mention of other examples will show the connection. M. Meyer has cited other instances where the analysis prefixed to a work is founded on the same Aristotelian pattern—notably the commentary on the *Divine Comedy* made by Dante's son—but the example⁵⁸ in connection with which he is referring to the scholastic prologue is one in which the author states at the beginning of his

⁵⁷ *Metaphysics*, I, chap. III, *Physics*, Bks. I and II, *Posterior Analytics*, Bk. II, chap. XI. The "four causes" were applied by the Middle Ages to the profoundest subjects as well as the most trivial. See an application by Thierry de Chartres (twelfth century) to the creation of the world, Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, Paris, 1890-3, I, 52; by Dante to the nature of philosophy and of nobility, *Convito*, III, chap. XI, IV, chap. XX. Sir Thomas Browne expresses the scholastic theory when he says: "There is but one first cause, and four second causes, of all things." *Religio Medici*, Sec. 14.

⁵⁸ *Romania*, VIII, 327.

work the title, and the four subjects simply as the "matter," "form" and purpose of the following piece, and his own name, without connecting them with the "four causes." This work is the *Lumiere as lais* of Pierre of Peckham, an Anglo-Norman composition contemporaneous with the *Manuel* and the *Miroir* and written in much the same style, doubtless for much the same public. Peckham explains himself as follows:

Cinc choses sunt en ja enquere
 Au comencement en liver fere:
 Ki fut autur e l'enti(t)lement
 E la matire e la furme ensement,
 E la fin, par quei ceo est resun
 Fu fete la composicium . . . (ll. 487 f.).

The same five subjects are found in other prologues and in commentaries prefixed to manuscripts which have evidently been the actual textbooks⁵⁹ of the schools. Even other sets of subjects are used, the number of topics varying from three to six.⁶⁰ In some

⁵⁹ See "a traité des synonymes, intitulée dans la glose *Enchiridion*. . . Cujus libelli innuenda est materia, intentio et utilitas, quis auctor et quis titulus. . . Intentio sua est de istis pertractare. Utilitas est singula libello pertractata memorie commendare. Auctor fuit magister GALFRIDUS DE VINOSALVO . . . Alii dicunt magistrum MATHEUM VINDOCINENSEM hunc librum composuisse" (*Romania*, XIV, 384). It is evident from the vapid analysis as well as the uncertainty of this preamble that we are here dealing with the gloss of a student. As Warton remarked, probably "Many of the glossed manuscripts, so common in the libraries, were the copies with which pupils in the University attended their readers or lecturers, from whose mouths paraphrastic notes were interlined or written in the margin, by the more diligent hearers" (III, 138, n. 1). Worcester Cathedral library contains several manuscripts which seem to belong to this class (see Catalogue published for the Worcester Historical Society, 1906, pp. 137, 140); and others are probably indicated in some of the numerous works bearing such "incipits" as "Materia," "Intentio," etc., in the *Initia* of Mr. A. G. Little (ed. Manchester, 1904). An excellent example of the actual textbook of the schools is the commentary (dated 1301) on the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villedieu, by "Maitre Yon, gramarien, sous-moniteur des écoles de Soissons," which is quoted from in the *Hist. litt.*, XXXI, pp. 1 f. It analyses the work under the "four causes," making the "causa finalis," "duplex," "scilicet, communis et privata. Privata duplex est, scilicet propinqua et remota" (p. 7).

⁶⁰ Among the examples cited by M. Meyer a "Doctrinal" begins with the statement "Trois choses portient as autor. C'est matire, ententions et utilité." Dante, in the Letter to Can Grande, refers to six subjects—the sixth being "the

cases it seems at present difficult to determine whether the preliminary analysis of a work is due to the author or to its students,⁶¹ and it is evident that we must not confine the influence of the scholastic prologue within too narrow or too rigid lines.

When a formula is so universally established in literary usage as is, according to the examples just given, the scholastic prologue, and is grounded, moreover, on the daily habit of every clerk's university training, it can readily be seen that its influence would be very far-reaching and that an author would often, as a matter of course, provide his work with a prologue which would stand analysis in the schools, even though he did not announce the fact. An implicit use of the *formula* in one shape or another doubtless lies behind many of the careful prologues of the Middle Ages, ver-

division of philosophy." The latter makes a frequent appearance (see the *Dictionarius* and *Poetria* of John of Garland, *Not. et Ext.*, XXVII, 40, 82—in both these cases the subjects are only five because the author's name is omitted). The "causa suscepti operis"—something between the "intentio" and the "utilitas"—is frequently used (see the *Exoticon* of Alexander of Hales, *Romania*, XXXVI, 499; a letter of Adam du Petit Pont, *Jahr. für roman. Lit.*, VIII, 76; a comment on the *De Scolariū Disciplina*, *Romania*, XIV, 383—the author's name is absent in the latter cases). A comment on the Apocalypse begins: "Sicut in saecularibus libris quaeritur quae sit materia, quae auctoritas, quae auctoris intentio, cui parti philosophiae supponatur, sic quoque in hoc propheticō quaeri solet" (Hauréau, *Not. et Ext.*, V, 235). The very large number of prologues which give an account of their "auctoritates" would make it seem that this was actually one of the most important elements of a prologue according to the scholastic discipline—one for which provision was made in the collections headed "auctoritates" so frequently found in manuscripts.

⁶¹ M. Meyer, after noting the case of Peckham, goes on to say: "Ainsi faisaient tous les scholastiques. Alexandre Neckham, Jean de Garlande, Adam du Petit-Pont ont grand soin de nous faire connaître au début de leurs traités lexicographiques l'auctor, la materia, l'intentio, la causa, l'utilitas, le titulus de leurs compositions." As the examples given above will have shown, this statement is not quite accurate, since there is some variation in the subjects chosen for mention, and it probably should be further qualified to admit the possibility that some of the prologues may be due to students, since, as we have seen, students were constantly making such, and such a commentary as that on the *Enchiridion*, cited above, shows its origin positively in its doubt as to the author of the work. It may be noted that the manuscript of the *Poetria* of John of Garland, printed by Mari (*Romanische Forschungen*, XIII, 883 f.), does not contain the gloss as to the five subjects, though it is quoted as a variant from another copy (p. 950). M. Meyer criticises Scheler for editing the three lexicographical treatises above referred to (*Jahr. für roman. Lit.*, VI, 43, *et passim*) without the glosses, "qui ont autant d'importance que le texte même" (*Romania*, XX, 181).

narular as well as Latin,⁶² and it was probably an important influence in creating the extensive use of such introductions.⁶³ The requirement for the mention of the author's name, inherent in the most common forms of the scheme, though not in all, is probably responsible in part for the break in the mediaeval tradition of anonymous circulation which is specially to be observed in Anglo-Norman literature. M. Meyer has referred to the desire for prayers and the wish of a well-known *trouveur* to make himself known, as the only two motives operating to make a mediaeval author disclose his identity;⁶⁴ but it may be believed that the scholastic tradition, which

⁶² For example the prologues of the following representative mediaeval works can be analysed according to one or another of the scholastic schemes above mentioned: Dante's *Convito*; *Li Tresors*, of Brunetto Latini; *Disciplina Clericalis*, of Petrus Alphonsus (ed. Fr. W. V. Schmidt, Berlin, 1827); the collection of *exempla* of Etienne de Bourbon (ed. by A. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1877, in *Anecdotes historiques, pour la Société de l'Histoire de France*); the *Miracles de la Vierge* of the Anglo-Norman, Éverard de Gateley (quoted from by M. Meyer, *Romania*, XXIX, 27); the *Catholicon Anglicum*, written in 1483 (*E. E. T. S.*, No. 75), and the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, written in 1440 (*E. E. T. S.*, No. 102; Extra Series). Almost all these works also give a statement as to their authorities and make an excuse for imperfections and request for correction.

⁶³ The popularity of prologues in mediaeval works is too well known to need illustration. As an extreme sign, however, may be noted the appearance of the *Aurora* of Peter de Riga in one copy with four prologues, not all by the author (Hauréau, *Not. et Ext.*, IV, 295-7). It may be imagined that the addition of a prologue was sometimes resorted to to freshen up an old work. For example, one feature of the gradual expansion of the *Image du Monde* through three redactions was the elaboration of the prologue (see C. Fant, *L'Image du Monde, . . . étudié dans ses diverses rédactions françaises*, Upsala, 1886; P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXI, 481 f.). In the third redaction the long prologue supplies very well the information required by the forms of the scholastic prologue which omit the name of the author.

⁶⁴ "Jusque dans le cours du xiii^e siècle, nos vieux poètes gardent habituellement l'anonyme. On paraît avoir considéré au moyen âge comme de mauvais goût d'introduire sans motif son nom dans une composition littéraire. Dante ne s'est nommé qu'une fois dans la *Comédie*, et il s'en est excusé. Les exceptions, pour être fréquentes, se justifient ordinairement par des motifs particuliers. Ainsi, les traducteurs de vies de saints ou en général ceux qui traitent en vers de quelque matière édifiante se nomment assez souvent pour appeler sur eux les prières des lecteurs, et les auteurs de romans d'aventures, surtout les plus connus tels que Chrestien de Troies, se nomment volontiers à la troisième personne au début de leurs poèmes, dans la pensée que la notoriété de leur nom prédisposera favorablement l'auditoire, mais encore une fois, c'est l'exception" (*Romania*, XI, 39). It should be noted that Dante limits the use of the six subjects to

he has elsewhere pointed out, must have constituted a third, as would appear natural in the thirteenth century, when scholasticism dominated everything. In any case, whatever the cause, more landmarks in the form of the names of authors (usually imbedded in the text) are visible in Anglo-Norman literature than in Middle-English,⁶⁵ though, as is well recognised, the monuments of the former period are very little known and almost inaccessible; and the fashion for signing works of literature was for some reason so well established that when the authors of the *Miroir* and *Manuel* did not wish to give their names, they went out of their way to excuse the omission.

An attempt to analyse the prologues of the *Miroir* and the *Manuel* schematically, after what we can imagine to be the method of the schools, will show that they follow implicitly, with some adaptation to the requirements of their material, very much such a scheme as that laid down by Peckham and found in other prologues. The treatment of the five subjects is to some extent discursive and overlapping, but no more so, it may be believed, than that of the *Lumière as lais*.

The fact that a deliberate attempt is made at providing a formal prologue is evident in both works. The *Manuel* declares

Le prologe i ad le liuere auant;
Qe mult eyde a feble et uaillant (ll. 35-6);

and the *Miroir* remarks

Li prologes fet ici sujur (l. 175).

The *Manuel* gives at once a general account of its subject:

works of instruction (letter to Can Grande, l. 120). This whole epistle is an example of scholastic commentary.

⁶⁵ Éverard de Gateley, Éverard (translator of *Cato*), Élie de Wincestre, Raüf de Linham, Simon de Fraisne, Serlo, Adgar, Chardry, Pierre de Peckham, Samson de Nanteuil, Angier, Robert de Ho, Bozon, etc. The tradition for signing works of literature was probably grounded firmly during the earlier, more cosmopolitan period of Anglo-Norman literature by the example of the large group of famous *trouveurs*, such as Wace, Benoît de Sainte-More, Marie de France, Guillaume le Clerc, etc., who signed their work in the third person.

A uus les choses ben mustrer
Dunt hom se deit confesser (ll. 3-5);⁶⁶

and it then offers the exact material in the table of contents already referred to (ll. 13 f.). Since the subjects follow in the order of presentation, this may be said to give in some degree also the "form" of the work, which, however, is later referred to more exactly—

Par perografts ert destinctez (l. 71).

In the *Miroir* the "form" is in the nature of things bound up with the "matter"—

Les evangeliz i verrez
Mult proprement enromauncez,
E puis les exposiciouns
Brevement sulum les sens espuns (ll. 69-72).

And a similar reference occurs again (ll. 199 f.). Each gives the title and explains the metaphor involved, as the title of the *Lumière as lais* had also been explained:⁶⁷

Le Manuel est apele,	Ceste livre <i>Mirour</i> ad noun;
Car en main deit estre porte	Ore oiez par quel raison . . .
(ll. 63-4).	(l. 143-4).

The references to the author's name have already been quoted. As to the "*fin*" of the *Manuel* it is stated shortly:

⁶⁶ Compare the words of Grossesteste's Constitutions: "Hi qui sunt sacerdotes maxime sciant quae exiguntur ad verae confessionis & poenitentiae sacramentum, formamque baptizandi, doceant frequenter laicos in idiomate comuni" (Brown, p. 410).

⁶⁷ It is characteristic of the scholastic habit of composition that the choice of titles like the present ones—and many others far more metaphorical and fantastic which were popular in the Middle Ages—was a deliberate effort to convey as much meaning as possible in the titles, and even connect them with the scheme for the whole composition laid down in the prologue. The commentary on the *Exoticon*, already quoted (*v. supra*, p. 457), contains the following illuminating statement: "Et sciendum quod si titulus competenter sit appositus, contingit reperire hec tria: materia, causam et fructum (*i. e.*, the title contains all the other three subjects which are treated in the scheme used in this prologue) unde versus:

Materiam titulo, causam, fructum retinemus
Hec tria, si titulus bene ponitur, inveniemus."

It would be interesting to know the source of this couplet.

Pur la laie gent ert fet,
Deu le parface, si li plest,
Que il vere pussent apertement
Quant il trespasent, et quant nient (ll. 113-16).

The *Miroir* may be said to give the triple "*fin*"⁶⁸ described by Peckham—that is, the general benefit of laymen (ll. 187 f.), the assistance of special friends (in this case the lady, Aline, to whom the *Miroir* is dedicated—l. 1 f.), and the spiritual reward for the author (ll. 231 f.).

It is hoped that the analysis just given will have shown the formal character of the two prologues,⁶⁹ and have made it clear

⁶⁸ For a similar division of the "*fin*," or "*causa finalis*," see the commentary of Maître Yon, already referred to (p. 456). It may be noted that he also makes his title do double service, as follows: "*Causa vero efficiens habetur in titulo qui talis est: Incipit Doctrinale magistri Alexandri de Villa Dei in Extria.*" It is curious that the title is generally given in the more formal glosses with the "*Incipit*." It may be noted as another sign of the fact that the procedure here described had become so common as to have developed a real jargon, that "*causa efficiens*" had become interchangeable with "*author*." A comment begins "*Actor, vel causa efficiens*," or we find the comment "*Raymaundus non fuit causa efficiens*" (Hauréau, *Not. et Ext.*, V, 10, 283).

⁶⁹ It may be further noted as a sign of the correctness of the two prologues according to scholastic canons that both are careful to refer to "*saints*" as their authorities. The prologue of the *Miroir* also contains an apology for imperfection and request for correction, which, as has been remarked above, is an element so frequent and uniform in prologues of this type as to make it probable that its use also was the result of a habit formed in the schools. No such element is found in the prologue of the *Manuel*, but it should be noted that it is added in the epilogue in the lines as to the "*little town*," etc. The "*excuse*" of the *Miroir* almost duplicates these in part in the lines—

Si rien i ad a amender,
U del fraunceis u del rimer,
Nel tenes pas a mesprisoun,
Mes bien gardez la raisoun. (Ll. 96 f.)

The conventional nature of the seemingly individual references to the "*little town*," etc., of the *Manuel* appear from the comparison to other examples, both Anglo-Norman and Continental French, in which an author apologises for his provincial dialect by a reference to the place of his nurture (see *Romania*, XXI, 612, XXIX, 78). It is further characteristic that procedure very natural in any composition, such as invocation of the divinity at the beginning as in the *Manuel*, or a careful arrangement of the material as is also found in the *Manuel*, were in some mediaeval works sanctioned by an appeal to authority. Plato in *Timaeus* is cited in support of the former by Bokenham (p. 129), and Aristotle for the latter in the gloss on the *Exoticon* (v. *supra*, p. 457). In connection with the present slight contribution to the dominating influence of scholasticism, reference may be made to the important study of M. Thurot on the mediaeval

that the refusals of the two authors to tell their names was probably a deliberate procedure, inherent in the attempt to fulfil the scholastic requirements for a correct prologue. It is evident in any case that it would have been just as proper for the authors to have given their names as to have withheld them, in spite of the general mediaeval tradition of anonymous authorship. This fact somewhat increases the probability that the reference of the *Manuel*, at any rate, is intended as a final refusal, since the more deliberate the original withholding of the name, the more unlikely that the author would let his identity slip out later without such a retrospective reference as we do not find in the present work. The discussion just ended, however, though it certainly increases the significance of the lines in question, cannot be said to settle positively their interpretation, and for that our only hope lies in the critical edition of the *Manuel des Pechiez* which we may hope will sometime be forthcoming.

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study of grammar, in which he shows the Aristotelian influence absorbing all the learning of the time, to, in the end, an absurd degree. "L'autorité d'Aristote est invoquée à l'appui des propositions les plus simples, par exemple pour dire qu'on ne peut donner à autrui ce qu'on n'a pas" (*Not. et Ext.*, XXII, Pt. II, 118). Since the current general conceptions of the Middle Ages have for the most part been built up by the eloquent generalisations of scholars like Gaston Paris, whose studies had specially lain among the early ingenuous vernacular literature, it is well to bring out in every way possible the element contributed to the whole of the literature of the later period, by the influence of scholasticism dominating everything, and penetrating to corners where—as in the present instance—we would hardly imagine its existence. As Professor Kittredge has pointed out in his *Poetry of Chaucer* (Boston, 1915, p. 11), the whole Middle Ages have too long passed under the label of "lawless, amorphous, chaotic," and it may be that this impression can only be corrected when the Latin literature of the time has been studied, which, in the words of M. Ch. V. Langlois, "a été dédaignée, en bloc, pendant longtemps" (*L'éloquence sacrée au moyen-âge*, *Revue des deux mondes*, January, 1893, p. 170). It may be believed that when this literature is better understood it will be clear that the later Middle Ages, instead of suffering the limitations of "naïveté," in many respects were burdened with a narrow and intensely precious sophistication. As M. Langlois well says: "Ç'a été l'une des manies du moyen âge de croire fermement à la valeur des machines intellectuelles et d'en confectionner beaucoup: machines mnémotechniques, machines à penser, machines à prier, machines à prêcher" (p. 193). The last section of this paper has involved the description of the mediaeval "machine à faire un prologue." The *Manuel* itself has its part in the development of the "machine" for the instruction of laymen.

MISCELLANEOUS

DANTE, *PURGATORIO* 22. 67-9

DANTE makes Statius say to Virgil (*Purg.* 22. 67-9):

Facesti come quei che va di notte,
Che porta il lume dietro, e sè non giova,
Ma dopo sè fa le persone dotte.

This seems to be imitated by Petrarch, *Fam.* 24. 3:

Ceu nocturnus viator lumen in tenebris gestans, ostendisti
secuturis callem in quo ipse satis miserabiliter lapsus es.

Scartazzini, in his note on Dante's passage, quotes from a sonnet by Polo da Reggio (fl. ca. 1230):

Si come quel che porta la lumiera
La notte quando passa per la via,
Alluma assai più gente della spera
Che sè medesmo, che l'ha in balia.

Chaucer (*L. G. W.* 924-6) apparently follows Dante:

Glory and honour, Virgil Mantuan,
Be to thy name! and I shal, as I can,
Folow thy lantern, as thou gost biforn.

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HISPANIC NOTES

I.—*FERRENEUS

PORTUGEES *ferrenho* iz an ordinery adjectiv, with the corresponding adverb *ferrenhamente* (*Revista lusitana*, X, 62). Galician *ferreño* means 'cosa dura' (Cuveiro Piñol) or az an adjectiv 'duro' (Valladares). The Spanish word, uzed ôny in the expression *nuez ferreña*, probably came, along with the thing itself, from Galicia or some place near the Portugees border. The suffix ov **ferrēneus* iz the same az that ov classic *aēneus*. It iz interesting becauz it shows that in Portugees *tinha*, Spanish *tiña*, and similar words, clôs *i* waz formd directly from open *i* by contact with the sound *ñ*. This development iz implied by the differing strest vowels ov *cegonha* and *cunha* (*Modern Philology*, XI, 349), but *ferrenho* seems to contain the only clear proof ov the matter.

II.—IAM MAGIS

In the ROMANIC REVIEW, VII, 398, Mr. De Forest calls Spanish *jamás* a Gallic loan-word, becauz ov the diffrent development found in *ya* and *yacer*. This idēa iz evidently rong. Analogic *yazer* depends on normal *yaz*, just az analogic *taño* and *tañer* (insted ov **tanzer*) follo normal *tañe*. From *echar* and *enero* we can see that *iam magis* shoold hav made **emás* in Spanish. But the *a* ov *ya* kept *a* from becoming *e* in the derivativ ov *iam magis*. At a later time, *dž* waz developd befoar *u*, *o*, and strestless *a*. The ôlder sound remaind befoar strest *a*, and by analogy befoar strestless *a* in verb-stems. Az Catalan has *mai* (borrod from Italian?) beside normal *més* < *magis*, we may admit that Portugees *jamaís* and Spanish *jamás* cood hav come from France; but neether langwej contains eny evidence ov such borroing.

III.—NUNQUAM

In Italian we find *viene* beside *vento*: free *è* waz lengthend, and

developed otherwise than the checked vowel, which remained short. A difference of the same kind explains Portuguese *língua* beside Spanish *lengua*. Checked *é* was not subject to harmonic change in early Hispanic; but the Portuguese word formerly had a nasal *é*, without a following nasal consonant (*Die Neueren Sprachen*, XI, 140). Spanish *veyente* was the normal derivative of *uiginti*; in *veinte* < *veinte* we find a re-stress form of stressless *veinte* < *veyente*, corresponding to *dizesiete* < *diez e siete*. In Asturian, which often agrees with Portuguese rather than with Castilian, the *i* of *llingua* seems to imply an earlier free nasal vowel, as in the Portuguese equivalent. Thus Portuguese *nunca* is normal, but Spanish *nunca* needs to be explained. From the sound-system of Rumanian, and from such words as Spanish *leño* beside *puño*, we can see that *pera* < *pira* was an earlier development than *gola* < *gula*. Palatal-contact changed open vowels to closer sounds, but did not modify Hispanic *é* and *ó*. Thus the *ñ* of **léñño* and **púñño*, developed later than *é* in *pera* but earlier than *ó* in *gola*, produced close *u* in **púñño* without altering the *é* of **léñño*. If vowel-harmony was active in Hispanic before *gùla* became *góla*, it would explain *nunca* beside *lengua*. Vowel-harmony might have produced close *u* from checked open *u*, without modifying checked close *e*.

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REVIEW

Maistre Charles Fontaine, Parisien. By Richmond Laurin Hawkins, Ph.D., Instructor in French in Harvard University. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1916, 8vo, pp. ix, 281.

During the past twenty years or more French literature of the sixteenth century has been receiving careful attention from critics, and many monumental works have been issued. The above study is a noteworthy contribution to this field of scholarship and deserves to be ranked among the most important works of its class that have yet appeared, whether in Europe or America.

In his searching review of the doctoral dissertation of Miss Ruutz-Rees (*Charles de Sainte-Marthe*, New York: Columbia Press, 1910), which appeared a few years ago in the *ROMANIC REVIEW* (vol. ii, 1911, pp. 223-225), Dr. Hawkins seemed to doubt for a moment the wisdom of devoting so much attention to an author of second rank. The answer to any objections advanced at that time may be found in the present study. It behooves us to remember, first of all, that during the sixteenth century a poet of the very first rank usually received a court appointment, and therefore represented in a general way the prevailing taste in court circles. Thus, the verse of a Marot or a Saint-Gelays characterizes for us the trend of literary appreciation at the court of Francis I, from his accession to the throne of France in 1515 to his death in 1548. Again, a court poet, as, for example, Ronsard, is often only concerned with his own conception of poetic ideals, or, on the other hand, merely seeks to satisfy, like the *Grands Rhétoriciens*, the whims of his patron. The secondary author, however, left to his own resources, is everywhere—and, we may even say, at all times—nearer to the public in general. Hence his work is usually considered either as a fair sample of popular taste or as the expression of a certain intellectual milieu. And no better type of this class of authors can be found than a Fontaine or a Sainte-Marthe.

Toward the middle of the sixteenth century Lyons was without doubt the intellectual center of Europe. Baudrier's monumental bibliography (of which eleven volumes have now appeared) shows that for the production of books this city was without a peer, and could justly claim the title of educator of Europe. Sufficiently removed from Paris to escape the oppression of that hideous incubus, the Faculty of Theology of the Sorbonne, and, further, not having the misfortune of its sister city Toulouse, of being watched over by an ever-vigilant and captious Parliament, Lyons flourished under a liberal and enlightened government. There, indeed, new ideas were allowed to take root, and new departures, instead of being repressed, were encouraged. Its great fairs, where the book-stall figured largely, attracted, like a modern exposition, visitors and purchasers from all parts of Europe—from Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Britain, Spain, and especially Italy.¹ Its wealthy citizens, whose

¹ An interesting account of the *Foires de Lyon* is found in Pigeonneau, *Histoire du Commerce de la France*, 2d ed., Paris, 1887-89, ii, pp. 380-9. See also pp. 62 and 78.

families originated largely from beyond the Alps, sought to outdo the great houses of Florence and Venice in luxury and refinement. Here the exiled, whether for political or religious reasons, found a welcome refuge; here, also, the itinerant scholar was lodged—and not in prison!—at the city's expense. What more interesting milieu, in a word, may be found in the annals of this period than this bustling metropolis of wealth and ideas? And the impecunious Charles Fontaine, ever on the alert for a means of providing for a growing family, and eager to win the favor of the—less cultivated (it is true) but wealthier—class of business men and merchants, reproduces faithfully all the minutæ of the life of his environment. So his biographer has been able to give us a complete background, if not of Lyons as a whole,—that would require several bulky volumes,—at least of a most interesting aspect of the social conditions of that important municipality.

On subjecting his valuable study to a closer scrutiny we discover that in the first chapter Dr. Hawkins elucidates many doubtful points concerning Fontaine's early life, such as the date of his birth and, especially, his education at the Collège du Plessis in Paris. One feels however, let us confess, that the judgment passed by the author (p. 6) on the methods of teaching in vogue in institutions of learning at that time is somewhat too severe. The mere fact that many of these colleges sent forth an exceptionally large number of well-equipped scholars is a sufficient refutation of the wholesale condemnation, indulged in too frequently by modern theorists, of the methods of instruction employed by the pedagogues of that period. Later on, Fontaine passed to the institution known afterward as the *Collège Royal*, now the *Collège de France*, where, according to Dr. Hawkins, he came in contact with Loyola, Calvin, and Rabelais. Then follows the amusing poetic correspondence carried on by Fontaine with his uncle, Jean Dugué (pp. 9-14), in which the latter sought in vain to dissuade his recalcitrant nephew from the vocation of the muses. In the end—but this is merely a conjecture of the biographer, for definite information is lacking—Dugué “decided that further remonstrance” with his nephew “would be idle and dropped the correspondence” (p. 13); and Maître Charles was left to regret in after years his obstinacy in not yielding to the counsel of his worldly-wise uncle.

The second chapter (p. 15) is devoted to the famous quarrel between Marot and Sagon, in which Fontaine took so prominent a part. Our author's treatment of this subject is peculiarly happy.² Regarding Marot's religious beliefs, Dr. Hawkins's assertion that “he was as thorough a Protestant as a man of his unstable character could possibly be” (p. 17), is without doubt the only opinion tenable in view of all the circumstances. We are fortunately growing away from the habit of earlier critics who insisted upon placing these humanists in one religious sect or another. The utter impossibility of settling such questions may be gathered from the controversy that arose between Douen and Christie regarding the religious views of Etienne Dolet, the former assert-

² Though only a matter of detail, it may be noted that Dr. Hawkins makes no mention in his bibliographies of Ph.-A. Becker's *Marots Leben*, which appeared in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, vols. xli, 1913, pp. 186 et sqq.; xlii, 1914, pp. 87 et sqq.; 141 et sqq.

ing beyond peradventure that he was a Protestant, and the latter being equally confident that he was not.³

As for the "envious" nature of Sagon, so strongly emphasized by Dr. Hawkins (and this judgment, be it said, is in accord with that of most modern critics), it may be well to remember that we have, in the main, only the version of the quarrel favorable to Marot. In justice to Sagon we are obliged to admit that he acted not altogether without provocation; and that if his methods are reprehensible they were unfortunately rather common at that time. Sagon, like most men of letters of the period, was inclined to borrow freely from other authors; and we are not surprised therefore—though this fact seems to have escaped the attention of all scholars—to find that his motto, *velà de quoy*,⁴ was not original with him, for it had already been used in lieu of a signature by Jean Parmentier in his beautiful poem on the *Merveilles de Dieu et la dignité de l'homme*, composed in 1529, or about seven years before this quarrel began.⁵

This second chapter is of especial value, inasmuch as Dr. Hawkins gives an excellent résumé, not to be found elsewhere, of this celebrated poetic controversy. The questions relating to it that will be discussed in what immediately follows are mainly matters of detail and do not in any way impair the lucid and scholarly exposition of a thorny and complicated story. Thus, on page 27, Dr. Hawkins states that it was the king who required Marot "to make a public abjuration of the Protestant faith." From what Marot himself states it appears more probable, on the contrary, that it was the arch-enemy of the Reformers, Cardinal de Tournon, who forced the unfortunate poet to undergo the humiliation of a public chastisement. Again, on page 29, our critic makes the following statement in a note (continuation of note 6 of p. 28): "It will be observed that some of these poets" (whose names are mentioned in some verses of Sagon that he has just quoted) "were dead in 1537." Doubtless through oversight the author neglects to indicate the names of those who had died before that date, and, likewise, to state that they belonged to the Rhetorical school. On page 30, there is cited a dizain of Calvy de la Fontaine in which are found such interesting expressions as *une truye qui file*, *un asnon qui joue du rebec*, *truye en espices*, all of which were emblems in great vogue at that time, thanks to the popularity of the *Emblemata* of Alciati and numerous imitations of that work, of which the *Picta Poesis* and its translation, the *Imagination Poétique*, of Barthélemy Aneau were the most widely

³ Cf. Christie, *Dolet*, London, 1899, pp. 493-5, footnote. It is also interesting to observe that one of the same authorities, Douen, considers Margaret of Navarre a Protestant, which, in the light of recent information, is most doubtful; while Merle d'Aubigné, in his *Histoire de la Réformation du xvi^e siècle* (Paris, 1847; iii, 652), refuses to see in Guillaume Briçonnet a reformer.

⁴ Cf. p. 18, note 2. The figure 2 has been omitted from the note doubtless through typographical oversight.

⁵ This poem was published by Parmentier's friend Crignon after the latter's return to France in 1530. Cf. Schefer, *Le Discours de la Navigation de Jean et Raoul Parmentier*, Paris, 1883, p. 137.

read.⁶—On page 32, where we are told that Sagon “takes leave of his weeping friends and yields up the ghost,” we are rather pointedly reminded of the celebrated death-scene of Raminagrobis in Rabelais.—Again, it is interesting to note on page 33 that one of the “Sagonneaux” refers to his chief as “*filz Cretin*,” viz., Guillaume Crétin’s poetic son, the highest title (in the opinion of that not very celebrated personage) that could be bestowed on any one.—Finally, on page 35, the *rat pelé* allusion to Marot recalls not only the fact that the poet had been *rappelé* from Italy, but also that he was bald.⁷ These few supplementary remarks may suffice to indicate that the exposition of this question by Dr. Hawkins is so carefully wrought out and so suggestive that an entire review might easily be devoted to it.

Chapter iii, which treats of the early friends, travels in Italy and marriage of Fontaine, is likewise of considerable interest. Our author conjectures that the reasons that led Fontaine to quit Paris were his desire to win the protection of Renée de France, Duchess of Ferrara, his ambition to visit Italy, the attraction of the Lyonnese school of poets, and his eagerness for adventure. The biographer then concludes, without however adducing any data, that this trip was undertaken by Fontaine in 1540.⁸ But on p. 51, note 4, Dr. Hawkins admits that this date is not very certain, because, from evidence supplied by another poem, Fontaine’s journey might have taken place in 1539. However plausible our author’s contention in favor of the date 1540 may be, it is quite possible that a refutation exists in the following hypotheses, viz.:⁹ That Fontaine went to Italy during the summer of 1539;¹⁰ that he returned to Lyons in the spring of 1540, going thence to Paris;¹¹ and that it was from Paris that B. Aneau invited him in the following summer (1540) to accept a charge in

⁶ The first two of the above emblems were not infrequently used by printers at that time. Even Maurice Scève, who held aloof from anything savoring of the popular, introduces four emblems in his *Délie: Ane au Moulin, Europa sur le Bauf, Cléopâtre et ses serpents, Femme qui bat le beurre*. Cf. also Guiffrey, *Vie de Clément Marot*, Paris, 1912, ch. xvi, pp. 340–416.

⁷ In this connection it is interesting to note that A. Chenevière, in his *Bonaventure des Periers* (Paris, 1885, p. 53, note 3), quotes some verses from the *Rabais du caquet de Fripelippes et de Marot* in which Sagon enumerates his enemies and his allies. It would be worth while to know whether *Quittant le ruisseau argentin* in these verses refers, as the present reviewer is inclined to believe, to Fontaine.

⁸ It is but just to add that Miss Ruutz-Rees, in *Charles Fontaine’s Fontaine d’Amour and Sannazaro*, accepts without hesitation the conclusions of Dr. Hawkins with regard to this date. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxvii, 1912, p. 65.

⁹ With regard to this trip two facts must be kept in mind: First, that none of the poems written by Fontaine in Italy supply us with any definite date; and, secondly, that Fontaine was in Lyons at some time in the course of the year 1540, as shown by his *Dieu gard à la ville de Lyon, fait l’an 1540*.

¹⁰ Cf. *Ode pour Dieu gard à la ville de Paris . . . 1554 en juin*, in which the poet states that he made this trip *quinze ans y a*. Cf. Hawkins, *Ch. F.*, p. 51.

¹¹ Cf. *La Fontaine d’Amour: Elégie xxii*, addressed to a lady of Paris. The *escriit de Lyon* to which the poet refers in these verses is obviously some other communication.

the Collège de la Trinité of Lyons;¹² that Fontaine yielded to his solicitation and remained connected with this educational institution until 1555.¹³ Dr. Hawkins feels no doubt—and justly so—that if this were true an author as loquacious as Maistre Charles would have mentioned his relationship with this famous college at some time or other. Yet it should be observed that Aneau, wholly absorbed in this institution, of which he was to a large extent the creator and certainly the guiding spirit, makes after 1540 only slight references to it.

On the other hand we do know that these two authors were intimate friends,¹⁴ so much so in fact that Fontaine protests in his letter to Morel that Aneau abused his friendship in permitting the *Quintil* to pass as his creation (cf. p. 150). Furthermore in 1555 Fontaine was honored with a temporary appointment to the principalship of the Collège de la Trinité (cf. pp. 216–18). If it is true, as our critic is inclined to think, that the poet received this distinction without having undergone the required apprenticeship, it was quite an unusual step on the part of the Consulate. In all other instances, so far as can be ascertained, such appointments were based chiefly on experience.

Finally as for Fontaine's refraining from mention of his connection with the college, this may have been prompted by the fear of the taint of Protestantism of which Aneau and his regents were beginning to be accused. To have openly identified himself with these suspects might have injured the sale of his books outside of Lyons, and possibly also have endangered his head. It was best by far to make every effort to have all such unpleasant connections pass unnoticed. The ferrets of the Sorbonne were already uncomfortably active; they needed no stimulus. This may also serve to explain the fact that while the registers of the Consulate before 1540 often contain lists of the names of the regents of the college, after that date such lists are conspicuously absent.¹⁵

¹² In a prefatory remark to Aneau's formulary for conducting the college presented to the Echevins of Lyons on May 4, 1540, the secretary of that body states explicitly that the new principal *s'est offert entretenir selon sa forme et teneur, et pour ce faire aller expressément à Paris pour amener avec luy régents propres et commodes à ce faire*. Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, i, 1910, p. 202. As Fontaine was a Master of Arts of Paris, and as he established himself definitely in Lyons at this time, the above hypotheses seem quite plausible. This impecunious scholar would only leave Paris to seek a position or protection of some kind; witness his trip to Italy.

¹³ Otherwise where and how did Maistre Charles obtain the wherewithal to support his wife and family? He had sought in vain to place himself under the aegis of a patron; and greater authors than he found in royalties no adequate means of subsistence.

¹⁴ Cf. pp. 64–65. The dizain addressed to *ses deux amys*, Scève and Aneau, is found in the *Fontaine d'Amour*, published in 1545.

¹⁵ Thus, of the five names of poets given by Dr. Hawkins on p. 61, it is quite possible that none, with the exception of Wilson, was ever in any way connected with the college. For Wilson, see ROMANIC REVIEW, iv, 1913, p. 47. Fontaine's interest in things educational is shown further by the prominence given to the *Université* in his *Dieu gard* to Paris in 1547. Cf., however, pp. 130–31.

According to Dr. Hawkins (p. 49), Fontaine made the journey from Turin to Ferrara by way of the river Po. That this was probably the usual route followed by travelers is indicated by the fact that about 1527 the young Antoine Arlier took the same course to reach Padua, where he was to spend several years in the study of law.¹⁶ Again the interesting account (p. 51) of the poet's financial misfortunes in Italy, when he was succored by the generous Lyon Jamet, a kindhearted person who seems to have spent the major portion of his life rendering pecuniary assistance to friends afflicted with that sad malady *faulx d'argent*, tallies closely with that of the above-mentioned student who likewise was rescued by a friend, the celebrated Etienne Dolet.

Chapter iv contains a striking picture—and accurate to the slightest detail—of the bustling commercial center Lyons during the first half of the sixteenth century. In fact the artistic effect attained by Dr. Hawkins in these pages suffers rather than gains from the too highly colored description of this city quoted (p. 62) from the article of J. Désormaux.¹⁸

Chapter v, consisting of a study of the *Querelle des Amies* and the Platonism of Fontaine, is the best presentation of this important question with which the reviewer is acquainted. It is a complete and well-balanced account, marked by keen insight and sober judgment on the part of the author. From Papillon's satire¹⁹ to the close of this literary joust every contribution to the subject is found in its true setting; nothing is overvalued. The author's definition of Platonism as well as his explanation of how the Platonic and Mystic currents often meet, harmonize in general with the theories recently advanced by M. Renaudet.²⁰ Dr. Hawkins shows also that in his *Contr'Amie de Court* (1541) Fontaine was a pioneer in the Platonic movement and was furthermore greatly indebted to the *Cortegiano* of Castiglione (p. 235). However, it should be noted that M. Renaudet's discoveries prove that Platonism was far more widespread before 1541 than M. Lefranc has heretofore been willing to admit (cf. p. 86, note 1). In his thorough analysis of the above-mentioned work of Fontaine, our critic has revealed many unsuspected sources. This, it may be remarked, is but an additional indication of the broad erudition of literary men of that period. As stated above, Dr. Hawkins's knowledge of this subject is profound; and, if for no other reason, this chapter deserves the serious consideration of all who are seeking information concerning the chief factors in this interesting movement.

But, our author's assertions to the contrary notwithstanding, it is impossible to take seriously Fontaine's protestations in favor of Platonism. His

¹⁶ Cf. *Notes sur Raulin Séguier, humaniste narbonnais du xvi^e siècle, et sur Antoine Arlier, de Nîmes* in *Les Annales du Midi*, 1909, p. 492. [¹⁷ suppressed.]

¹⁸ In a review of Baur's *Maurice Scève* (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1908, pp. 229-231) the present writer called attention to the fact that such tendencies to exaggeration have undergone considerable modification in recent years, thanks to a better understanding of the conditions of that period.

¹⁹ Papillon's satire on the women of Paris (1537) is very similar in tone to Marot's epistle on the same subject, the consequences of which, as is well-known, were rather serious for the *brave Clément*. Cf. Marot, *Œuvres*, ed. Guiffrey, Paris, 1881, iii, 115 *et seq.*

²⁰ *Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris*, Paris, 1916. Cf. G. Lanson's notice of this work, *ROM. REV.*, viii, pp. 341-2.

paradoxical and uncertain character did not lend itself readily to any deep feeling. Thus on p. 121 we are told that in his second wife Fontaine found his affinity—that he addressed her scores of poems, “all of which breathe the most profound respect and love.” Elsewhere (p. 181), however, Dr. Hawkins admits that “persistency in love” was not to the liking of this Platonist.²¹ In fact it is difficult to reconcile with the Platonic theories of the *Contr'Amie* and the highly virtuous *Sentences* of 1558 (p. 207) the sensual and often scurrilous verse so frequent with Maistre Charles. The question, therefore, that presents itself at once is this: Was Fontaine sincere in his Platonism, or was this merely a literary affectation with him? It should not be difficult for the reader to decide.

Chapter vi is replete with biographical and bibliographical data to which, for lack of space, we shall make only a few passing references. Thus in his discussion of Fontaine's volume of *Estreines* (p. 125) Dr. Hawkins might have indicated that this genre, if not created by Marot, was at least popularized by him.—The translation of the dream-book of Artemidorus (discussed on pp. 125-8) reveals further the necessity to which authors of this period were often compelled to resort in order to satisfy the exigencies of public taste. Astrology, dreams and other portents made at that time so strong an appeal to the superstitious nature of the average reader that all the most prominent men of letters were compelled to treat these questions in some form or other in their works.²² The *Pléiade*, in holding aloof from the general public and appealing only to the élite, did not subject themselves to any such obligations.—On p. 131 our author mentions a magistrate named De Gouy who decided Fontaine's suit, and on the next page he quotes in a note (1) the following words: *Au Président De Gouy*. Are we here in presence of a typographical error, or is Fontaine himself at fault? If the former, it must be admitted that it is one of the very rare examples of such slips in a work singularly free from them.—On p. 134 we are told that Fontaine, “convinced that it was impossible to make both ends meet with his pen,” engaged himself as proof-reader to one of the numerous presses of Lyons. Dr. Hawkins could have added that practically every scholar in that city, no matter what his station in life, eagerly sought such an opportunity: the wealthy Guillaume Scève and the busy Aneau found leisure for such work.²³ But the greatest value of this section of the chapter lies in the fact that it contains highly interesting information, heretofore unused, relating to the publishers of Lyons.—On pp. 140-1, with characteristic exactitude, Dr. Hawkins supplies all the references made by Fontaine and others to his translation of Roville's *Promptuaire*,—further proof of the extreme care taken in the preparation of this study.

²¹ In this regard it is interesting to note the themes of the elegies in the *Fontaine d'Amour* (p. 184, note 1).

²² Thus, Mellin de Saint-Gelays, who apparently had no faith in these superstitions, felt impelled to compose a work of this character. Cf. Molinier, *Mellin de Saint-Gelays*, Rodez, 1910, pp. 161 *et seq.*

²³ On p. 136 is brought into question Fontaine's connection with the famous publishing house of Roville; here might have been appended an additional reference to Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise* (iv, p. 206), where the same author is spoken of as *prélecteur de l'imprimerie Payen*.

In chapter vii (p. 143), which deals with the relations of Fontaine with the Pléiade, the author analyses with rare acumen the arguments of Chamard and Roy relating to the four poets attacked by Du Bellay in the *Deffence* (II, ii).²⁴ Dr. Hawkins not only shows the weakness of M. Roy's contentions, but also annihilates every one of the arguments advanced by him (pp. 146-7).—In regard to Fontaine's letter of protest to Morel (quoted on pp. 150-2), his biographer accepts without hesitation the date 1550 assigned to it by M. Chamard, though some critics (notably Léon Séché) have expressed doubts as to its accuracy. Furthermore, in order to explain why Aneau sought to have his opponents believe that the *Quintil* was the creation of Fontaine alone, the author states merely that the former recognized "that he was not famous enough to fight the battles of the old school" (p. 153). This explanation is obviously far from sufficient. Besides, it is quite probable—notwithstanding the various shortcomings of his article—that M. L. Clément's suggestion that Aneau and Fontaine were joint authors of this pamphlet is correct.²⁵ Otherwise Aneau would hardly have abused a friendship which both seem to have prized so highly. Holding an important position in the municipality and ranking high in the esteem of his fellow-citizens, Aneau, like his illustrious contemporary Scève, assumed probably a somewhat protecting air toward the struggling poet. In no other way can we explain the indifference of these two prominent personages to the humble flattery and words of praise bestowed upon them at frequent intervals by Maistre Charles. It may also be added that Aneau's attitude reveals the unfortunate *morgue* of the professor; his bearing toward his assistant was doubtless considered at that time—as it is often regarded now—*de rigueur*. So he sought to have the *Quintil* pass under the aegis of his regent, not only because of the latter's reputation as a literary polemist, but also because as one suspected—and probably with justice—of heresy, he did not wish to bring down on his own head the wrath of the powerful Catholic family of the Du Bellays. Furthermore he must have felt that his opinion would have little weight with the opposition, for the Lyonnese Protestants were continually provoking the animosity of their Catholic confrères by captious criticisms of all sorts. Besides, were there not several veiled attacks on Maistre Charles in the *Deffence*, and was this not an excellent opportunity to satisfy his wounded vanity at having been treated with the "utmost contempt"—to quote Dr. Hawkins (p. 198)—by the pompous Joachim? And there is little doubt that Fontaine was at first delighted with the idea of being once more in the front ranks of those who came to the defense of his revered master, Clément Marot. But, on the other hand, when he aspired to the principalship of the Collège de la Trinité, the poet protested to Morel loudly—too loudly, in fact, to be accounted sincere—against such imputations, in order to free his own skirts from the suspicion of Protestantism, hoping thereby to win the support of the influential family just mentioned.²⁶

²⁴ Regarding this passage, it may be suggested as possible that B. Aneau, considering himself the target of Du Bellay's shafts, was led thereby to compose the famous *Quintil*.

²⁵ *Revue de la Renaissance*, v, 1904, p. 231.

²⁶ The Pléiade did not hesitate to attribute the *Quintil* to Fontaine, not only because of the celebrated quatrain, but also because, as Dr. Hawkins points out, the *Deffence* contained "a slur or two" directed against him (pp. 231-2).

At least it is an interesting fact that after the publication of the *Ruisseaux* in 1555—the same year in which he was elected principal of the above-mentioned college—Fontaine makes no further mention of Aneau in his poems.²⁷

Dr. Hawkins's method of exposing the weakness of Fournier's theories relating to J. Quintil du Tronssay (pp. 154 *et sqq.*) is exceedingly clever and thoroughly sound as well. Likewise he disproves with equally convincing arguments Clément's hypotheses (pp. 157 *et sqq.*) concerning the *Poète Courtisan*, though it is only just to Clément to add that Fontaine's commendatory verses on the *Pléiade* (pp. 161–2) were all written after 1553, when there was no longer any doubt that the new movement was a success, and it was quite obvious that a writer ought to be identified with it in order to have the ear of the public.²⁸ As a matter of fact Maistre Charles was an ardent champion of Marot as long as the latter was alive and exerting considerable influence at the court, and was even willing to defend him after his death when by doing so he was upholding his own work. But when it was manifest that the new school had won a complete victory his sympathies were not so loudly expressed.

As far as Fontaine's idea of the poet's vocation—which, it is true, was in conformity with that of du Bellay—is concerned (pp. 162–3), we must not forget that the rhétoricien Bouchet held practically the same views—all of which goes to show that this conception was rather general at the time.²⁹ Again in regard to our poet's defense of the French language, written after 1549 (p. 166), it should be noted that he is only repeating, almost *mot à mot*, what Peletier wrote in 1547 in the poem addressed *à un poète qui n'écrivoit qu'en Latin*:

J'escris en langue maternelle,
Et tasche à la mettre en valeur :
Affin de la rendre éternelle,
Comme les vieux ont fait la leur.³⁰

Farther on our author admits that the "*Pléiade* had virtually no effect upon Fontaine" (p. 237); and that after 1549 (the *Quintil* was probably composed in 1550) the latter became a "pure disciple" of Marot, i. e., very reactionary. And what is the *Quintil* but a reaction against the radical theories of the *Pléiade*?

²⁷ It is quite possible, therefore, that Fontaine's letter of protest to Morel was written, without the knowledge of Aneau, at practically the same time when its author dedicated an *étrenne* to the latter in order to conciliate his influence. But the regent's duplicity becoming known the two friends were estranged.

²⁸ On p. 167 Dr. Hawkins states that "neither Ronsard nor du Bellay ever condescended to honor him (Fontaine) with a single verse,"—probably because they had reason to suspect his sincerity. Farther on Dr. Hawkins is most probably correct when he states (p. 168) that Fontaine's "letter to Jean de Morel was no more credited in 1550 than it is credited by many persons to-day." Again on p. 237 we are informed that Fontaine was dissatisfied "with the teachings" of the *Pléiade* with regard to the mode of translation. As translations comprised an important part of his work, this appears to be additional evidence of his sympathy with the *Quintil*.

²⁹ ROMANIC REVIEW, i, 1910, p. 402.

³⁰ L. Séché, *Œuvres poétiques de Jacques Peletier du Mans*, Paris, 1904, p. 110. Compare further Fontaine's verse *Qui en latin pouvois écrire* and Pele-

We may conclude therefore that the arguments advanced by Dr. Hawkins on p. 167 are not sufficiently strong, since, in his "exalted idea of the poet's vocation," in his "defense of the French language," and finally in his "defense of rime," Fontaine was merely re-echoing ideas common to most of the patriotic predecessors of the Pléiade.

In chapter viii (p. 169, etc.), treating of the epigram, our author has again brought forth much new information. The interesting poem on the stolen dog (pp. 178-9), quoted from the *Fontaine d'Amour* (1545), contains many verses that recall du Bellay's charming *Építaphe d'un petit chien*. In fact the former's manner of treating this theme makes one feel that du Bellay was greatly indebted to him, unless, of course, both are imitating a poem to us unknown.³¹ The influence of the *Fontaine d'Amour* on Ronsard's *Livret de Follastries* (1553) is another interesting discovery of Dr. Hawkins (pp. 185, note; p. 186). This suggests a broad field of research that looks very inviting to the literary scholar, viz., the reciprocal influence of the poets of the sixteenth century. Certain general hypotheses have been emitted by recent investigators, but no one has as yet undertaken to verify these suppositions. Finally our critic proves that Fontaine anticipated du Bellay's theory of imitation of classical authors (pp. 186, etc.). In certain poems of the *Ruisseaux*, written a few years later (about 1555), it is obvious that the consequences of following du Bellay's advice were lamentable indeed for the Lyonnese poet (pp. 190-1).³²

In chapter ix, devoted to Fontaine as a translator, Dr. Hawkins might have called attention to the fact (p. 196) that du Bellay's theory of translation was, as Faguet pointed out, one of "innutrition." Hence his method is naturally at variance with that of the old school to which Maistre Charles adhered. Nevertheless the latter's ideas on this subject are in the main, as our author skilfully shows, very modern.

Fontaine is again indebted to Peletier when, in regard to translation, he states (p. 199) that "bien souvent ce qu'en une langue se dira bien élégamment en trois mots ne se pourra pas bien proprement et facilement dire en six en une autre langue."³³

On p. 202, note, Dr. Hawkins makes a valuable point in drawing attention to the fact that Goujet's protest "that the *Remedia Amoris* could scarcely serve as a guide to virtue" does not hold good, because it is only after the 396th line,

tier's (verse 13) *Et qui en Latin escriz tant*, etc. In fact Fontaine's poem seems merely an abridgment of Peletier's from 49 verses to 14. Cf. L. Séché, *La Vie de Joachim*, in the *Rev. de la Ren.*, i, 1901, p. 81. It is needless to emphasize further Fontaine's lack of originality. Hawkins, p. 165, n. 2, mentions this poem.

Here (p. 166) note 3 should read note 2.

³¹ Cf. Marty-Laveaux, *Œuvres françoises de J. du Bellay*, Paris, 1867, II, 350-3; cf. also the same poet's *Építaphe d'un chat*, *ibid.*, 353-8; Séché, *Œuvres choisies de J. du B.*, Paris, 1894, 204-8.

³² Ronsard's influence is also noticeable in Fontaine's choice of metrical schemes for his odes in the *Ruisseaux* (1555) and the *Odes, Enigmes et Épiques* (1557).

³³ Cf. Peletier's *Épître* to Saint-Gelays, *Œuvres poétiques*, 1547, ed. Séché, Paris, 1904, pp. 134-7. A further comparison between these two authors with regard to this subject would be of interest.

where Fontaine's translation ends, that Ovid's work becomes obscene. That our critic's estimation of the quality of this version is accurate appears in that M. Villey selects, as among the best examples of translations of classics by poets of this period, Fontaine's rendering of the Epistle of Briseis to Achilles, of which he quotes the last 82 verses in his *Sources d'idées, textes choisis et commentés*.³⁴

With reference to Fontaine's translation (p. 203) of Budé's *De Asse*, the famous treatise on the coins and measures of antiquity so popular during the sixteenth century, it may be of interest to remark that the most famous work of Nicholas Oresme (c. 1373) dealt with the same subject: *De origine, natura, jure et mutationibus monetarum*—a treatise that exerted similar influence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.^{34a}

In addition to the translation of the *De Asse*, the *Nouvelles et antiques merveilles* (Lyons, 1554) contains an epitome entitled *Sommaire du livre des nouvelles Isles*, a very vague account of the discovery of America, notwithstanding the fact that this important event took place "only some sixty years before the publication" (to quote the words of Dr. Hawkins) of this treatise. In the dedicatory letter, which contains some very curious references to this great historical happening (pp. 204-5), Fontaine refuses to believe that *ces isles* were discovered by *un Génevoys nommé Christofle Coulom*, declaring that they were first *trouvées par un de nostre nation nommé Bétencourt*, to wit, Jean de Bétencourt, conqueror of the Canary Islands, who died more than a century before, in 1422. In a review published in 1912³⁵ the present writer emphasized the fact that the great discovery of Columbus awakened at that time but slight interest in Italy, and that the discovery of the *Isole delle aromi* by the Portuguese was considered of far greater importance. The same may be said of France; there also the marvellous alone held the attention of the public. It was difficult indeed to impose the unvarnished truth upon a superstitious world. People who still maintained a firm belief in astrology and moralizing bestiaries were not eager to accept the commonplace facts related by Parmentier and other veracious voyagers. So we have no bone to pick with our Master of Arts of Paris; notwithstanding his learning he was distinctly a man of his time. And it is through him that we glimpse the beliefs and superstitions of his contemporaries.³⁶

This same naïve spirit is further revealed in Fontaine's translation of the *Mimes de Publianus* (1557) and of the *Sentences du poète Ausone* (1558), in which, according to Dr. Hawkins, his "tendency to moralize" is obvious. The point of departure of works of this nature is found, as above intimated, in the *Emblemata* of the Italian jurist Alciati, a volume very dear to the hearts of the readers of that period. B. Aneau, the translator of this work into French, yielded to the demands of the public by composing an imitation of the same, the *Picta Poesis*,

³⁴ Paris, 1912, pp. 31-33. Citations are likewise made from Fontaine's preface to his translation of the *Heroides* (on. pp. 19-20 of the same work).

^{34a} Cf. E. Bridrey, *La Théorie de la monnaie au XIV^e siècle, Nicole Oresme*, Paris, 1906.

³⁵ Review of G. Chinard's *L'Exotisme américain dans la Littérature française au XVI^e Siècle*, *Modern Language Notes*, xxvii, pp. 152-6.

³⁶ Sainte-Beuve reproaches du Bellay for not having included the Discovery of America among the great events mentioned in chapter ix of the *Deffence*. Cf. ed. L. Humbert, Paris, 1914, p. 443.

later translated by himself under the title of *Imagination poétique*. The culmination of this tendency is found in the famous quatrains of Guy du Faur de Pibrac and the essays of Montaigne. And it is probable that the great popularity of the latter author in England during the following centuries is to be explained by a similar desire to moralize.

In regard to Fontaine's remarks on orthography in his *Figures du Nouveau Testament*, published in 1554 (p. 210), it is of interest to note again his great indebtedness to Peletier.³⁷ On this question also Maistre Charles fails to show originality. The subject of orthographical reform was discussed as early as 1523 by Geoffroy Tory in his *Champfleury*—a work which was not published, however, until three years later. The proposed reform was again touched upon by Dolez, and in 1547 by Peletier. The famous quarrel that centered about Louis Meigret occurred in 1550-1; and it was in 1550 that Peletier published his reply to Meigret in the form of the *Dialogue de l'Orthographe* (Poitiers).³⁸ The few remarks devoted by Fontaine to this very important subject are, in view of what preceded him, singularly arid and conventional.³⁹

A final indication of the extreme care with which Dr. Hawkins has executed his study is his statement (p. 222) that he has made in vain "a searching examination of hundreds of volumes of prose and poetry published during the last thirty-six years of the sixteenth century" to find a reference to Fontaine. He conjectures therefore that Maistre Charles died between 1564 and 1570 (p. 223).

Chapter xi (p. 224) contains an excellent recapitulation of the author's study, and a list of critical judgments upon Maistre Charles coming down all the way from Colletet (p. 226) to Professor Tilley (p. 228). In the discussion of the "accepted precursors of the Pléiade" (p. 233), however, it might have been noted that Peletier not only belonged to the class of precursors, but was also a member of the celebrated group itself when it was definitely formed in 1555. According to M. Laumonier his name should replace that of Dorat.⁴⁰ Furthermore the claims of Jean Lemaire to the honor of being a precursor of this great movement must not be limited to the fact that he introduced the *terza rima* into France. M. Lefranc, in his *leçons* published in the *Revue des Cours et des Conférences*,⁴¹ enumerates the striking qualifications of this versatile spirit. The reasons advanced by Dr. Hawkins for placing Fontaine among the forerunners of the new school (p. 233) are all very convincing. As has already been stated Maistre Charles represents, probably better than any of his contemporaries, the tendency of the times, for he was above all a vulgarizer, ever on the alert to anticipate the course of public taste.

Next (p. 236) Dr. Hawkins lists the "ideas of the Pléiade" entertained by Fontaine before 1549. We have already shown that belief "in the lofty mission

³⁷ Cf. Peletier *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Séché, Paris, 1904, p. 172, and also his *Dialogue de l'Orthographe* in Jugé's *J. Peletier du Mans*, Paris, 1907, pp. 111-39.

³⁸ Brunot, *Histoire de la Langue française*, ii, Paris, 1906, pp. 93 et sqq.

³⁹ As for the lawyers Jean Orri (p. 212) and Gabriel Tamot (p. 213) it may be of interest to note that the verses dedicated to them by Fontaine are quoted by Hauréau in his *Histoire littéraire du Maine*, viii, Paris, 1876, pp. 295-8; x, Paris, 1877, pp. 74-5.

⁴⁰ Cf. Tilley, *The Composition of the Pléiade*, in the *Mod. Lang. Review*, vi, 1911, p. 213.

⁴¹ Paris, 1911, pp. 725-30; 769-77.

and the divine inspiration of the poet" was common property even before that date.⁴² Further, according to our critic, Fontaine "thought culture necessary," and "like du Bellay, culture to him meant the study of the Classics and the modern Italians"—an idea more widely in vogue among the humanists and Renascentists before the Pléiade than we are wont to believe. If, in his defense of French, Fontaine anticipated du Bellay, it is also true that Lemaire and Peletier anticipated Fontaine. Again, if before 1549 Maistre Charles reproached "quelques Latins" for scorning French poetry, and if after that date he always used the medium of French "because he wished to honor his own language as the Latins did theirs," he was acting as a submissive disciple of Peletier. We are told (p. 237) that before 1549 "Fontaine wrote epigrams in imitation of Martial, elegies and epistles in imitation of Ovid," etc.—and we may add that Peletier, Marot and other poets did likewise. All this in no way undermines the arguments of Dr. Hawkins, which for the most part are very sound; it merely serves to show that our poet was not an originator but a follower of the general trend of thought.

The final paragraph (p. 238) of this study contains an excellent appreciation of Fontaine's character and talents.—In the Appendix (pp. 241-3) there is a brief biography of the poet's son Jean as well as a list of the school-texts published by the latter. This information is entirely new.

Special praise is due the author for the bibliography (pp. 244-70) of the works of Fontaine, which is a model of research and precision. Its only deficiency—if such it may be called—is that it fails to indicate where these works are discussed in other bibliographies, such as those of Picot and Baudrier, the latter of whom often mentions provincial and foreign libraries in which any given work is to be found. Thus, Baudrier cites⁴³ an edition of the *Contr'Amie de Court* without date. Likewise, the edition of the same work published in 1543 (cf. Hawkins, p. 247) is also mentioned by the same bibliographer.⁴⁴ On p. 248 Dr. Hawkins calls attention to a very curious error of pagination in the 1547 edition of the same—a mistake that has been repeated by one bibliographer after another without anyone taking the trouble to control the matter.

As regards the *Epistres d'Ovide* (p. 252), Baudrier describes the Barricade edition,⁴⁵ a copy of which is found in the Galle Library, as well as the Temporal edition⁴⁶ of which he himself owns a copy. There is furthermore a complete description of Fontaine's translation of the *Promptuaire des Medalles* in the same bibliography, with reproductions of various woodcuts found therein.⁴⁷ In addition to other interesting information this authority mentions eleven dif-

⁴² Cf. note 29, above; and J. E. Spingarn, *History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, New York, 1899, p. 183.

⁴³ *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, iv, 1899, p. 311.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, ii, 1896, p. 32; iv, 1899, p. 314.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, iv, p. 2.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 380. In vol. x, 1913, p. 444, there is an additional mention of the same work.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, ix, 1912, pp. 205-7. In the title Baudrier writes and prints *Emdalles* instead of *Medalles*.

ferent libraries which contain copies of this work. But Dr. Hawkins, in turn, must be given credit for having unearthed many new facts relating to it.—On pp. 255–8 our author supplies an astonishing amount of information relating to the *Ruisseaux de Fontaine*. An excellent description of the same work is also given by Baudrier.⁴⁸ It is of interest to note that Dr. Hawkins has discovered in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal a copy of this work which escaped the attention of Baudrier; but on the other hand the latter calls attention to copies in other libraries not mentioned by our critic.⁴⁹ An interesting study could be devoted to the numerous personages to whom quatrains are addressed by Fontaine in this volume.

Though the description of the *Ode de l'Antiquité* given by Dr. Hawkins (pp. 260–1) is really of higher merit than that of Baudrier, nevertheless attention should be called to the latter, which likewise has its qualities.⁵⁰ Again in his long description of the *Odes, Enigmes*, etc., the latter authority mentions copies in two additional libraries not noted by Dr. Hawkins.⁵¹ Yet our author supplies a far more thorough description of the *Dicts des Sept Sages*⁵² than does Baudrier. As for the *Description des terres trouvées*, etc., of which Baudrier makes only brief mention,⁵³ Dr. Hawkins discusses it at length (p. 265), though, because of the present war, he has been unable to examine the copy in the British Museum, of which, be it said, Baudrier does not know the existence. Finally in regard to the *Salutation au Roy Charles IX*, discussed by our author on p. 266, Baudrier refers to “la notice consacrée à cette réimpression par M. Galle, dans la *Bibliographie de Charles Fontaine*, placée à la fin de l'*Ode de l'antiquité*, etc., réimprimée en 1889 par la Société des Bibliophiles lyonnais,”⁵⁴ which, notwithstanding his acquaintance with Galle's bibliography, is not noted by Dr. Hawkins.

A complete index of names other than those contained in the bibliographical appendix (pp. 244–270), fills the last nine pages of this altogether noteworthy dissertation.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, iv, 1899, pp. 263–5.

⁴⁹ In vol. x, 1913, p. 433, Baudrier reproduces the quatrain addressed by Fontaine to Philibert Rollet. On p. 446 of the same volume the *Ruisseaux* is again mentioned.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, ii, pp. 26–27. Baudrier neglects to mention the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, discussed by Dr. Hawkins, while the latter fails to note the copy in the Coste Library.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 27–28. Again the description of this volume given by Dr. Hawkins is most praiseworthy (pp. 261–2).

⁵² P. 263. Baudrier lists only two libraries as possessing a copy of this work,—one being his own private collection—while Dr. Hawkins mentions four, though he omits the Baudrier copy. Cf. Baudrier, *op. cit.*, ii, 1896, p. 26.

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, iii, 1897, p. 208.

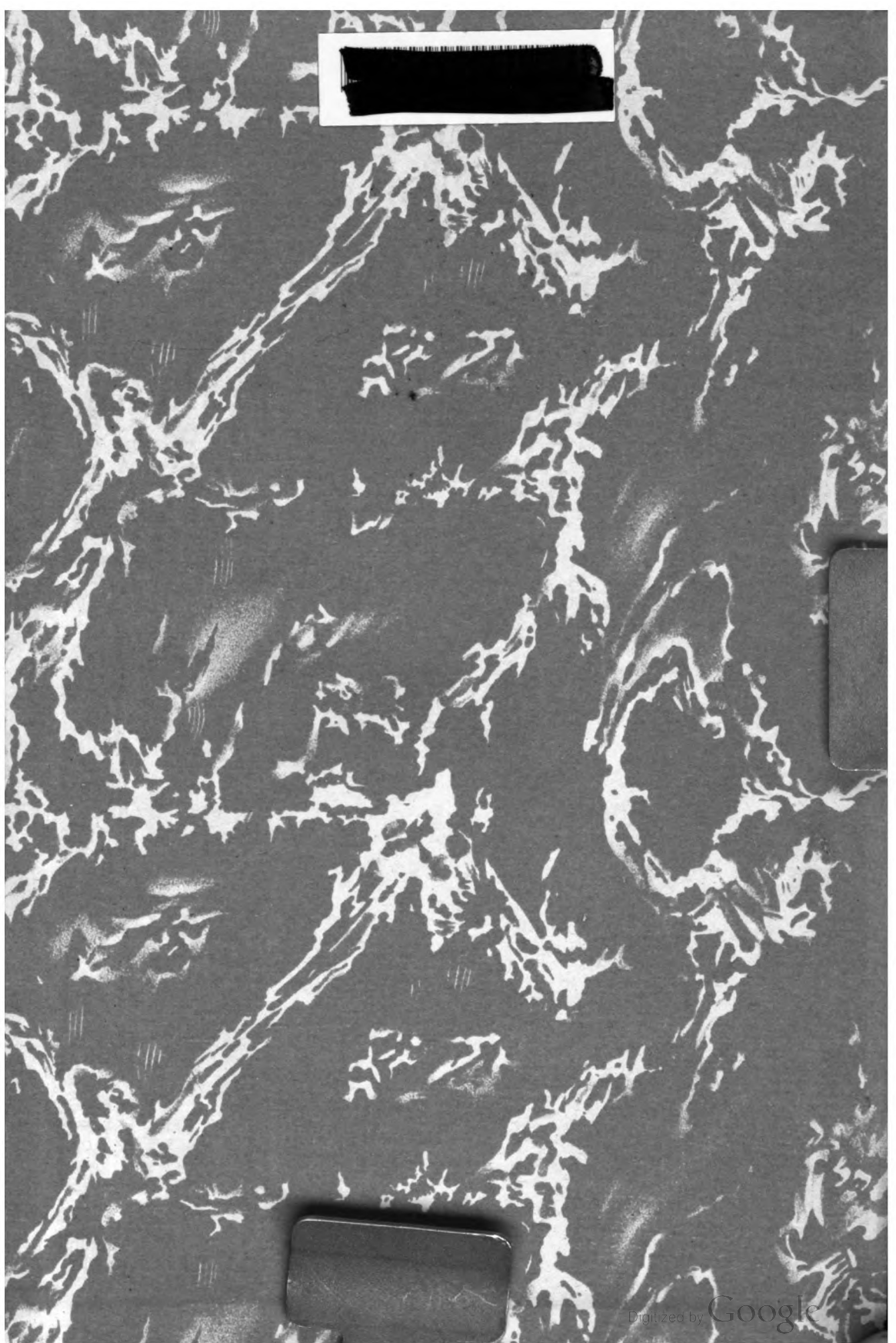
⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 233. Other bibliographical data worthy of note are the following: Baudrier, *op. cit.*, iv, 1899, p. 389, contains a description of the *Erotasmes* of Philibert Bugnon, mentioned by Dr. Hawkins on p. 268. In the same volume (p. 391) is a description of the *Edict du roy Henry II*, discussed by Dr. Hawkins on p. 268. Another description of the same work, with a reproduction of the title-page, is found in volume iii, 1897, pp. 90–92.

To conclude, whatever of value there may be in the remarks and suggestions found in this review is due in large measure to the stimulus derived from reading the brilliant researches of Dr. Hawkins. His bright and pleasing style of presentation, his engaging manner of imparting his own enthusiasm to the reader, and his sound and careful scholarship have all contributed in this volume to rendering acquaintance with the person of Charles Fontaine a veritable delight.

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